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# TRUK: MAN IN PARADISE

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Micronesian Anthropology  
1947-1949

Accepted as **FINAL REPORT** of Thomas Gladwin

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THOMAS GLADWIN AND SEYMOUR B. SARASON



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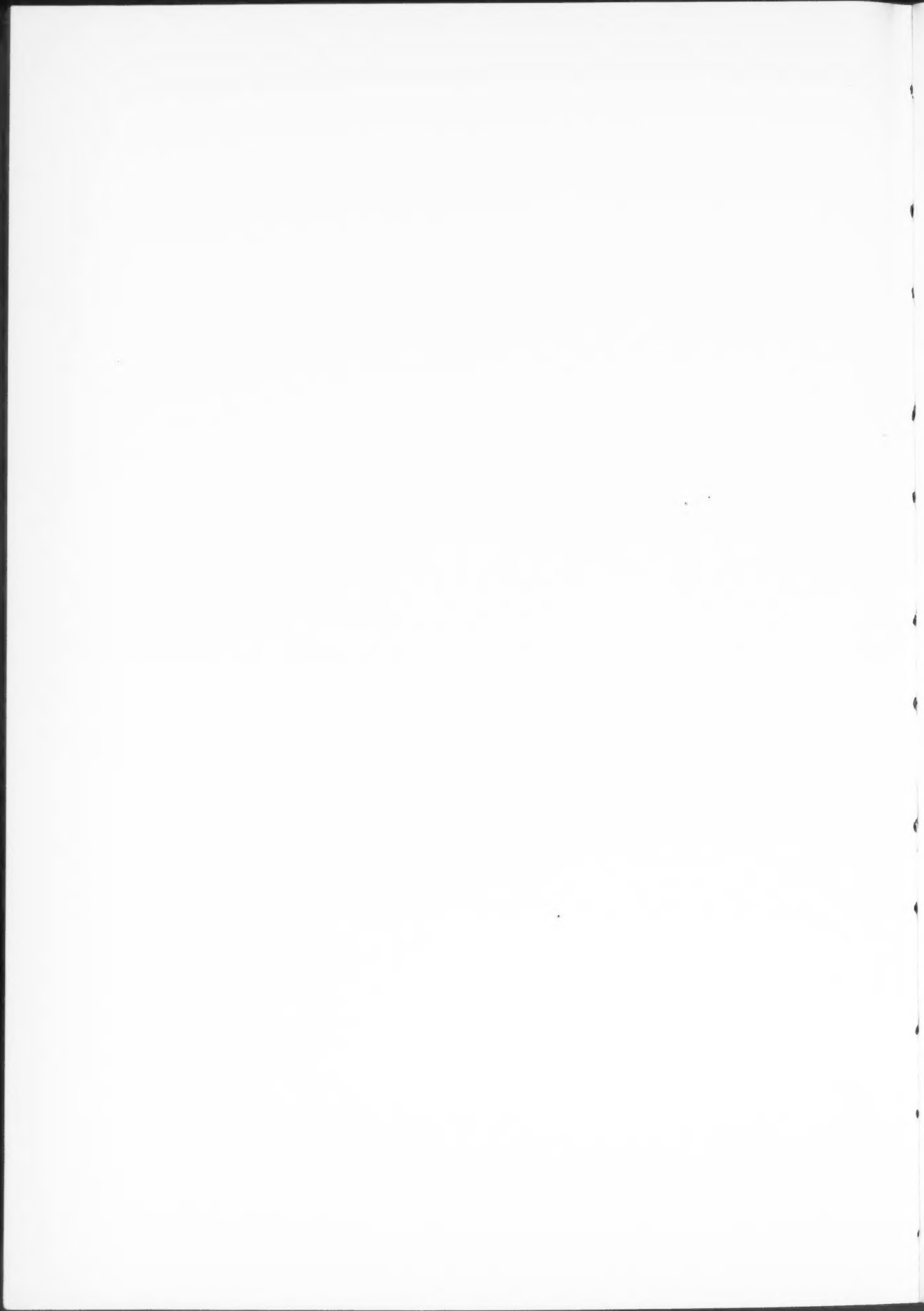
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CIMA Report No. 32



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A. IRVING HALLOWELL

*Editor*

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## ANTHROPOLOGIST'S PREFACE

WRITING a preface is for the author akin to the child's reward of a piece of candy after he has had a tooth pulled. Although it appears at the beginning of the book its writing is always reserved for the end and this writing is thus suffused with a sense of relief. The preface is also the place where one can become personal and express one's opinions—at least those which are favorable—of experiences and relationships. For me the experience was Truk. Lest I digress into something more appropriate to a brochure on a tourist's paradise I will confine myself to the statement that having gone to Truk in 1947 for six months I stayed four years. The field work actually consumed seven months, most of it spent in the company of several other anthropologists on the small island of Romonum. Thereafter I moved to the island of Moen where the U. S. Navy Civil Administration Unit was located, and was employed as the Native Affairs Officer for the Truk District, a job which required frequent visits to all the other inhabited islands of the district. I was soon joined by my wife and four small children after one of those treks for which mothers should be awarded a very special niche in the ranks of our unsung heroes. A foreign land can be all things to different people, but for us time could not dim the charm and romance of Truk.

Although my later administrative experience permitted a broader perspective in which to view the results of my field work, virtually all the data presented in this book were derived from the seven months' study of the people of Romonum. The first month was devoted to learning the language and making the necessary preliminary social adjustments to the community into which my colleagues and I had intruded ourselves. Any pretense that I had an adequate working knowledge of the language at the end of this month should be quickly disclaimed. It did, however, appear sufficient to begin gathering data on such relatively simple and clear-cut topics as records of marriages, divorces and the like. A growing proficiency in Trukese thereafter permitted the exploration of gradually more complex subjects until, during the fourth month, it was possible to begin the administration of tests and the recording of life histories of twenty-three subjects. Two and a half months were devoted to this, leaving some five weeks for the completion of the ethnographic coverage. Data on the life cycle of a Trukese were reserved for this time, as it was then possible to check the statements of the informants against material derived from the life histories and raise questions as they were suggested by such comparisons.

Meanwhile, the other members of the Yale University team participating in the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) on Truk were investigating the fields of their particular interest. This arrangement permitted each to concentrate upon his particular subject with only incidental attention to other areas. The program was so organized by Dr. George P. Murdock, who headed our group as well as being the field director of the entire CIMA program, that the combined contributions of all the members resulted in fairly complete coverage of all the major aspects of the culture. These other participants also confined the bulk of their work to Romonum and our field notes were pooled to permit each to work from the full range of available information. Dr. Murdock prepared complete genealogies for all the people of Romonum, as well as a map of land holdings and other data which provided an essential framework to which the information derived by each of us could be related. Dr. Isadore Dyen made a linguistic analysis of the Trukese language, and at the same time provided invaluable and tireless assistance to all of us in our struggles to learn to speak and understand it. Dr. Ward H. Goodenough carried on the study of social structure which he and Dr. Murdock had begun to explore together, and which culminated in a complete and searching analysis of social organization and property ownership on Truk; this study is particularly satisfying to one who has spent four years in baffled attempts to unravel the complexities of the subject and finally sees the light. Dr. Frank M. LeBar covered the material culture, and his excellent field notes have been drawn upon liberally in writing the pages which follow. In addition, several months of field work were done on Romonum about a year after our stay there by Mrs. Ann Fischer of Radcliffe College under the SIM (Scientific Investigation of Micronesia) program. Her work, concentrating particularly upon the care of infants and including a good deal of systematic observation, fell happily in the area in which my data are the weakest and thus has provided an invaluable supplement to these.

This study is therefore based upon ethnographic, life history, and test data recorded by me during seven months on Romonum, augmented at various points by information derived from the work of my colleagues and my own later experience with the Trukese. The test interpretation was entirely in the hands of Dr. Sarason. His results were combined with my own to provide the basis for my dissertation presented to Yale University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Ph.D. degree; with the exception of Sarason's final additional chapter on the problems of test interpretation this book remains in substantially the same form as the dissertation. This immediately raises the question of why it should now appear under joint authorship. The answer will, however, readily become apparent in reading the book: our approach consists essentially in the synthesis of a description of personality, which was Sarason's responsibility, and of my description of the social and cultural framework within which this personality finds its expression. Quite aside, then, from considerations of time or number of words it is clear that

the contribution made by one of us can be meaningful only in terms of that made by the other; this dual responsibility demands that in publication each of us acknowledge authorship of his own conclusions. For this reason—and also because we both, with unseemly arrogance, depend heavily upon the use of the first person singular—our respective contributions have been explicitly identified. Everything which does not bear Sarason's name was, for better or for worse, written by me. This of course does not mean that Sarason wrote one chapter and thus got his name on the title page. As will be seen the fruits of his months of work with the tests are integrated into all of the chapters which deal with the problems of personality; he also receives no credit for the many hours of constructive discussion upon which I relied in working out the psychological problems our data presented.

Anyone who has done field work finds himself with extensive obligations of gratitude and I more than most because I have drawn so extensively and directly upon the labors of others. The work of Dr. Sarason comprises an essential key to this entire study without which its completion in its present form would not have been possible; his position as low man on the title page does not afford adequate recognition to the magnitude of his contribution. Similarly, the information supplied by my colleagues in the field and later was all that permitted the presentation of an at all rounded picture of the cultural background of Trukese personality in the time allotted. This is even more true of the work of Mrs. Ann Fischer from whose report I have drawn so extensively. To all of these I am most unusually indebted.

Such quality as adheres to my own work must also be credited largely to two men: Drs. Murdock and Ralph Linton. Dr. Murdock's wide experience in anthropology and field methods provided much needed guidance to one with but limited prior experience in the field, and he has also offered many valuable comments during the writing of this book. Dr. Linton, through guidance, inspiration, and friendship planted my feet firmly in the field of culture and personality where he has himself done so much pioneering work, and has been, in assisting me in my present labors, but carrying forward a relationship for which I shall always be deeply grateful.

Our work on Truk was financed primarily by funds provided by the Office of Naval Research, Department of the Navy, administered by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. In addition the Navy brought us to Truk and kept us supplied—an operation also involving the always generous efforts of a large number of Naval personnel, too numerous to mention, but all deserving of more thanks than I am sure we often succeeded in expressing. Navy funds were supplemented by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Incorporated; now that they have even more generously undertaken to publish the resulting monograph under the most favorable of conditions our debt of gratitude to this organization is great indeed.



The maps and Rorschach diagrams were drawn with painstaking care by Mr. Charles H. Butt; the clarity of the diagrams is testimony to his resourcefulness as well as his skill. Last but not least I must express my very deep indebtedness to Miss Carole Eckstein for her devotion to the task of typing a constantly expanding manuscript with great accuracy in spite of the fact that our deadline could not be adjusted to compensate for the mounting size of her task.

THOMAS GLADWIN

Bethesda, Maryland  
May, 1953

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## INTRODUCTION

THE current vogue of referring to the islands of the Pacific as "paradise" is by no means new. The exotic tropical island with its sheltered lagoon and sloping coconut palms has, since such islands became known to the western world, represented to many the ultimate in the luxuriance of nature and the freedom of man. This is perhaps because these warm and colorful islands with their clean white sand, rich vegetation, and deep blue waters are in many ways the antithesis of the urban environment in which many of us live. It is hard for us to believe that anyone could live upon a Pacific island and be anything but happy and carefree. As most of the islanders are in fact notable for their readiness to smile or laugh it is not surprising that the stereotype of the happy native without a worry in the world has become so firmly implanted in our own folklore.

There is actually a fairly logical basis for such an assumption. The Pacific islands, and particularly those of Polynesia and Micronesia, provide the happy combination of a minimum in physical discomforts with a maximum assurance that with the expenditure of a reasonable amount of effort all of one's bodily needs can be satisfied. This is a point to which we shall return in more detail in the next chapter; we mention it here because it serves to place in perspective everything we shall be discussing in the chapters which follow. Man is notable in the degree to which he is a social and gregarious animal: he practically never lives away from the company of his fellows. At the same time he shares with the animals an array of physical needs which must be satisfied; in so far as these needs are not satisfied he experiences tension and presumably anxiety. In many cases we find it difficult to determine the degree to which the anxieties shared by the people of a society are a realistic reflection of actual uncertainties in regard to the fulfillment of their biological needs, and how much these anxieties are the by-products of the social organization the people and their ancestors have developed in dealing with the problems of community living. In this study, however, the issue is fairly clear-cut: because the physical environment stands ready to provide for practically every biological need experienced by a Trukese we may take it for granted that those anxieties—including that over food—which he feels are almost entirely a product of his experience within the *social* environment into which he is born. This fact does not provide the primary orientation of our study but it is worth keeping in mind throughout the discussion with which we are concerned in this book.

The main body of ethnographic data upon which this study is based was derived by the standard question-and-answer technique from a limited number of informants selected on the basis of a reputation for reliability and honesty within the community and their special qualifications. A man of slightly over sixty, who was a very careful and responsive informant, provided most of the information which could be considered to be general knowledge in regard to the life cycle and related topics. A woman of about forty, mother of a number of children, provided much of what data I derived myself on the earlier phases of child care, although without the additional work of Mrs. Fischer this would not have been entirely adequate. A delightful little old lady who must have been at least seventy but who was still active as the island's best midwife provided a very full account of pregnancy and childbirth, including detailed descriptions of those deliveries at which she assisted during our stay. In addition to these, a far larger number of informants were used to explore special subjects, check upon and verify statements, and recount bits of personal history. The life histories, as will be seen in the chapters which follow, proved to be a very rich source of ethnographic data (although again they do not reach back into infancy) and are supplemented by a number of case histories, particularly of marriages, divorces, and adulterous and lovers' relationships. Abstracts of the early sources on Truk were available to us in the field where they could be verified and provide a check on current studies as well as provide leads for further investigation. Direct observation, all of a more or less participant nature, was an excellent control and supplement to all the sources of information described above; in addition, it provided substantial bodies of data in certain areas, of which funerals and mourning behavior are an outstanding example, three adult deaths occurring during my stay on the island, the aftermath of each of which was observed and recorded. However, the paucity of quantified observational data must be viewed as a definite lack in this study, even though considerably mitigated by Mrs. Fischer's contributions. On the other hand, the general consistency and lack of discrepancies among the data derived from all these various sources can be considered to justify an appreciable degree of confidence in the overall reliability of the material. The evaluation of the adequacy of any field work must consider the time available for the investigation; it is probable that very time consuming quantifiable observations could only have been obtained at a considerable sacrifice of coverage of other areas.

It should be noted that in order to preserve the confidence in which much of the information was given, English pseudonyms have been substituted for the actual names of all Trukese mentioned in the text, or else the material has been edited to eliminate the use of names entirely.

The basic objective of the study was to explore the process of personality development in a particular society, namely that of Truk or, more exactly, Romonum. A further but closely related objective could be stated as the develop-

ment of a plan of attack which would derive the maximum amount of relevant information on this subject in the minimum length of time, for seven months could certainly be said to be an absolute minimum, particularly when this had to include the learning of the local language. This immediately raised the question of what order of information was to be considered relevant, and what combination of the available techniques would be most efficient in eliciting such information.

The so-called culture and personality approach, of which this is a sample, finds increasing acceptance primarily because it permits us to expand our perspective in the study of human behavior by removing the limitations which necessarily result from the examination of the people of but one society, our own. Our European-American society, while differing from place to place and class to class, nonetheless has so many culturally determined values, attitudes, and techniques shared by all its members wherever found that in studying only ourselves we are often at a loss to test the hypotheses we may formulate. We do not know whether some characteristic common to most of us is inherently part of our human nature or is a result of our life experience. We need to find some people who do not share this characteristic; if we do, we at once know it is not inherently human, passed from generation to generation as part of our biological constitution. Further, by examining the life experiences of such people we may, through seeing what they do that we do not do, or vice versa, get some insight as to what causes us to exhibit this characteristic. In the natural sciences this sort of question is explored through controlled experiments. If we believe that A causes X, we modify A and see what happens to X, meanwhile keeping all other conditions as constant as possible. In the social sciences, however, such experiments are rarely possible and can at best only deal with extremely limited aspects of such a complex subject as personality formation.

As a substitute, then, for the experimental context we turn to other societies where the cultural determinants (A) are different and see what happens to the personality (X). Of course, while we may be delighted to find that determinant A is different in a given society, we cannot fail to notice that B, C, D, and a host of other factors are also different. In other words, our experimental situation is not controlled and our hoped-for precise tool is blunted by an array of fairly unanswerable questions. Is X different only because A is different, or is it affected also by B, or C, or perhaps D?

Because we cannot improve our experimental situation and have to take it as we find it, our only hope in seeking for the answers to these questions is to find further contexts in which they in turn may be tested. Thus if both A and B are different in a society as compared to our own (or another), and X is also different, we surmise that either or both may have produced, or helped to produce, the change in X. If we can further find some people who differ from us in A but not B, and X remains as in those who differ in both, we may say with some

assurance that B is not relevant to the difference in X. In this manner, if we are lucky enough, we may be able to explore other possibilities. As our existing knowledge of personality formation is sufficiently full so that we do not have to admit naïvely that *anything* may be relevant, by concentrating only on the area of probable causes we may thus actually be able to link cause and effect with some degree of assurance. While it is obviously not possible in practice to isolate and then check off the relevant factors with such logical precision, this general scheme must remain the ultimate objective toward which any study in culture and personality is directed.

This being the case, it is clear that in approaching a society which is to provide the "experimental context" of our study we should seek to find the widest possible range of personality types in order to have the largest number of different cases with and between which we may make comparisons. In the Trukese or any other non-European society there are a number of culturally defined determinants of behavior which are common to all or most of the members of the society. We should also be able to find a number of aspects in which the personality of most members of the society is similar, and be able to draw tentative conclusions from our existing body of psychological theory as to the connections which exist between the cultural and personality factors, particularly where they appear to differ from our own or another culture with which we may make comparisons. If we can formulate plausible and economical hypotheses from present theory we have to some degree verified this theory, for we have shown that it appears applicable in a new context.

If, however, we can examine the effects of these cultural determinants in individual cases, and show for example that those who in their life experience have been subjected particularly strongly to a given culturally defined pressure also show particularly clearly a personality characteristic we have concluded is related to this pressure, our hypothesis has received considerably more than inferential confirmation. If we feel that another factor may be involved, we may be able to find persons whose experience with the first factor was similar but different in regard to the second, and see what effect if any this had on their personalities.

The present study, then, was planned to fulfill as far as possible within the time allotted the conditions outlined above. The sample of twenty-three subjects was selected, in a manner to be discussed in detail in a later chapter, with the objective of including both "ordinary" people and those who, in the eyes of their fellows, were at least "unusual" if not actually deviant. The analysis of the material thus derived also follows the above scheme. The life experience as it is generally defined for a Trukese is presented, followed by a description of those personality characteristics common to most Trukese, and an exploration of the causal relationships between the two. Following this, the individual cases are analysed in the attempt to relate (as far as the data will permit) their individual experiences with



their individual personalities, and to see what verification, refutation, or extension of the hypotheses made for the general case are possible from the individual records.

In turning to the question of what techniques would best elicit the sort of information we needed to explore the problem, it was at once apparent that we needed some way to define the life experiences of each of our subjects. Obviously a full biography, derived from the statements and opinions of others as well as of the subject, would be ideal and as it increased in completeness it would also increase in fruitfulness. The collection of such data, however, presents many problems. It is very time-consuming and, perhaps worse, will almost certainly create a very unhealthy relationship between the investigator and the people as he goes about every day asking questions about various people behind their backs. Even in our society, used as we are becoming to answering seemingly meaningless or impertinent questions, this approach has to be handled with tact and skill; among a people completely unsophisticated in the hazards of letting a social scientist introduce himself it could be disastrous. For the present study, then, a simple autobiography, directed by occasional questions along hopefully fruitful paths, was used as the only source of life history materials, except insofar as relevant material appeared in other contexts. Such an account, of course, contains little the teller does not wish you to know and may thus lack adequate coverage of important experiences; but on the other hand it may gain in richness by the interpolation of opinions regarding the topics under discussion, and may be quite revealing in what is emphasized and what is minimized or omitted.

While an adequate life history (and not all those here reported are adequate) should give considerable insight into the personality of the narrator, this is obviously not enough. It is most unlikely that it will give a full picture and it may be assumed it will be weighted by the narrator to give what he feels is a favorable picture of himself. Also, for our present purposes it would be questionable procedure to test data derived from a document against other data derived solely from this same document. Furthermore, this would involve the determination by a single person of both what was distinctive about the individual's personality and which were the important factors in his experience which might have influenced his development in this direction. While with care the possibilities of contamination from this source can be minimized, objectivity is more readily and surely maintained by having the two orders of data separately derived and separately analysed.

In the present case, irrespective of questions of objectivity and narrator's bias, it is clear that life histories collected with an eye on the clock, or at least the calendar, cannot be relied upon to give a sufficiently complete delineation of the personality. For this reason the description of the personality of the subject at the time of his interviews is drawn primarily from the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests (the latter using a special set of pictures prepared for the CIMA program by William E. Henry). Each of these was administered to all twenty-three subjects, although again not all the records are entirely satisfactory.

The projective tests have been interpreted by Dr. Sarason. As anyone reading the Rorschach analyses in particular can readily see, this was a labor of love, performed with painstaking care and using an approach which hews much more closely to what actual verbal and other behavior appears in the record than does the more usual manipulation of Rorschach determinants and other scoring categories. It is only Dr. Sarason's analytic procedure which gives the projective test results, taken together, sufficient validity to justify their use as a primary source of hypotheses rather than as a supplement to or check upon those derived from other sorts of data. Without the ability to use and rely on such a relatively shorthand technique in the field it is doubtful whether a satisfactory body of data could have been accumulated in the time available. At the same time it is not wise to accept as necessarily correct the conclusions drawn from tests devised for use in our society when they are applied to members of a different society and interpreted by someone who has no knowledge of the characteristics of this other society. For this reason we have devoted an appreciable amount of space to an examination of the validity of the test results in terms of the degree to which they are congruent with other data derived in the field.

It will be noted that in the above discussion no reference has been made to the concept of basic or modal personality. This concept, in its various forms, has been used essentially as a descriptive or statistical abstraction which represents for a given society a composite picture of the typical or average member of this society. In the present context its use seems unnecessary and in fact inadvisable. It of course tends to obliterate the *range* of variability which is among our primary interests. This, however, is not in itself detrimental if we then compare the individual records with the basic personality structure as defined. But it also largely obliterates, as currently used at least, the *character* of this variability—it deals only incidentally with the extent to which each aspect of personality is or is not shared by all the persons under study, and the degree to which there are significant variations with age, sex, types of life experience and the like. Nor are the characteristics of personality absolute psychological units: they may be strongly manifested in some people and exist only as a tendency to behavior which will but occasionally be elicited by certain stimuli in others. While these questions can find only partial and often inadequate answers in the data of this or probably other studies for some years to come, we should operate within a conceptual scheme which will serve to emphasize these problems as clearly as possible rather than obliterate them.

The concept of basic personality structure has also tended to create some false impressions among those not working directly in the field. Thus some psychologists have concluded that non-European peoples present a relatively static and homogeneous group from the personality standpoint, each member of the society very like his fellows and equally similar to his forefathers and none of them presenting a very interesting or fruitful subject for study. Anthropologists, on the other hand,



having often worked in societies where they encountered individuals widely divergent in personality, have been suspicious of an abstraction which appeared to ignore these differences and equally suspicious of the methods whereby this abstraction was arrived at. To them, the field of culture and personality is more or less the lunatic fringe of anthropology and best left alone.

It seems more reasonable to say that in any given society its members will share in common certain personality characteristics which will be more clearly expressed in some than others, but which we may believe bear an intimate relationship to the successful functioning of a person within that society and within the limits imposed by the culture. In other aspects of personality, however, there may be a wide divergence between individuals without at the same time compromising the adaptation of any one of them to his physical or social environment to a critical degree. The limits of variation permitted by the culture and environment will of course vary from one society to another. In circumstances which demand a high degree of conformance we would expect to find fewer areas in which individual personalities could differ successfully, and a larger proportion of maladjusted persons whose failure to conform appears in an area of behavior where non-conformance cannot be tolerated.

## TRUK: THE SETTING

TRUK lies at latitude  $7^{\circ}25'N$  and longitude  $151^{\circ}45'E$ . More meaningfully, it can be said that it lies nearest of any of the major islands to the center of Micronesia, "the little islands." Actually, in spite of its name, there is nothing distinctive geographically or geologically about Micronesia. Although its largest islands are not as large as those in some other areas of the tropical Pacific, it, like Polynesia to the east, Melanesia to the south, and Indonesia to the west, is composed of both large and small, high and low islands (See Fig. 1). In language, appearance, and culture, however, the Micronesians can immediately be distinguished from the inhabitants of these other great island areas, without at the same time denying their unquestioned interrelationship historically, linguistically, culturally and racially.

Although opinion may differ as to the sequence and the routes of the great migrations wherein people set out in canoes across the empty seas to find and settle one after another of these specks of land in the trackless ocean, there is little doubt that all of the Oceanic peoples came ultimately from southeastern Asia. As they traveled outward they carried with them the language and culture of their ancestral home, although with many variations in time and place.

Narrowing our view a little, we find that Truk occupies a position somewhat east of the middle of the great east-west chain of islands known as the Carolines. This chain is anchored on the west by the high volcanic islands of Yap and the Palau—although actually these islands form part of a separate range of great undersea mountains which stretches north and east to appear above the surface again as the Marianas, and are separated from the rest of the Carolines by a deep trench in the bottom of the sea. The Caroline chain terminates at its eastern end with the high islands of Ponape and Kusaie. The only high islands in between these extremes are those in the Truk Atoll, a matter of considerable importance as we shall see.

The terms "high" and "low" islands refer to more than a matter of mere elevation. "Low" islands as they appear above the surface of the sea are composed entirely of coral and coral sand, while "high" islands show the volcanic rocks and soil which are, indeed, also at the base and core of the low islands but are deeply submerged and capped with coral. Truk is a unique way-point in this process, and a living proof of the theory first propounded by Charles Darwin of the formation of the coral island or atoll, the latter term referring to the roughly circular reef with scattered islets on its perimeter which is the most common form of "low"

island, and which has enclosed within it the sheltered lagoon so central to South Sea life.

Darwin surmised, in brief, that these atolls owed their origin to upheavals from the bottom of the sea, the results of volcanic activity, and usually comprising actual outpourings of volcanic rock. With the sea boiling about them, these nascent islands cooled quite rapidly (geologically speaking), resulting in the formation from molten rock of only fine-grained basalts and the like. Once they had cooled, their shores provided a haven for the coral polyps which are ubiquitous in these tropical seas. These are little marine animals which in their lifetimes build around them a limestone house, deriving the lime from the sea, and when they die leave their home as a permanent memorial. As they grow by the billions, each building upon the tombs of his ancestors, they erect great masses of limestone which form a shelf about the new-born island. While they cannot live out of the sea, they cannot live deep within it either, for they must have the oxygen trapped in the bubbles of the foaming seas. This shelf, therefore, is flat-topped, its level lying only a few inches above that of low tide.

Meanwhile, what the ocean bottom has erected it proceeds to take back. The strains created by the weight of this great mass of rocks are gradually relieved, and the mountains sink. This process is slow, slow enough that the coral polyps, constantly growing, building and dying in infinite numbers, can usually keep up with it, keeping intact the ring of limestone they built upon the shores of the island. But as the island sinks and is eroded away by the tropical rains, less and less of it appears above the sea and it shrinks away from the coral reef which once buttressed its shores. Meanwhile, the space between tends to be filled with the products of erosion of the central island; the coral itself, battered by the waves, breaks off at times, the pieces either being thrown over the reef to fill the gap or resting on top of the reef to be built gradually into a little sandy island of its own. Finally, then, the original great island has disappeared entirely, but the polyps, ever building, have been able to retain their original home on the reef, although its base is now hundreds or thousands of feet below the sea. The original outline of the big island remains reproduced more or less accurately on the surface of the sea, with occasional islands topping the reef where the vagaries of sea and current have piled the rocky debris upon the reef; a shallow lagoon, filled with broken rock and sand thrown over the reef by waves, is enclosed within it. Nor is this a straight shaft rising from the bottom of the ocean: its sides slope outward, the product of coral which has been broken off but, neither landing on the reef nor being washed inside, has fallen down the slope. A moment's reflection reveals the incredible number of minute polyps which must have lived and died to create but a tiny atoll; the bulk of coral and coral sand which comprises the undersea base of even a small island or atoll must be reckoned in cubic miles.

The other islands of Micronesia are either near the beginning of this cycle

or have completed it. The high islands are with few exceptions massive bastions of rock rising from the sea, with their coral reefs lying within a short distance of the shore, or actually at the shore. The remaining islands are but coral atolls, the actual islands being mere sandpits covered with vegetation, and rising only a few feet above the sea. In the case of Truk, however, the highest peaks of the original island still project above the sea, the highest one to some 1400 feet above sea-level. But the peaks are separated by stretches of several miles of water beneath which have disappeared the broad valleys of this once massive island (See Fig. 2). The largest of these remaining islands, Tol, is a scant five miles across and consists of a succession of peninsulas separated by inlets which were once the mountain valleys of this great peak. There are six of these major peaks, which we now see as islands, with about as many more smaller ones, and a scattering of tiny ones which are little more than exposed rocks with vegetation upon them and half smothered in coral.

The reef which fringed the shoreline of the original island still remains, however, and is now appropriately called the barrier reef. It is in places almost forty miles across, from one side of the lagoon to the other, and from many of the inner islands not even the coral islets upon it which bear trees can be seen unless one climbs to the higher peaks. This reef is truly a barrier, for upon it crash the long Pacific ground swells, and, more important, it bears the brunt of the greater waves which occasional typhoons may produce, which have at times completely inundated low islands, sweeping away many people and all their homes and livelihood. But this does not leave a millpond within. Through the deep gaps or "passes" in the reef, and to a lesser extent over it, the currents of the outer ocean sweep; as they flow and eddy around the islands within they combine with the fairly stiff breezes of the trade winds or of local storms to produce a sea which from the vantage point of a ship would be considered only choppy, but for a small boat is often distinctly treacherous. As anyone who has sailed on a large lake can testify, the waves on an enclosed body of water not only rise almost immediately with an increase in wind velocity but are short and steep, catching a small boat between them and slapping it around rather than letting it ride up and over them with comparative ease. The navigators of the sailing canoes from the outer islands think little of setting sail across hundreds of miles of open water to travel to Truk or another island as small as their own, but when they enter the lagoon of Truk they go to "general quarters" with every man at his post until their boat is securely moored in a protected inlet. This sheltered sea, then, can also be threatening.

The waves within the lagoon also break and foam upon the shores of the islands within it and in consequence support a rich growth of coral. In addition to the barrier reef each island has its own fringing reef which, except for narrow passes, completely surrounds it and generally lies very close to the shore. Some reefs, ranging farther from the island shores or even separate from them, testify to

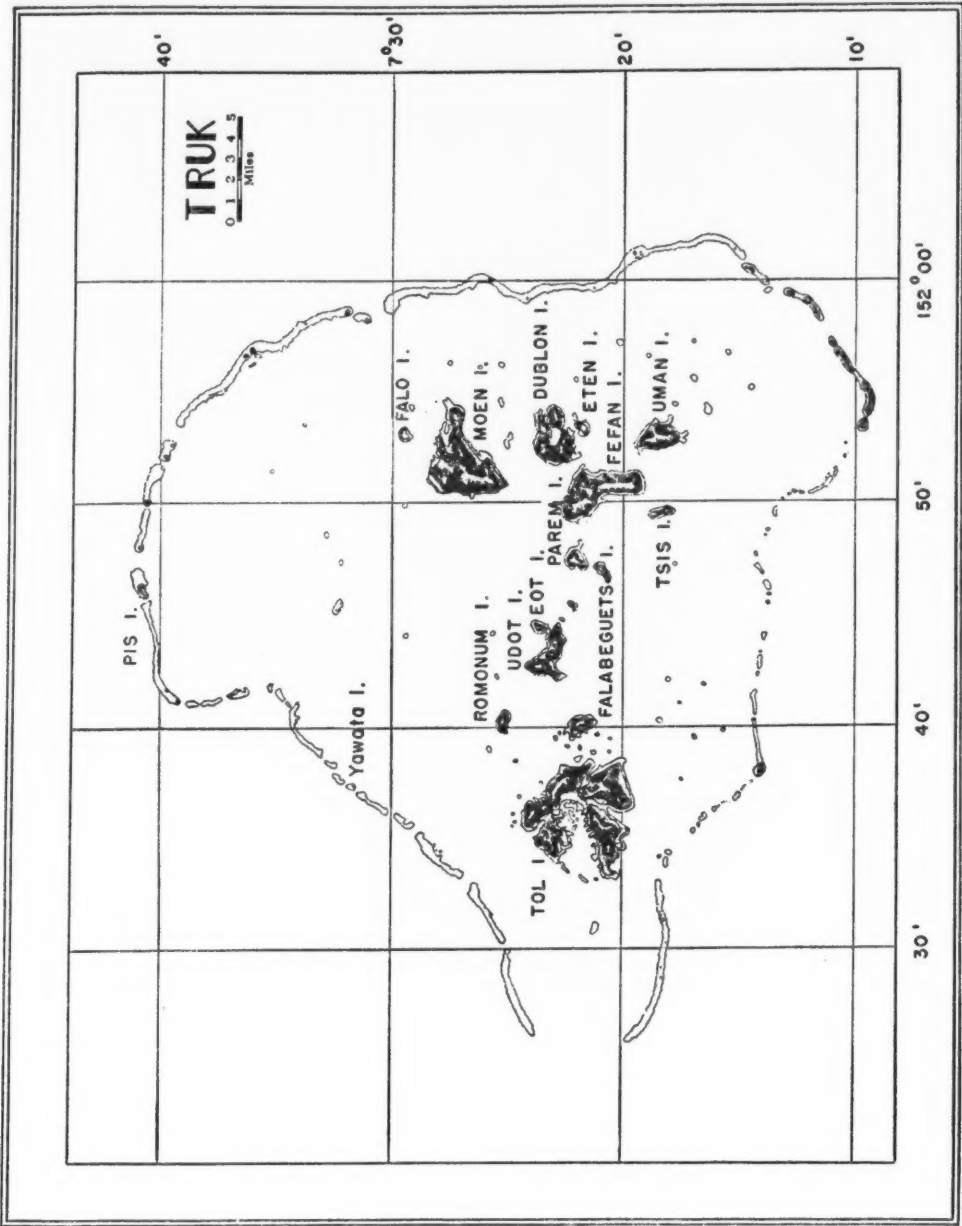


FIG. 2. TRUK



lower peaks of the old island probably but recently submerged, for without the ground swell to churn the deeper waters coral will not grow as fast and could probably not keep up with the sinking land if it had also to buttress its base at the sides. However, some of these reefs have had enough coral to spare to have had sandy islands built upon them, usually with a sink hole in the middle marking the point at which the former peak sank from sight. The lagoon reefs provide rich fishing grounds and, while few of the coral islands have any permanent inhabitants, they are planted to coconuts, breadfruit, pandanus, and taro, and thus supplement the resources of the high islands as do the many islands on the barrier reef, only one of which is permanently settled.

All the high islands within the lagoon are inhabited, the population ranging from a few families on the smallest to several thousand on the largest. With few exceptions the villages now (although not formerly, as we shall see) are ranged upon the shore facing the sea from which the people derive virtually all their protein food and which is the only avenue of transportation away from the local community. Even trips to other parts of the same island, if it is large, are often more easily made by canoe.

The transition from sea to land is not abrupt. It begins with the fringing reef to which one can walk in water seldom above the waist to fish or gather other seafood. Then comes the beach with little more than ripples of water lapping upon it within the fringing reef except in times of storm, and inland from this the foreshore of sand ranging in width from a few feet to several hundred yards. Thus the gap between the still sinking island and the fringing reef from which it slowly shrinks has been filled by sand washing in off the reef and to a lesser degree by the products of erosion of the rocky island mass. Often this filling has not been completed and swamps remain in which are planted taro for food and mangrove for firewood. Mangrove also grows upon the shore and there serves to anchor the sand which flows with the waves and currents and keeps filled the gap between island and fringing reef, often to the extent that the edge of the land actually rests upon this reef and covers it.

The building of the villages upon the sandy shore seems almost symbolic of the dichotomy in the lives of the people, their dual orientation to land and sea. The language shows this dichotomy too. All locations and to a large extent directions are either inland, "the place of the animals" or seaward, "the place of seawater." Between lies the shore, "the place of sand." As protein food comes from the sea, so starch foods come from the land, and for each class of food there is a different word; if either is eaten alone it is not satisfying and sticks in the throat. One's drink also comes from the land, be it coconuts or water; even fresh water is referred to by an entirely different word from sea water, so that they are conceived of as different substances.

The rich but rocky interior of most of the islands has little level land and

even this is interrupted by frequent escarpments and rocky out-crops. The red soil is but thinly distributed upon the rocks beneath and often tends to be clayey, but the trees put out shallow and far-reaching roots in adaptation to this and with the abundant rainfall and sunlight most crops grow readily. As most ground is cleared by burning (in spite of administrative pressure) much is lost from the soil, and few plots will produce more than two crops in succession. However, there is plenty of land for the needs of the present population, so this is no cause for immediate concern. And the most important ingredient lost from the soil is calcium which is of course abundant in the coral limestone (calcium carbonate), so the scattering of some coral chips or even sand will soon rebuild the strength of the soil if needed, although few Trukese do this now or are even aware of the possibility or need thereof.

Most of the land, particularly on the larger islands, is free of cultivation at any one time, although the shifting of garden plots and the recent intensive cultivation by the blockaded Japanese during the war have resulted in almost all areas except the highest peaks having been cleared at one time or another. Rank second growth now covers the ground everywhere, except where it has been recently cleared, and travel is confined almost entirely to paths; little natural forest remains.

Over land and sea alike is the air, whose most crucial characteristic to the Trukese is the wind, for its warmth and rain are nearly always adequate. The average temperature of 85° varies only very slightly seasonally, and not much more diurnally; temperatures above 90° or near 70° are exceptional. Further, the afternoon increase in temperature is usually accompanied by a compensating decrease in humidity. The average humidity of 83 per cent also varies but little throughout the year. Rainfall drops off but seldom ceases altogether during the winter months, but with an average annual total of 127 inches it is obvious that the lowering of water supplies can never become more than a minor nuisance, lowering the rain barrels and reducing the flow of the springs but never leaving the people without water or killing crops or trees.

The wind, however, is both more variable and more direct in its effect. On land it keeps one cool and discourages the mosquitos or, in its violence, can strip the breadfruit from the trees and damage or destroy crops, houses, and trees. At sea its propulsive power is essential for all but the shortest journeys, but it can also becalm the boat or destroy it. The Trukese are thus very aware of and sensitive to the wind and its vagaries, and interisland relationships are to a large degree structured by the direction of the northeast trades. Within the lagoon the islands belong to eastern and western groups, travel within these groups being possible in most cases on one or at most two tacks; but to go from one group to the other one must tack upwind interminably on one leg of the journey. Between the low outer islands, where distances are much greater, this factor is of even greater importance, travel and intercourse between islands being far more a function of direction than distance and limited almost entirely by the seasonal shifts in wind direction.

Truk and its surrounding islands are sufficiently close to the equator to be affected by the seasonal shift in the intertropical front or doldrum belt, although they are far enough east to be beyond the normal reach of the monsoons. Consequently, during the winter months from about September to May, the trade winds blow steadily and quite strongly from the northeast. This wind is predictable and reliable; while it may be strong, it is seldom disastrously so. During the summer, however, as the intertropical front moves northward, the edge of the southeast trades touches the area, alternating with the true doldrums whose rising air leaves the sea with a flat calm and occasionally producing true typhoons. Typhoons very rarely strike Truk proper, but are almost an annual occurrence in one part or another of the great semicircle of low islands which lie to the north and west of Truk. The constancy of the northeast trades and their resultant structuring of inter-island relations makes them the most dominant aspect of the weather in Trukese thought; even when they are not blowing, the trades affect one's orientation. Although there are terms for the points of the compass, if one is walking or otherwise travelling in even an approximately northeasterly direction, this is referred to as going "up(wind)," and similarly southwesterly travel is "down," irrespective of the direction or place; this can be very confusing when visiting another island for the first time, particularly out of the tradewind season. Even the Trukese become confused when they go, for instance, on administrative field trips to the outer islands.

#### "PARADISE"

As we have already noted, it has become increasingly popular to include the islands of Micronesia in those areas of the Pacific which are referred to as "paradise," and even more for Micronesia than for some other islands this term is hardly a misnomer. Disregarding the impressions of foreign visitors, it is clear that the factors we have just discussed combine to provide conditions which closely approximate the ideal for human beings who are adapted to them culturally, physically, and psychologically. The cultural adaptation of the Trukese will be discussed in the next chapter, and the remainder of the book will be devoted more or less to the psychological attributes of the men who occupy this paradise; here we may amply verify the point merely by reviewing man's needs and how readily they may be fulfilled upon the islands of Truk.

Hunger should never go unassuaged, although it occasionally does. Breadfruit grows unattended, requiring only the planting of new trees on rare occasions; the same may be said of coconuts. The various varieties of taro require little more than planting, and swamp taro may be left for years, its tuber ever growing and improving in quality, thus providing an automatic food storage system. The imported sweet potatoes and manioc require more active gardening, but can always be in adequate supply with a little effort and foresight. There are fish in the reef almost literally at one's front door, and a trip to other reefs within the lagoon or to



the barrier reef will ensure a larger haul. As we shall see, getting food and particularly preparing it can involve a good deal of hard work, but the essential point here is that with an expenditure of work alone, an adequate supply of food can always be assured.

Similarly thirst is never a problem. Water is seldom drunk from springs or wells, as these are reserved for bathing and washing, but water is usually as near as the water barrel under the eaves, and failing this a coconut tree to which one has access is seldom more than a few yards away.

Disease can never be avoided but with the exception of tuberculosis, which is apparently recent in the area and takes a serious toll, there are no diseases which could be called menacing. Smallpox was quite a killer between its introduction in the last century and the beginning of vaccination under the Japanese, but is now virtually unknown. The anopheles mosquito is not present, so there is no malaria; amebic dysentery exists, but probably because water is not drunk from the springs is never epidemic. Even syphilis is interdicted by the closely related skin disease yaws, although it is interesting and disturbing to speculate upon the possible consequences of the eradication of yaws (through the use of penicillin by the American administration) upon the resistance to syphilis of the rising generations.

Neither heat nor cold creates any difficulties. When working in the sun or sitting in an open boat on a calm day one can become uncomfortably hot, and fishing on a windy night can be very chilling. The Trukese complain of being chilled often even in the night breeze. But all of these conditions are very transitory and occasional, and never create more than minor discomfort. The cotton clothing worn now, as well as its aboriginal counterparts, serves the cause of modesty, not physiology, and fires are built for cooking and light, not warmth.

The climate even favors the answering of the sexual urge, for the only hazard to a tryst in the bush is a passing rain squall. In addition, the dense foliage makes one invisible simply by stepping off the path.

And finally, the ebb and flow of tides and the constant flow and eddy of currents converts the over-water privies (*benjos*) or even the beach into a self-flushing toilet.

Thus all the bodily needs really can be fulfilled with absolute assurance (ignoring interpersonal factors) simply by the expenditure of work and, except for hunger, none requires more than a minimum of effort. This is, of course, an oversimplification, for there are other needs than these, many of them as pressing and requiring as much if not more work. Modesty, for instance, once the concept is acquired, can be quite as imperative as hunger, and clothes cannot be made, or bought, without work. But the fact remains that the natural environment of Truk is remarkable in the degree to which man can find in it fulfillment of his needs with a minimum outlay of effort and hazard. This will be an important point to remember in the discussion of personality which appears later, for here is a case in

which it is clear that any anxieties which the Trukese may feel acutely are, in the last analysis, of their own making.

### THE OUTER ISLANDS

What we have said about Truk is also important when viewed from the standpoint of the outer low islands which lie within easy sailing distance of Truk. While the people of these islands have much in common with the Trukese as people and in terms of their environment, in certain significant ways the low islands do not provide as richly for their inhabitants, and this has made of Truk a Mecca for the islands about it.

Culturally and linguistically, these outer islands may be divided into three groups (See Fig. 3). Roughly 130 miles west of Truk and extending in a line from north to south are Pulap (which also includes the small island of Tamatam), Puluwat and Pulusuk. Although the people of these islands are primarily oriented toward Truk, they form the eastern fringe of an immense culture and linguistic area which includes all the remaining low islands of the western Caroline Islands, which of course omits the high islands of the Palaus and Yap. While there are minor differences throughout the area, it would be safe to say that the people of the western islands, although within the Trukese orbit, would resemble in culture, language, and even physique the people of any island farther to the west of them more closely than they do the Trukese today. Partly this is due to conservatism, for they have been far less susceptible to change in the face of foreign contact than the Trukese. But the reason probably goes deeper than this, for in areas *not* affected by acculturation (particularly language) the tie to the West remains very clear. And yet the similarities with Trukese language and culture remain very close, so that we are forced to conclude that they all entered the area as one people, with a common culture and language, and that the differences are of local origin. Furthermore, since the islands of the Western Carolines extend over such a vast area, and yet show such comparatively little difference between islands, it appears that it is the Trukese, rather than the Westerners, who have done most of the changing, in the past as they are doing in the present.

To the north of these islands is the atoll of Namonuito, almost as large in extent as Truk but having upon its reef only five small habitable islands. East of Namonuito are the two atolls comprising the Hall Islands, many of whose islands are small, and four of them inhabited.

The third group is widely separated from the other two geographically, extending in a long line south and somewhat east of Truk for about 150 miles. There are eleven inhabited islands in this group, scattered over six atolls (one of which is really not an atoll but just a single island with a fringing reef and no lagoon). All except those nearest Truk are known as the Mortlock or Nomoi Islands, but for our purposes they may be considered to be but one group which we may refer to simply as the southern islands.

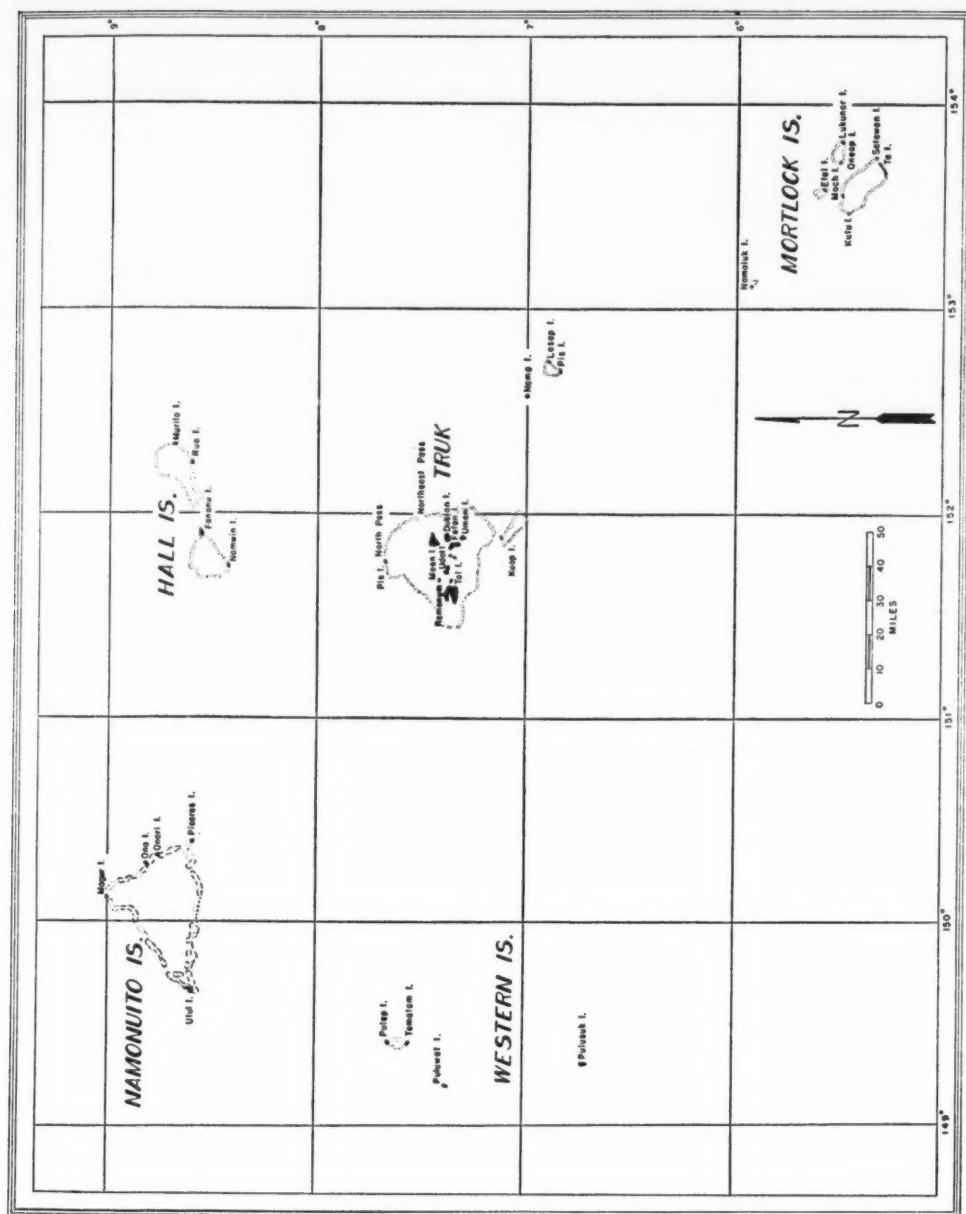


FIG. 3. THE OUTER ISLANDS

The northern and southern groups of islands, separated geographically by Truk, have certain things in common. In both language and culture, they fall in a position which may be considered to be intermediate between Truk and the conservative western islands. In a number of respects they have more in common culturally and linguistically with each other than they do with either Truk or the western islands. Further, the sibs on these islands in most cases trace their origin directly or via another island back to Truk, many of them back to a single village on Moen Island in Truk, Mechitiw. Their traditional history states that the islands were peopled from Truk, whereas both the Trukese and the westerners strain our credulity by maintaining that theirs were originally populated by a single woman who came over from Kusaie, some 700 miles to the east, variously in a small canoe or paddling on a frond of the ivory-nut palm. Her progeny then multiplied to form the present population. Lastly, we may note that with Truk the northern and southern islands lie stretched out on a roughly northwest-southeast axis which is at right angles to the path of the northeast trades, which as we have seen blow with great reliability for at least half the year. It is therefore possible to sail between many of these islands and between any of them and Truk with a minimum of tacking about; often one can sail a direct course right to the destination.

The intermediate status of the language and culture of the northern and southern islands can most simply be explained by assuming that they have been more influenced than the westerners by the rapid evolution of Truk, an influence made possible by the more ready communication provided by the ease of sailing with the wind on the beam. The traditional history of the islands and the sibs on them, however, is quite detailed and explicit and strongly suggests that there have been fairly recent mass emigrations from Truk, although this does not permit us to assume that there were not some earlier settlers already there. If these more recent emigrations actually took place, it is interesting to note that when the emigrants settled on the outer islands, away from the flux of Truk, they no longer kept up with the rapid rate of change which continued on the high islands. Their identification of Mechitiw as their point of origin allows the further speculation that this village which, with its neighbor Iras, has always been aligned against the rest of Moen, may have suffered a major defeat in war, and its inhabitants, largely despoiled of their lands, were forced to sally forth in search of a new home.

The prolific lady from Kusaie need not detain us long as such remote and improbable mythology is notoriously unreliable when treated as historical fact. And yet, if we put her into a rather larger canoe or a group of them with some men and food supplies, the story is not quite so improbable, for these people had to come from somewhere. As we have seen, the language and culture area of which Truk is a part stretches westward almost to Indonesia, and hence toward the presumed southeast Asiatic homeland of the Oceanic peoples. But an examination of the languages in that area of Indonesia reveals none which is in any way closely related

to the Micronesian, and particularly Trukese, languages. Casting about for some people who speak a more closely related language on the peripheries of Micronesia, the closest we can find are in the Banks Islands, of the northern Hebrides in eastern Melanesia, whose ultimate ancestors presumably worked out eastward through New Guinea and the Solomons. The Banks Islands are a long way from Truk, or even Kusaie; but a daring soul sailing from the Banks Islands with the southeast trades on the beam should reach the Gilbert Islands in eastern Micronesia without too much difficulty, travelling direct or via the closer Ellice Islands. Having then crossed the equator and come into the zone of the northeast trades, a journey to the northwest, probably via the southern Marshall Islands, could bring one to the nearest of the Caroline Islands, Kusaie. The trip from Kusaie to Ponape to Truk is known to have been made on occasion, although no one has yet claimed even his grandfather did it on a palm frond. To state on such very scanty evidence that this was the route of migration followed by the first settlers of Truk would of course be ridiculous but it does at least furnish one suggestion as to the direction in which one might look in searching for clues.

Returning to the islands adjacent to Truk, it is clear that the northern and southern islanders, lying close to Truk and in a direction which facilitates sailing, would take advantage of their close ties of tradition and relationship to maintain fairly constant contact with the high islands, and they in fact do. But none of these favorable conditions obtain for the people of Puluwat and their fellow westerners; they cannot trace relationship with the Trukese homeland in the direct fashion of the other islanders, and they are faced with an upwind voyage of 130 miles or more or else await the southeast trades and take their chances of being becalmed or caught in a typhoon. They generally prefer the latter, but not without hazard: during the four years in which I stayed on Truk, three canoes with a total of over twenty people aboard were lost without trace on the journey to or from Truk, and an equal number were saved in a manner which at times bordered on the miraculous. The needs which Truk fulfills, then, are major.

In normal times these needs are satisfied by trade. The volcanic soils of the high islands will grow some plants which cannot be grown, or at best poorly, upon the sandy soil of the coral islands. Foremost among these are tobacco and turmeric. The former will grow weakly on some low islands. The latter must have richer soil and, with the availability of imported cigarettes, remains as the principal incentive for the western islanders to come to Truk. This again is significant in pointing up the contrast between the conservative westerners and the mutable Trukese, for turmeric's uses are primarily magical, in both therapy and prophylaxis, and somewhat esthetic. It is grown with great care, both horticultural and ritual, purified endlessly, and formed into little cakes of dried and compressed powder. These are then mixed with coconut oil and rubbed on the body, clothing, etc., to improve one's health or charm as appropriate. It serves, then, no primary biological



need. Although the early sources make it clear that turmeric was a vital part of the Trukese culture fifty years ago, today it has disappeared and is never seen being used by a Trukese, although all the older people remember its use. But the people of Puluwat not only still use it, but will make their hazardous trips to Truk primarily to obtain it; this is made the more difficult by the fact that tumeric is now but rarely grown by the Trukese, so they cannot trade it for other things but have to remain in ritual continence at the house of an artificially derived kinsman for months while they grow, harvest, and prepare it.

The peoples to the north and south of Truk use turmeric rarely or not at all; their routine visits to Truk are more for the purpose of visits to relatives, of whom they of course have many. The westerners, on the other hand, make their visiting trips to the islands yet west of them, within their own linguistic and culture area, trips to Truk being more "business" trips, although they of course enjoy the renewing of old acquaintances.

But the real value of these constantly maintained relationships with Truk is realized in time of want, which is usually the result of a disastrous typhoon. Even a small typhoon can strip the breadfruit from the trees and flood the taro swamps with seawater, practically obliterating the food supplies for months, while a major typhoon, squarely felt, can very nearly sweep a low coral island clean. It is then that the relationships so carefully nurtured with the Trukese are called upon, with requests for food met by boatload after boatload of preserved breadfruit (which can be stored), and even a request for a home being fulfilled, the outer islander boarding with his Trukese relatives for months, years, or even permanently. Not infrequently he will be given provisional rights to a plot of land which he will cultivate for his own benefit and the benefit of his fellow islanders when they in turn come in to Truk. Thus the bonds become ever more ramified.

Population pressure, too, exists on some of the smaller islands where there is no room to expand. On Nama, for example, a tiny island forty miles from Truk to the southeast, the population density is close to 2,000 per square mile; its people are constantly migrating in to Truk in one's and two's and whole families, where they attach themselves to some kinsman and gradually carve themselves a permanent niche in the community.

We have dwelt upon these outer islands at some length, although they shall not hereafter concern us, because they reveal two important things about the Trukese. First, we have seen the great flexibility and mutability of the Trukese as compared to these outer islanders with whom they share a common origin, a mutability which goes back in time even beyond the point at which we can say foreign contacts were exerting some real pressure or inducement for change, and which we shall see produced some really remarkable results when the pace of change became rapid. And second, the relationships demonstrate that although Truk is largely self-sufficient, and certainly was in the past, its world-view does not end

with the barrier reef. The outer world shades off imperceptibly through islands whose inhabitants are known, to other islands which at least these outer islanders know. There were formerly voyages between Truk and Yap, Ponape, Kusaie, and even Guam and Saipan. The stranger is therefore no novelty to the Trukese; he can be appraised and taken for what he seems to be worth. But it is a realistic appraisal by Trukese standards. Living at the center of this vast community, the Trukese have become very provincial. They no longer have the old skills of navigation, for the world comes to them; they look upon the people of Puluwat, and of the other outer islands, more or less as country cousins whose speech is odd, although at the next moment the Trukese reveal their awe and anxiety in the presence of the esoteric lore and power they have left behind them but do not entirely disbelieve.

### HISTORY

As we turn to the recorded history of Truk, we shall see that some very striking changes have taken place. They are all more or less explicable, but the fact which it is of the utmost importance to recognize, and which makes this history of culture change practically unique, is that in spite of these overwhelming changes which have taken place, the Trukese life and culture remains today immensely vital and well integrated. It is a different life and culture than it was a hundred, fifty, or even ten years ago, but it nonetheless provides for the Trukese a sense of security, physical and psychological, to which he can turn and in which he will not be disappointed. A study of this acculturation process as it has occurred would present as fascinating and challenging a study as could be found within the field of anthropology. And in part at least its explanation must lie rooted in the historical fact that for centuries at least the Trukese have become used to the come and go of new people with new ideas which, because they were not threatening, could be evaluated and accepted or rejected as seemed appropriate. The flexibility so acquired has stood them in good stead in these fifty years of changing administrations, changing policies, and changing economies.

### EARLY CONTACTS

The recorded history of Truk begins with its discovery by a Spaniard, Alonso de Arellano, in 1565. However, we have been told nothing of the conditions which obtained at that time, and it is doubtful that the contact had any appreciable effect on the Trukese. It was not until two hundred and fifty years later in the early nineteenth century that ships of various nationalities began to enter the lagoon in sufficient numbers to be of consequence. They were mostly explorers and, aside from the introduction of a few plants of no great later importance and perhaps the first metal tools, they too had little effect, merely joining the long parade of visitors who had preceded them; the remoteness of their homelands would not seem particularly remarkable to the Trukese. One of the last of them, however,

Dumont d'Urville, a Frenchman, explored the islands rather thoroughly and in the process precipitated one of those episodes which are so tragically familiar in the early history of practically every Pacific island. A misunderstanding developed, the natives were fired upon, and d'Urville escaped with his two small ships. This was an episode the Trukese were not disposed to forget. An Englishman, Andrew Cheyne, who came with two ships six years later, was attacked by an overwhelming force and retired with several casualties. He made it widely known that the Trukese were dangerous and treacherous.

This was a reputation the Trukese did little to belie during the years which followed, years during which their fellow Micronesians suffered extensively at the hands of the numerous whalers who swarmed through the area and sought from the islanders water, provisions, and women. It is not clear how many of these vessels dared to enter Truk, and how they were received; however, we are safe in saying that contacts with these whalers were far fewer than those which created such havoc on Ponape and particularly Kusaie. And the whaling boom was short-lived; by 1860 it had virtually ceased.

#### TRADERS

In the years which followed, Spanish rule was instituted and withdrawn (1886-1899) without attracting more than passing attention from the Trukese. The nearest administrative center was on Ponape, and the Spaniards were apparently quite satisfied to leave the bloodthirsty reputation of Truk unchallenged. Traders of various nationalities did, however, enter the lagoon, and over a period of years quite a number of these elected to remain, taking native wives and living out their years on Truk. The descendents of some of these traders remain today and are often active in the economic sphere. Their contributions were primarily in the area of tools and within a few years they apparently produced a complete replacement of the old bone and shell tools with iron and steel counterparts. Copra (the dried meat of ripe coconuts) was the commodity for which they traded. The traders made no effort to enter into or change the political or social relations of the Trukese, and in fact lived a rather precarious life among a people more or less constantly at war. Intermittent wars between and within the peoples of various islands characterized the Trukese society as far back as we know it, and along with these organized battles of conquest and revenge there were sporadic fights between individuals and lineages over more personal matters. All in all, it was a life of not inconsiderable violence alternating with periods of rather uneasy peace. Some of the traders lost their lives as a result of these melees, but they nevertheless greatly increased the intensity and violence of the encounters by the introduction of guns. As must always be the case, the new weapon once introduced was eagerly sought by all to even out the competitive advantage of the innovators, and hundreds of guns were soon brought in to Truk. On the small island of Romonum, less than a mile long, which shall shortly become the focus of our discussion of Truk, warfare raged intermittently between



the people of the two ends of this one island. On the western end lived an American trader, while a Japanese trader occupied the eastern end, and each supplied the respective partisans with guns. The slaughter was considerable. And in the meanwhile, the people of Romonum also fought wars with villages on the neighboring islands of Udot and Tol. Nor was this exceptional, for the process was being repeated on virtually all the islands of Truk. The situation was clearly out of hand, but with the warfare (and political structure) so segmented and lacking any higher authority, nothing could be done to stop it.

#### LAW AND ORDER: GERMAN RULE

Meanwhile the Spanish, deprived of Guam by the Spanish-American War, were anxious to divest themselves of their remaining troublesome Pacific possessions, and in 1899 sold the northern Marianas and Carolines to the German government. The Germans first established themselves at the former Spanish base on Ponape, and after consolidating their position there sent an expedition to Truk in 1903. Upon entering this strife-torn area, one of their first orders probably set a new record in administrative naïveté: they simply told the Trukese to turn in their guns and to cease making war. However, this was apparently all that was required of a people who had created for themselves an intolerable condition which they did not know how to stop. They turned in their guns, 436 of them at one time, and ceased to make war. A few of the more powerful leaders attempted to keep the wars going, but they were called in and sent to prison in Ponape where their ardor cooled.

This episode, which is still remembered by the older men on Truk, coupled with the essentially just German rule which followed, set a pattern for the acceptance of administrative action which remains to this day. The Trukese feel that the ultimate responsibility for law and order rests with the foreign administration. If a man is to be brought in, even to stand trial for a major crime, he is simply sent for, and he comes. If he is in jail and is permitted to go and see a sick relative, he will return of his own accord at the end of the appointed time. This attitude made quite simple the further elimination of fighting as the normal mode of settling disputes. The first expedition to Truk established administrative districts with chiefs over them answerable to the administration which was in this early period vested in, or combined with, the trading functions of the government-owned Jaluit Company. The people were told that fighting was also to cease and that in the future disputes were to be brought before the district chiefs, with appeal to the German administrators. This also was accepted. This will be further discussed in relation to adultery (for this was largely the cause of inter-lineage fighting), as it appears that the "calaboose" has come to provide a neat functional substitute for fighting as a means to settle both honor and doubt.

The Trukese, then, apparently sensing their failure in this area, delegated from the very outset to the administration the responsibility for law and order. This of

course made much more easy their adjustment to further changes, for instead of having two systems in conflict they simply replaced one system in its entirety with another, a mode of action and adaptation which is not uncommon for the Trukese. The replacement of shell tools with metal tools does not strike us as very unusual, but the wholehearted acceptance of administrative sanctions in place of aboriginal sanctions is almost unique. It was partly made possible by the German policy of working through what they at least thought was the existing power structure of the society, and more particularly of accepting local customs and prerogatives as the law except in such grave matters as homicide. When the Japanese and later the Americans attempted to change this customary base of the law, matters became more complicated.

#### COPRA

The Germans were of course interested primarily in keeping the peace so that their trading could progress. Their advent marked the beginning of real planting for copra production on Truk, a change which had begun much earlier on the outer islands to the north and south of Truk where conditions were more peaceable. The increase in income derived from copra production permitted the purchase of greater numbers of trade goods of all sorts, including tools and tobacco, and lumber and corrugated iron for foreign-type houses. This last was convenient, aside from the advantages inherent in living in such a house, for with the conversion of coconuts to a cash crop it became expensive to sacrifice a young coconut for drinking purposes when it could be left to mature for copra. The metal roofs made possible the ubiquitous rain barrel which provided an even easier source of drinking water. But the most important effect of the introduction of large-scale copra production upon the Trukese way of life was the marked increase in the amount of work everyone had to do, to which was added cleaning up of the houses and the island to conform to sanitary regulations, and other forms of work. Formerly a man had only to prepare food once or twice a week and could spend the rest of his time learning the arts of war or magic, carry on intrigues with his current love, take a trip, or simply loaf. Now, however, although they were far from working themselves to exhaustion, the Trukese entered every day with a sense of tasks to be performed, a new experience and one to which they are not yet completely accustomed. Some relief was found in the concept of Sunday as a day of rest, introduced by the missionaries who by now had been active for some time on Truk. The Trukese embrace Sunday with passion and can be stirred to more than the most routine tasks on that day only by a real crisis. With this they of course had to learn the concept of reckoning time by the week, and the names of the days of the week reflect this emphasis on Sunday: Tuesday through Friday are "Second," "Third," etc., days, but Saturday is "Preparation" (referring to the cooking of food), Sunday is "Church day" and Monday "The day after church"—a wistful note, for work begins on Monday,

but not without regrets.<sup>1</sup> The release of Sunday again permitted the Trukese to enter upon another change, the work economy, without the building up of disastrous pressures, and shows their ability to integrate the missionary's day of rest with the administration's policy of work to provide a satisfactory compromise which strengthened both.

#### ECONOMIC CHANGE: THE JAPANESE

As soon as the first World War began to preoccupy the Germans in Europe, the Japanese came out and annexed the islands, a move which was finally made "legal" in 1922. Prior to this, in 1918, the naval government was replaced by a civilian administration and the intensive economic development which had provided the initial motive for the annexation was begun. For, while Germany had looked upon the resources of these islands as a source of revenue, for Japan they were a natural and urgently needed supplement to her home economy. While Germany had been satisfied to permit a gradual and self-contained expansion of their economic activities, Japan began pouring in capital for major developments long before any military uses for the islands were contemplated. These developments included large fishing fleets, with refrigeration and drying plants for the fish, the planting of trochus beds (trochus being the shellfish most commonly used for making buttons), the cultivation of manioc (tapioca) which had previously been introduced but was only a minor subsistence item, and numerous other less successful ventures, such as the introduction of pearl oysters and sponges.

The impact of these economic changes upon the Trukese was great. Just as under the Germans law and order were made the province of the administration, a step which can be reversed (without chaos) only by a long and intelligently directed course of evolution, so under the Japanese the step to a money economy and dependence upon some categories of imported goods was carried far enough beyond the German beginnings so that it too has become irreversible. While the Trukese were not indoctrinated in the more skilled techniques, such as deep-sea fishing and boat-building, there were many jobs available at manual labor, an ever-increasing flow of trade goods upon which to spend the earnings thereof, and head taxes to assure that those who did not work cut copra. The Trukese began to travel more and more on Japanese boats (many of which they have now taken over and operate), to use a wider variety of Japanese tools, to eat (although not depend upon) rice and canned fish, and to wear clothes exclusively of foreign material.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Floyd Lounsbury for the observation that this scheme of naming the days of the week is found identically in a number of North American Indian languages. Thus, although it conforms with singular appropriateness to the Trukese attitudes, we must regard it as a pattern widely spread, presumably by Protestant missionaries, as the Catholics everywhere identify Tuesday as the "third" day in teaching and translating the days of the week into the native languages.

## MISSIONARIES

Meanwhile the Christian missionaries hit their stride. Although the first (Protestant) missionaries came to Truk in 1885, it was not until well along in the German period that they arrived in any numbers, although there had been intense missionary activity in the Mortlocks for some years before this. Under the Japanese the Catholics were represented by the Spanish Jesuits, and the Protestants by German Lutherans and Japanese Congregationalists. Acceptance of Christianity was widespread and is by now practically complete. A major factor in the ready acceptance of the new religion was the belief that a good practising Christian should have little to fear from the ghosts which are such a source of anxiety to the Trukese. Unfortunately this did not prove to be entirely true, for the fear of ghosts and to a lesser degree of sorcery remains a very active force.

## NATIVE MAGICIANS

The general atmosphere of change, the abolition of warfare, but most particularly the introduction of Christianity produced another change in some respects even more remarkable than the laying down of the guns under the Germans. There existed on Truk a class of men whom we might call magicians, but who were far more than this. They were the repositories of all the important esoteric lore: the mythology, traditional history, and the ultimate rites of sorcery and divination. As such, their power was immense and their prestige greater than even the chiefs, an office they sometimes undertook themselves. They used a specially modified language known only to themselves and trained novices for years to join their ranks, imparting the final, crucial knowledge only to those worthy of bearing it. Early in the Japanese period, seeing that in the flux of change their place in the society was gradually being eclipsed, they in effect voted themselves out of existence. They discharged their students and bottled up in their heads their knowledge, thence ultimately to carry it to the grave. At the present time only two or three very old men remain who still bear the ultimate knowledge, and they will soon be gone. This is remarkable not only in demonstrating again the ability of the Trukese to sweep away an old institution and replace it with a new, but in the foresight the old master magicians showed in realizing that their time was passing. For their power was by no means gone; to this day those of their students who knew much of the old language and lore derive great prestige from this knowledge. But to have retained their position would have required an ever increasing fight, and instead they withdrew. That this has again made easier the adjustment of the Trukese to their changing way of life is obvious.

## WORLD WAR II: AMERICAN OCCUPATION

While the militarization of Truk, which was to prove a disastrously inadequate bastion for the Japanese in the second World War, changed the emphasis of Japa-



nese development of the islands, it served merely to accelerate the processes of change in the Trukese society initiated earlier by the economic development program which of course continued but on a lesser scale. But with the beginning of the air strikes against Truk in 1944, and the blockade which followed, the fruits of the Japanese efforts at economic development were destroyed and the necessity of supporting some 35,000 foreigners in addition to the almost 10,000 Trukese off the land resulted in a serious depletion of their resources. Intensive cultivation of sweet potatoes made unfit for use many acres of good gardening land, and the extensive use of explosives in fishing, as well as the underwater explosion of many aerial bombs and mines, depleted the fish population to an extent which is felt to the present day. While there are still plenty of fish, they are not as numerous in any one place, and therefore harder to catch.

With the end of the war, then, the Americans found the Trukese with a pressing need for rehabilitation, which was accomplished, but also the major dilemma of having acquired economic needs the means for whose fulfillment had been destroyed. This dilemma will long remain for unlike the Japanese the Americans need practically nothing the islands have to offer, and in fact virtually none of their current exports goes to the United States. There is therefore no incentive for making capital investments of an order which would really make the economy self-sufficient, and all that the American administration can do is assist the Trukese (and the other peoples of Micronesia) in shipping their copra and other products and in finding markets for them, thereby defraying a small proportion of the costs of administration. The return of the Japanese would provide an economic solution, but would raise other problems. The Trukese, of course, are neither aware of nor concerned with the plight of the American taxpayer, but they do feel the effects of this dilemma in an ever-present inability to buy what they want to buy and what they were formerly able to buy, with a resultant gradual increase in the feelings of a compulsion to work.

Under the Japanese and early American administrations, the relatively simple native administrative organization gradually became more and more top-heavy and uncontrollable. After the worst economic crises had been dealt with, the Americans eliminated the existing hierarchy and a simpler system was introduced. This will be discussed briefly in the following chapter, along with other aspects of the present-day Trukese culture.

## THE PEOPLE TODAY

THE sometimes quite sweeping changes which have taken place in the Trukese society within the first half of this century make a Trukese, or a Trukese community, very different in superficial appearance from what the Germans observed when they first arrived to subdue these supposedly bloodthirsty savages forty years ago. Nonetheless there remains a solid core of the old culture which is very little changed. A Trukese child today grows up to receive the same kind of food through the same channels of society as did his great-grandfather, and as he grows older he learns to prepare these foods in the same way. Similarly, the group of people to whom he can turn for support and assistance he finds, as he learns to understand the structure of their relationships to him, are the same classes of people to whom his ancestors turned in their day. These two areas, subsistence economy and social organization, have survived (or resisted) all but the slightest change; in so surviving they have provided a continuity of culture which has always made possible the fulfilling of those needs which the Trukese found most vital. The passing parade of administrations—Spanish, German, Japanese military, civilian and again military, and American military and now civilian—each with its own policy and objectives, has left the Trukese not confused but rather quite sophisticated in dealing with administrators. Secure in a way of life which he knows, which gives him in adequate degree everything he really wants, he is able to view with some detachment the idiosyncrasies of what he calls "the-men-on-top."

### BEING A TRUKES

It is of the greatest importance that we recognize at the outset the essential vitality of the Trukese culture today, lest we look upon the people of Truk, so different superficially from their recent forbears, as living in a "broken" society for whom the never-to-be-recaptured life of the "old days" is the only one with meaning, and in which the most cherished values can no longer have a place. For a Trukese, being a Trukese is in itself an important and valuable fact. Many of them have seen their administrators at close hand, lived with them in their houses, often grown fond of them (and especially of their children), and adopted from them many devices and materials they found valuable; but with rare exceptions they do not want to be more than superficially like them. They simply want to remain Trukese.

The Trukese love to travel and see the world and have always been eager to

sign up for labor on other islands or, more recently, to be native seamen on American vessels. In this wise many of them have seen most of the islands in the Carolines and sometimes farther, and the dubious glories of Guam. They have returned with varying amounts of money and often boxes full of fancy clothes and other desirable loot. But when they step off the boat at their home islands, they slip with no difficulty, and perhaps relief, back into their former status, being set apart from their fellows only in having on tap a new collection of interesting tales with which to regale their confreres of an evening. Their money and their goods soon find their way into the hands of the appropriate relatives, and all is as before. But it is also significant that while they are away, and have their inevitable moments of nostalgia, it is for their home island, and for Trukese food, that they yearn. Nothing else is ever mentioned and, happily, these two things will always be awaiting them upon their return.

#### THE LINEAGE

The "island" to which their thoughts turn means much more than a familiar area of land and the sea about it. It means home, and home means above all a group of people to whom one can turn in time of need, of which one is a part—and so firmly and completely a part that, right or wrong, one's membership and rights and mutual obligations will never be questioned or disputed. On Truk this group of people consists primarily of the lineage, a group of individuals who trace their descent in the female line from a usually not too remote common ancestor.<sup>1</sup> They may number but a handful, or may include up to thirty or forty persons of varying sex and age. For most purposes, we would include in the group of people particularly important for the individual the husbands and wives of the members of his lineage, the children of the men in the lineage (who, following another matrilineal descent line, do not belong to their father's lineage), and conversely, the members of the person's father's lineage. And of course if a person is married we would include his or her spouse and the appropriate relatives of the spouse. The lineage, in turn, forms a part of larger social units, wherein descent is still traced matrilineally, but for which a common ancestor can no longer be identified. With these larger groupings we extend beyond the limits of a single island, and the individual is thereby provided with kinsmen on other islands in Truk, which gives him a sense of identification with all of Truk and a place to stay away from home where he will be welcomed as "belonging" almost anywhere he goes.

The fact that we refer to the lineage as a "group" must not of course obscure the fact that it is composed of individuals who differ in their relationship to any

<sup>1</sup> See Ward H. Goodenough, *Property, Kin, and Community on Truk* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 46), New Haven, 1951. The publication of this brilliant analysis of Trukese social organization makes unnecessary any but the most general outline of the subject for our purposes here. A complete bibliography on Truk is also included by Goodenough.



other member in terms of their differing status as determined by sex, age and kinship relationship, and their differing role as determined by their individual personality. The structure of these relationships becomes apparent only slowly to a child as he grows up in the society, but his exposure to the lineage as a group begins practically from birth. He soon becomes aware of more people than just his mother and father who are present and pay attention to him in varying ways; he cannot, of course, identify these at the time as his mother's sisters, his older brothers or sisters, or whoever they may in fact be. To him they are simply the people he sees, and his identification of them in so far as he separates them at all may be on the basis of their size, the color of their clothes, their tone of voice in talking to him, or any number of other criteria. They are, in effect, simply a group of people; the child will undoubtedly identify his mother as the one who feeds him at the breast and gives him the most consistent attention, but at the same time his first introduction to her and to his human environment finds her only a special member of a much larger group of people who have regular contact with the child, and who duplicate many of the functions of his mother or father. Thus from very infancy the Trukese is introduced to his kinsmen and sees them as a group of which he (when he is aware of them) forms the center. Later he is to become aware of their more particular differences as individuals, and also of the fact that he is not the center of the group. But the group remains, and while he may no longer be at the center, he will never be completely outside (unless, of course, he shifts or is shifted to another lineage).

#### KINSHIP RELATIONS

As the young Trukese becomes aware of individual differences and how he should behave toward various persons, he finds there is a series of kinship terms by which he is expected to refer to his relatives, although in speaking to them he uses their names. These terms provide him with cues for recognizing the proper behavior toward each person, with due allowance for factors of age, sex, distance of relationship and individual temperament. These terms are primarily the same as those he uses toward the members of his own immediate or nuclear family, and the behavior he employs toward such relatives is in most cases a generalization of the behavior he has learned to use at home, except when age relationships may make this inappropriate. Thus one refers to all men of one's father's generation in one's own lineage as "father," and accords them respect and obedience as fathers and also as elders. But all male members of one's father's lineage are also called "father" even though they may be appreciably younger than oneself, and in such cases far less respect and obedience would be expected. Similarly, women of one's mother's generation and above within the lineage are "mothers," while the women of the father's lineage are also "mothers" but may be younger than oneself and therefore deserving of less respect. However, difference in age does not alter sex taboos, and intercourse or even the discussion of sexual subjects is forbidden be-

tween a man and anyone he calls "mother," while the same applies to a woman and anyone she calls "father." In the latter case, she may not even permit him to see her exposed breasts.

Even stricter taboos obtain between "brothers" and "sisters," who include all persons of the opposite sex in one's own lineage (and also the children of men of the father's lineage). A "sister" not only may not have her breasts exposed before her "brother" but may not sleep in the same house with him and should not even be seen associating with him in public, unless they form part of a larger group with other interests.

On the other hand, relations between "brothers" and between "sisters" are exceedingly intimate, and are in fact in many respects the most important relationship to any Trukese, a matter we shall have occasion to consider at some length later.

"Children," of course, include all members of the lower generations of one's lineage, and the descendents of the men of one's lineage. As we have seen, they should show respect and obedience when appropriate by age, and are covered by sexual taboos when of the opposite sex.

Kinship relationships become more extensive and complex as one grows more mature. Not only do the sexual taboos become effective with puberty but thereafter when one marries new constellations of affinal relatives become important. A person uses the same terms as his spouse does toward the "fathers," "mothers," and "children" of the spouse's lineage, and treats them in much the same way as he has already learned to treat others so designated. A man calls his wife's "sisters," and a woman her husband's "brothers," "spouse" and, as the individuals may be inclined, with this relationship may go joking of a sexual nature and actual sex relations. A special term designates the brother-in-law or sister-in-law of the same sex and, particularly in the case of a man's wife's brother, involves quite demanding obligations. As Dr. Goodenough has pointed out, one's wife's brother is one of the few people who can ask a favor or request some item of personal property without any expectation of making a return therefor.

In the chapters to follow we shall see in more detail how these various relationships become realities for the individual. However, even in this brief outline it becomes clear that the individual on Truk is surrounded by a large number of people who will presumably help him, but toward whom he also has obligations and who are (with the exception of his spouse) not of his own choosing. In a society which puts so much emphasis upon kinship as the medium through which behavior and obligations are structured, this last fact can pose a real problem for the person who is not entirely satisfied with those whom he finds are his relatives. To some extent this dilemma can be resolved by stressing some relationships and minimizing others, but it is obvious that there are limits to the usefulness of this procedure and to the degree to which the affected relatives will cooperate.

Another solution, however, exists which is considerably more satisfactory. It is appropriate that this should stem from the relationship between siblings of the same sex, that is, between a man and his "brothers" and between a woman and her "sisters," for as we have noted this is the most intimate and supportive relationship in the entire hierarchy of kinship, and the one where one would feel the greatest lack if there were no people in this status upon whom one could feel complete reliance. To overcome this lack when it is felt, and to formalize an already satisfactory relationship outside of the kinship system when it exists, it is possible to adopt a "brother" or "sister" relationship with a person of the same sex and about the same age who is otherwise unrelated. This is in addition the device whereby one establishes a relationship upon another island where one has to stay if no reasonably close relative already exists, and it is also used when circumstance produces a deep obligation of one person to another such that its resolution will set up a series of further obligations which might as well be formalized in terms of kinship. But its strongest manifestation comes with the ripening friendship of adolescents (particularly boys) who, through shared activities and escapades, come to look upon themselves as "brothers" (or "sisters") and thus establish a relationship which will often last through life and give to each a supporter and companion whom he can trust entirely. The "brother" is doubly bound by the tie of friendship and by a recognition of the obligations imposed by the term once it has become established. The kinship so defined is not confined only to the two individuals affected, but involves them in appropriate relationship each with the kinsmen of the other, an integration which may be more or less complete depending upon the permanence and closeness of the relationship. Members of their respective lineages, however, would not consider themselves related to each other simply by virtue of the tie through the two "brothers." In illustration of the readiness with which such integration is achieved, and also of the unexpected pitfalls involved in the use of participant observation as a field technique, I might cite a bit of my own experience. Having a Trukese boy as my principal assistant and fairly constant companion, I shortly found him to be my "brother." This relationship appeared entirely satisfactory until I began using his mother as an informant. She spoke so readily and intelligently on matters of child rearing that I felt I at last had found a really satisfactory woman informant, and eased gently into questions on the woman's attitude toward sexual matters; thereupon she evaded all my questions, finally explaining that as my "mother" she could not discuss such matters with me, a dilemma to which there was no solution.

#### HALF-CASTES

Another aspect of kinship deserves mention. As we have seen this is a matrilineal society, which means that the social placement of a child in the lineage and wider social groupings depends in most respects upon his tie with his mother. The Trukese take this quite literally and therefore pay little or no attention to who may

be the child's actual biological father, even though this may be perfectly obvious. While the unmarried mother may find herself in a somewhat embarrassing social position, as far as can be determined no stigma whatsoever attaches to the child. Children of adulterous unions similarly are simply considered to be the children of the man to whom their mother was married at the time of their birth. Perhaps most important of the problems resolved by this device is that of children fathered by foreigners. At the present time there are literally hundreds of children whose appearance unmistakably shows them to have had Japanese fathers, and who in another society could readily form a class of half-breeds or mestizos with highly disruptive effects for themselves and the society as a whole. But on Truk they are simply Trukese children, treated no differently from any others, and properly furnished with mothers *and* fathers. Those who have seen the deep cleavage formed in societies elsewhere by mestizo groups can readily appreciate the degree of the good fortune of the Trukese in this regard. There are a few true half-castes on Truk, descendents of early traders who married Trukese women and raised their children themselves; these people consider themselves half-castes and are treated as such. But because this limited group can expand only slightly, not being augmented by further foreign transgressions, they can have little harmful effect and, in fact, have used the business knowledge passed down to them from their fathers or grandfathers to make major contributions to the economic adjustment of Truk under American administration.

#### LINEAGE AUTHORITY: PROPERTY AND PERSONS

In viewing the lineage group as it is seen by and focused upon the individual, we must not overlook the fact that it is a group, and operates as such. While the members of a lineage rarely have occasion to assemble together explicitly as such a group, the lineage has important functions of itself. Primary among these, as Goodenough has made so clear, is the ownership of property, in which the lineage commonly acts as a corporation. The net effect of this joint ownership is to limit quite severely the amount of individual discretion a person can exercise in disposing of or otherwise changing the status of property without obtaining the approval of the lineage, and particularly of the oldest man in it who is normally its head.

While the jurisdiction of the lineage is confined largely to land, and what grows or is built upon it, the concept of community of property which exists formally in this context is generalized to include almost all forms of movable personal property besides. Thus clothing and the like can be borrowed almost at will from lineage mates, and money derived from such joint enterprises as cutting copra, or often even wages earned by lineage members, will be taken by the lineage head to be used primarily for the benefit of the lineage. And knowledge, while incorporeal, is also property, so that spells in curing the sick, techniques of divination, and such specialized skills as boat-building, will be passed on by those who know them to



younger members of the lineage. Food particularly is viewed in this fashion; it is almost unthinkable that a large batch of food should be prepared only for one's own household without apportioning some to the members of one's spouse's lineage. This mandatory sharing not infrequently imposes considerable strain upon the donor's goodwill, but refusals are extremely rare and can precipitate very serious crises for they threaten the all-important solidarity of the lineage.

The jurisdiction of the lineage extends also to persons. The lineage must of course protect itself against unfortunate affiliations and therefore exerts considerable veto power over the marriages of its members; it may even have some voice in the selection of marriage partners, although this is more commonly the function of the parents alone. But one of the most striking demonstrations of the mutual obligations of lineage members is seen in the very widespread custom of adoption. Many Trukese women are sterile, while others may have a fairly large number of children. All married couples desire children, however, and a sterile woman will often ask a more fortunate sister or brother who already has several children if she may adopt their next baby. Although this request often strains the ties of relationship very severely, it is but rarely refused. The death of one or both parents may often make this a happy solution to an otherwise serious problem, but equally often the child's parents are both alive and anxious to keep it as their own, and the parting is not easy. When done in infancy, this tends, when the women involved are of different lineages, to place the child almost entirely in his adoptive mother's lineage; we shall have occasion to discuss the effect on the child later.

## FOOD

### SHARING

We have noted that home to a Trukese means his island and the group of kinsmen he will find there, and also his native Trukese foods. We have also mentioned that these two features of Trukese culture have proven themselves the most enduring historically. It is therefore not surprising to find that it is in matters related to food that the solidarity between kinsmen finds its most explicit expression in everyday life. Food is normally shared with the other members of one's lineage whether there is a lot or only a little available, and a man will usually give some also to his wife's relatives. This sharing is no small gesture, as the quantity of food given away will usually exceed that kept for one's own household and always represents a large outlay of work (or scarce money) involved in both production and preparation. But as a man makes the rounds of his relatives, distributing the packages of food he has prepared or the fish he or his wife have caught, he knows that these same relatives will be preparing food themselves in a day or two and will soon make a return gift. As food quickly spoils in the warm, damp atmosphere of Truk, this system actually makes it possible for a person to prepare food less frequently than would otherwise be the case. In a closely knit lineage the various

households in effect take turns in providing for the whole group. That the sharing of food is not entirely motivated by unselfish ideals is also shown by the observed fact that older people beyond the productive age often do not get their full share in the lineage distribution and, not being able to provide for themselves, may suffer real privation.

#### CONTESTS

While lineage members cooperate constantly through the medium of sharing the fruits of their labors, they seldom work together as a distinct group, and it is again food which brings them together on those few occasions in which the lineage functions as a unit in present-day Trukese society. While in the old days lineage often fought lineage in very real fights, nowadays they fight with food. One lineage will challenge another to a food fight, and the members of each lineage will work desperately for days and weeks to produce more food than the other. This culminates in a great feast in which each lineage tries to consume the output of the other, although only after each item has been carefully counted and a victor determined. Usually the amount of food is such that, in spite of every participant stuffing himself to delighted and utter repletion, there is a good deal left over. Some effort may be made to distribute this surplus to others than the members of the affected lineages, but this goes beyond the usual food-sharing pattern and much of the food may spoil before it has been consumed.

#### PRODUCTION AND PREPARATION

The general word for "food" in Trukese is more specifically applied only to the cooked starch foods. The production and particularly the preparation of these foods are primarily the responsibility of the men, and the preparation of them takes place in the lineage (or nowadays often the household) cookhouse. The most important of these foods is breadfruit, both in its quantitative contribution to the diet and in the degree to which it symbolizes for the Trukese his "Trukese food." The large, round, fibrous fruit grows on trees which are often stately in proportion and also provide the timber for many sorts of construction. They do not, however, bear throughout the year; most of the trees begin to produce mature fruit at the end of the tradewind season in May and are depleted by the end of July or early August; a few trees bear during December and early January, the "little" breadfruit season. In season, the fruit are picked by men who twist them off the branches with long slender poles from the ground and climb the trees to get the ones off the higher branches. The fruit are loaded into carrying baskets at either end of a shoulder pole and carried to the cookhouse. There they are peeled and cut into chunks and steamed, usually now in large iron pots of Japanese manufacture, although for large feasts an earth oven, heated with stones laid over a fire in a pit, is used as it was in the past. When well cooked and softened, a few chunks at a



time are pulled out and pounded on a hardwood board with a coral pestle to a pasty consistency. More is added until a sizable mass has accumulated, and when all the lumps have been pounded out the whole mass is transferred to some large leaves which are folded over the still-warm breadfruit to make a neat package in which it will be stored and transported and from which it will later be eaten with the fingers. A new batch is then started, and the process continued until the pot or pit is empty. Pounding breadfruit is hard work; when the pestle strikes the hardwood pounding board the hollow ringing sound can be heard for a hundred yards, and if one follows the sound to its source (as many do, for a steaming chunk of fresh breadfruit is a delicacy) the man will usually be found stripped to his G-string and streaming with sweat. And the pounding has been preceded by much tree-climbing, a long walk with the heavy load of breadfruit, building a fire and peeling and cutting the fruit. Two or three men preparing even a modest amount of pounded breadfruit will work almost unceasingly from dawn to near nightfall.

In season, breadfruit is plentiful and is eaten to the exclusion of all other starchy foods. The supply far exceeds the demand, and everyone works to get the fruits as they ripen put away for the months to come before they fall to the ground and spoil. The breadfruit is peeled and thrown into shallow pits lined with leaves; when full, these are covered with more leaves and weighted down with rocks to keep the pigs out. Over time, fermentation takes place and preserves the starchy mass in edible form. It is removed as needed and steamed; it has softened with fermentation so that pounding is not necessary. The finished product has a strong smell similar to that of overripe cheese; the Trukese prefer fresh breadfruit but are not as offended by the taste and smell of the fermented variety as are most Europeans. Preserved breadfruit not only provides an important source of off-season food but, since it can be kept without further spoiling, can be transported on long journeys as food for the travellers or as emergency supplies for relatives on an island devastated by a typhoon or the like.

Manioc (also known as cassava, or tapioca) is the principal substitute for breadfruit during the months when the latter is not bearing on Truk. This is a root crop and, unlike breadfruit, is of fairly recent introduction; none of the bitter or poisonous varieties were introduced so no special care has to be taken in its preparation. Like breadfruit, it is steamed, pounded, and made up into packages for fairly immediate consumption. It is, however, looked upon as an inferior, substitute food, and many people prefer even preserved breadfruit to manioc. It grows readily on the high islands, requiring relatively little care once the garden has become well established. Efforts to grow manioc on the low coral islands, however, have been unsuccessful, and there the traditional second staple, taro, retains its rightful place.

There are several varieties of taro, the most satisfactory of these growing in swamps. The dry-land taro is more bitter, and the tuber is easily attacked by rats and pigs. The related "elephant ear" has enormous leaves and in time develops a large tuber, but is not considered as good eating as the swamp taro. Swamp taro

particularly will continue to develop its tuber for years, growing larger and also more palatable continually, while at the same time losing its leaves on occasion and enriching the soil of the swamp. It thus provides a ready-made means of indefinite food storage against times of want, and has been a principal means of improving the poor sandy soils of the low islands. It is, however, vulnerable to flooding by seawater during typhoons on these islands and does not grow rapidly, so that a swamp which has been depleted by flooding or by being eaten out by a needy populace will not recover for several years. The swamps on Truk which were eaten out by the Japanese during the blockade, or cleared in unsuccessful attempts to cultivate rice, are recovering but slowly. As these swamps become more productive, there is evidence that taro is increasing in importance as a secondary staple at the expense of manioc, to which it is preferred. Taro is usually steamed with the skin on, and peeled afterward. It is usually eaten in this form, cut up into chunks, but also may be pounded like breadfruit or manioc.

Arrowroot is primarily an emergency food on both Truk and the outer islands; the chronic shortages of food supplies and the lack of manioc make it a more common food on the low islands than on Truk where it is very rarely eaten. Its preparation, involving grating and washing through a strainer, is more complicated and has undoubtedly contributed to the decline of its use. Cooking bananas are fairly common but are not considered very nourishing and are therefore used primarily to improve everyday foods for feasts and special occasions.

An increasing amount of bread is baked of imported flour, usually by men who set up small businesses for this purpose and sell their output, but far the most important of the imported starch foods is rice. This is usually more or less a luxury food, as it can be prepared quickly and simply by boiling and is considered superior to anything but fresh breadfruit. Its cost in an economy poor in money prevents its extensive use by any but the wealthiest families. It has, however, played an important role as an emergency food for the low islands damaged by typhoons; while they cannot afford to feed the whole population on rice for long, it is given to the old, the very young and the sick who cannot eat the less palatable and less digestible substitute foods possible for healthy adults.

There are a variety of more or less wild fruits available, including papayas, mangoes, bananas, pandanus, oranges, and limes. They are not, however, considered nourishing and consequently are eaten only as occasional snacks, particularly by children when they are roaming about the interior of the island playing games and seeking the adventures and discoveries of childhood. Sugar cane is grown quite extensively but comes under the same classification; the stalk is stripped of its hard outer surface, cut into sections, and sucked for its sweet juice. This makes a pleasant addition to a Sunday walk inland or to a midday rest from work in the gardens. There is no attempt to refine the juice into molasses or sugar.

Coconuts, formerly important in the subsistence economy and as a source of drinking water, are now primarily a cash crop, the great majority of coconuts being

planted with the production of copra in mind, an activity encouraged by all the foreign administrators of the islands from the Germans onward. While large numbers of ripe coconuts are still eaten on the outer islands in times of food scarcity, on Truk coconut meat is only used as an occasional accompaniment of starch foods when fish is not available, and for its expressed milk which is added to pounded breadfruit, manioc, or taro to improve its flavor. Similarly, drinking water is derived almost entirely from rain barrels, and the fluid in green coconuts is only drunk when in the gardens away from home or by distinguished visitors. As coconut water contains considerable nutriment, green nuts are often carried on boat trips to provide combined food and drink.

All starch foods must be accompanied by a protein food; otherwise the starch food will stick in one's throat, and without some protein food one cannot feel fully satisfied at the end of the meal. There are substitutes, such as coconut meat, or seawater with lime juice in it, but these are not very satisfactory. The protein food of paramount importance is of course fish. Pigs, dogs, chickens and even an occasional cow are kept in a rather haphazard fashion; all are eaten but their numbers are so few that they contribute only to feasts and for everyday needs are of no consequence. The Japanese encouraged the Trukese to keep goats to provide milk for their babies, but this practice has fallen into disuse and only a handful of goats remain on Truk. Some imported canned meats are eaten, although canned fish is again preferred. The high cost of these tinned protein foods would probably rule them out entirely were it not that extensive fishing with explosives by the Japanese during the war (and by some Trukese thereafter) depleted the fish resources sufficiently so that they are often hard to catch in sufficient quantity, and a substitute, however costly, must be found.

#### FISHING

Most of the fish required for day-to-day household needs are caught on the island's fringing reef. In the daytime, women go out with two hand nets each, shaped like a butterfly's wing and, forming a circle, converge on schools of small reef fish and scoop them up. The men fish with goggles and small steel spears propelled by strong rubber bands. At night, torches made of dry coconut fronds are used in the dark of the moon, the women hunting for small octopus and squid, and the men flushing out dormant fish with long hand-held spears, either steel or multipronged of wood. This night spear-fishing with goggles, when the trade winds are blowing, can be one of the most chilling activities imaginable. And any night fishing cuts seriously into a night's sleep; it is only pursued because daytime reef fishing seldom nets an adequate haul. Again, then, the quest for protein food is far from easy, although with the expenditure of effort a supply of food is almost certain to be produced as a reward, even with the reduced fish population of the present. Night fishermen with torches may also find large and delicious Samoan

crabs in the mangrove swamps, and lobster-like longusta on the wide coral barrier reef, although not on the fringing reefs of the inner islands.

More productive fishing techniques include high-speed trolling over reefs with plentiful fish populations, and fishing with large seine nets. The large fast sailing canoes still used by the outer islanders were formerly common on Truk and were ideal for trolling; however, they were destroyed during the war, and most of the breadfruit trees large enough to use in building them were cut down by the Japanese for timber. Thus (with the exception of a few small ones built on Pis and Moen) no more are being produced, and the old men who know the necessary skills are fast dying off. While foreign-built boats taken over from the Japanese or supplied by the Americans may also be used for trolling, they are not generally as fast and are more in demand for hauling copra and passengers. As trolling formerly provided a major source of fish for local consumption it is clear that fish will be in fairly short supply for some years to come. Fishing with seine nets is highly productive, but represents a large investment in equipment and manpower. The large nets are imported and, as they are used on the barrier reef, a powerboat is required to get the fish in to the populated islands before they spoil. A large number of men and at least two small boats are required to work the net around the fish, close it in, and get the fish out. There follows a hurried run to the nearest large island, and the hope that the entire catch will be sold. If it is not it may be salted (at added expense) to last another twenty-four hours, but if it is not sold then it is a dead loss. It is obvious that this is not a very satisfactory arrangement either. It could be were an ice plant available to supply the boat owners with ice to keep their fish for several days after catching; this is the only means whereby a fully adequate supply of fish can be assured for the Trukese. However, there are still a lot of fish on Truk and the not infrequent shortages are more often a reflection of unwillingness to undertake the fairly major effort and discomfort required to provide an adequate quantity. When a feast or particularly a food fight provides the motivation for a maximum effort, tremendous numbers of fish and octopus are often caught in a relatively short time.

Thus the food quest requires a great deal of work, more work by far than is expended on any other activity. But at the same time there is always enough food available to one who is willing to work for it. No true scarcity exists except under the most unusual circumstances. This will be an important point to remember in our later discussion of the anxieties which surround food throughout the life of a Trukese. Certainly the Trukese value food very highly, and their everyday life clearly reflects the importance of food and eating as a symbol of family and community solidarity. The people of Romonum, in recounting their life histories, always remembered to mention the food which was brought out and eaten at the resolution of every crisis; this, it appears, healed the breach caused by whatever issue or episode was involved at the time. A friend, or particularly a relative, when



he stops by your house is always offered food, which he will normally politely refuse. If, on the other hand, one who is not particularly a friend pauses at the house, it is necessary to explain with elaborate apologies that there is really not any food whatsoever though if there were he would immediately be offered some. The visitor replies that of course he would not expect any food, and only after this little interchange can the purpose of his visit be broached. The unwanted friend who stops by while the household is actually eating, with their package of food opened out before them and maybe a fish or two at the side, creates a real dilemma; but this is almost always resolved in favor of asking him to eat with them, however unwelcome he may be. While a nonrelative will usually not be asked to eat at home, when one is temporarily on another island and is visited by a person from one's own island he will always be offered food, whether related or not, for on foreign soil fellow islanders must stick together and the offering of food is the most important symbol of this sentiment.

### HOUSES

Compared to food, much less organized effort is expended on and attention paid to the fulfillment of other bodily needs. Houses are built for shelter and, while house-building is a major task, most houses are relatively simple and once built require little maintenance for a year or two years, so that this presents only an occasional problem. The aboriginal type of house is becoming increasingly uncommon, but is still seen not infrequently on all but those islands which had such extensive Japanese installations as to provide all comers with an adequate supply of salvageable lumber and roofing. It is a low fairly small thatched dwelling of one room averaging perhaps ten to fifteen feet in length, supported on the sides by short posts set in the ground, upon which rests the roof structure with a long ridge-pole and thatching reaching almost to the ground at the sides. One end is closed off with thatching, while the other is open and often has a small fire, upon which cigarettes are lit and an occasional fish or breadfruit roasted. The floor is of dirt or sand, usually covered with old woven pandanus sleeping mats. The thatching, which nowadays is often supplemented with stray sheets of rusty metal roofing, is usually on Truk of ivorynut palm fronds, although these do not grow on the outer islands and coconut fronds or pandanus have to be used. Ivorynut fronds are hard to acquire as the trees are not plentiful and the straight smooth trunk makes climbing both difficult and highly hazardous. This type of house was formerly much larger in size, often housing most of the female members of a lineage and their husbands and children in a single house. These larger versions are still found in many meeting houses, although in this case the ends and sides of the building are usually open. The larger dwelling houses are still used on some of the outer islands but even here they are increasingly rare.

Far the commonest type of dwelling is a small box-like one- or two-room frame

house, built of salvaged Japanese materials for the most part, and raised off the ground on a number of short posts. A few of these, built by professional carpenters trained by the Japanese, are quite elaborate and well made; but generally they present an unusually sloppy and ramshackle appearance accentuated by the lack of paint. Despite this disreputable look, however, they are far better ventilated and drier than the old style thatched house and therefore more healthful. On the other hand, as they deteriorate replacement materials are not available and a crisis in housing is close at hand.

For this reason the American administration has been giving every encouragement to the adoption of houses built of masonry, using a mortar of calcined coral usually strengthened by the addition of a little imported cement. The roof is of metal or thatch, depending on the availability of funds. This type of house is permanent, well ventilated, and can be kept dry and clean, but requires a prodigious amount of work in building. Large quantities of coral must be hauled in from the reefs, some hewn into blocks and the rest burned in large pits to make mortar, and then the walls laid up by hand or in forms. A sufficient number were built on the various islands, however, under the administration program to have the knowledge of the necessary techniques widely disseminated, and this type of house may be expected to become increasingly common as the old frame houses gradually disintegrate.

Furnishings of any of these houses are meager. While the wealthier citizens may have tables, chairs, and the like, the usual house has only pandanus mats on the floor, a large mosquito netting usually hung from the roof beams and folded up during the day, one or two stout wooden boxes for clothing and other personal possessions, and a few implements and other possessions put away here and there.

During the day, people tend to sit and work on the porch which is a common feature of the frame houses, or around the front of the house, remaining fully inside the house only for sleeping at night. At this time the one or several mosquito nets are hung up, reaching down to the sleeping mats on the floor upon which the people lie. The houses are generally quite warm at night particularly if they are crowded, but those who do not have space under the netting completely shroud themselves in a sheet or whatever is available for protection against mosquitoes. The Trukese sleep very soundly, apparently undisturbed by the abrupt and often violent changes of position of their fellows which may result in an arm or leg landing rather heavily upon the sleeper. To wake a person violently is, however, a grave insult; the normal technique is to repeat softly over and over again the sleeper's name. He thus gradually becomes aware that he is being spoken to, and awakes gently and presumably in a good humor. These awakenings occur intermittently throughout the night, as one sleeper wakes from a dream and wishes to tell someone about it, or wants a cigarette, or must feed the baby, or simply does not feel like sleeping and wishes to talk to someone. The other sleepers do not appear at all



disquieted by these recurring activities and are not annoyed at being awakened for any purpose.

### CLOTHING

Clothing is worn almost exclusively for purposes of modesty. The temperature is seldom sufficiently cool to require that clothing be worn for warmth. In fact, although the coolest temperatures are at night, both men and women almost invariably remove their upper garments (shirt or dress) at sundown, thus exposing themselves to the cool breezes and the mosquitoes without any feeling of inconsistency, for in the dark of the night they are not visible and therefore not immodest. It is interesting to note that while women must not have their breasts exposed in the presence of those relatives they call "father" or "brother," this taboo does not obtain at night. Even in the bright light shed by the electrical system we rigged up with our recording generator on Romonum, women remained without dresses in the presence of such relatives with no apparent sense of shame.

The basic garment for women is a lavalava or wrap-around skirt, formerly woven of hibiscus fiber but now of cloth, preferably a brilliant red. Over this they wear a cotton dress of the undistinguished cut known as "Mother Hubbard" throughout the Pacific and elsewhere. In the old days a rectangular cloth of hibiscus fiber, with a slit for the head, served as a dress. Men formerly wore a hibiscus fiber and later cloth breechclout, but now normally wear cotton undershorts, sometimes with a G-string for additional modesty. Over this is now worn long trousers, except for sleeping, swimming, fishing, or working hard. The upper part of the body used to be covered on occasion with a hibiscus fiber cape similar to that of the women; now a cotton undershirt or occasionally a regular shirt may be worn, although often there is nothing. Canvas shoes and small cotton hats are sometimes worn by men, almost entirely for show, but rarely by women. A conical pandanus leaf hat was and often still is worn by women when fishing to keep the sun off their heads. This is really the only completely functional item of clothing commonly used, although canvas shoes are sometimes worn to protect the feet when walking on the reefs. Other than this, clothes serve the cause of modesty in keeping the genitals covered at all times, and the breasts of women covered in the daytime in the presence of certain relatives. The only other function of clothing is to improve one's personal appearance.

The cotton clothing of the present day is washed with fair regularity in the springs which are common on the high islands, or with water drawn from wells. Soap is used whenever available. People bathe daily, and on hot days women particularly may bathe several times in one day; unless plenty of soap is available it is more commonly saved for clothing. In the old days of hibiscus fiber clothing, however, it was not washed, and bathing was also apparently somewhat less common, though practised. As defecation and the throwing away of food were also

more or less at random it is not surprising that the early sources report the Trukese and their communities to have been exceedingly foul smelling. This is not, however, the case today, and due to the increasing vulnerability of the Trukese to imported diseases the administration makes constant efforts to improve sanitation.

## TRANSPORTATION

### CANOES

In any small island community travel must be primarily by water whenever it goes beyond the small round of daily tasks; and when as on Truk a number of such island communities are close together, the use of water transportation will obviously be very frequent. Aboriginally only outrigger canoes were used, with a single outrigger; there were types for paddling only, and types for sailing. While in most areas paddling canoes can only be used for local fishing operations and the like, the close proximity of the islands of Truk permits the use of such canoes for inter-island transportation also. Thus these canoes, with long round-bottomed hulls hollowed from a single breadfruit trunk, were considerably elaborated and reached large sizes. Tremendous trees were felled in the closer islands to the south, where the largest varieties of breadfruit grow, and towed in under favorable winds to Truk by sailing canoes. They were then fashioned into canoes reportedly capable of carrying close to a hundred men; such canoes were used primarily for carrying raiding parties in night forays against another island. Their modern counterparts are similar in construction but much more modest in size, the largest carrying perhaps a dozen passengers, while the more usual size accommodates only three or four. They continue, however, to be made and used in great numbers for local operations, and not infrequently still for trips to nearby islands.

The sailing canoe is much more complicated in construction, although, as noted before, this type has all but disappeared from Truk at present. It has a hull of "V" shape in cross-section to provide the necessary keel effect for sailing with the wind on the beam, and its height is augmented by planks hewn to fit the contours of the keel piece which forms the structural backbone of the canoe and runs its full length. The planks are beautifully fitted together and secured with lashings which are countersunk into the wood to provide a perfectly smooth exterior surface. The heavy outrigger is balanced on the outer side of the boat by a platform which permits the crew by shifting their positions to balance the boat against any wind conditions. The large lateen sail, formerly of pandanus matting but now of canvas, can be shifted rapidly by a practiced crew from one end of the boat to the other; in tacking the boat reverses its direction rather than coming about in order to keep the outrigger on the windward side at all times and avoid its being driven under water by pressure on the sail. The hull form not only presents a minimum of resistance to the water, but is unusually efficient in maintaining a true course with the wind on the beam. These boats are therefore well adapted to both fast trolling

and the long journeys which are still made with them by the outer islanders; it is, however, impossible to carry any large amount of cargo aboard or to keep it dry.

To these types of outrigger canoes the Japanese and Okinawans added a long plank canoe without outrigger; this could be sailed with a slatted sail and was suitable for some fishing operations as well as interisland transportation, but it was extremely unstable and could again carry little cargo. The Trukese, however, learned how to build them.

#### IMPORTED MODERN BOATS

With the increase in copra production and the handling of more manufactured imports, the primary need was for boats capable of handling cargo and the Trukese came to rely more and more upon Japanese built and operated powerboats and sailboats, the latter usually of conventional design and sloop rigged. After the war many of these boats were taken over by the Trukese and a few are operating to the present time. Their numbers have been considerably augmented by importing, at very small cost to the purchasers, U. S. Navy whaleboats and motor launches which have been rigged for sail or supplied with imported Japanese diesel engines by the Trukese. They are thus able to handle all their transportation needs within the Truk lagoon and a large share of that between the outer islands and Truk. However, they do not have the knowledge necessary to build these cargo-carrying types of boats; unless steps are taken to teach them or constant replacements are brought in, a breakdown in local transportation is foreseeable.

During the past few years a new type of boat designed by an old boat-builder on Fefan, one of the larger islands of Truk, has been gaining great favor. It is a small sailing canoe which through an ingeniously designed sloping outrigger float can be sailed with the outrigger on the leeward as well as windward side; they can therefore carry the more efficient and simple sloop rig and are very satisfactory for local transportation although their cargo capacity is limited. Another innovation in boats is the widespread use of small outboard motors imported from the United States, generally mounted on the Okinawan style plank canoes or locally built skiffs. While these operate satisfactorily the salt spray and damp corrosive air take a heavy toll, for maintenance by the Trukese is very poor. The general philosophy is to run them until they stop, and then try to repair them; at this point it is usually too late and a sizable investment has been lost.

#### MAINTENANCE

Lack of maintenance is characteristic of the utilization of all types of tools, equipment, and other things made or built by the Trukese themselves. Boats, houses, and smaller implements are fashioned with care if not with polish and then used or occupied until they have collapsed or become completely unserviceable. They are then completely overhauled or rebuilt. Minor repairs except of the most essential

nature are practically never undertaken. While this may be satisfactory for items of entirely local manufacture, it materially reduces the utility of imported manufactured goods, and is a deterrent in any efforts of the Trukese to profit from the products of foreign technology.

#### SKILLS: MATERIAL AND ESOTERIC

The more complicated types of manufacture, as well as most of the esoteric activities of healing, sorcery, magic, divination, navigation, and the like, are undertaken almost entirely by older people. A man will usually not begin to learn the skills of boat building until he has reached middle age, when he is forty years old or older. There is a feeling that until this time men are too young and irresponsible, preoccupied with their love affairs and given to idling and visiting. There is no question that with this age comes a release from the need felt for extensive sexual activity, and as the skilled manufactures as well as more esoteric activities formerly required complete sexual continence for their success and still do to a lesser extent, there is no doubt that a potential conflict of some magnitude has been resolved by this device.

The skills, material and esoteric, tend to be retained within the lineage and are considered to be lineage property in much the same status as land. They are transmitted from generation to generation with as little change as possible. This applies even to techniques in manufacture for these are intimately associated with appropriate magic and taboos. This results in considerable conservatism in detail of design, so that sailing canoes, for example, which are probably the most complex of all objects of native manufacture and certainly have the greatest amount of magic associated with their construction and use, are found to be almost identical in every respect wherever built throughout the Truk district. This does not, of course, prevent the introduction and sometimes the local development of entirely new designs. But these new designs remain distinct and the features of the two will not be combined. An interesting example of this is found in house construction, even though there is little magic connected with even the old style of dwelling house and the strictures on change would not therefore be as strong. In the native Trukese type of house all joints between structural members are secured by neatly executed lashings, done with sennit twine made of the fibers of coconut husks. The Japanese, on the other hand, made mortised joints, reinforced by heavy "U" shaped steel spikes. To this day, while spikes may be seen in both, the Trukese thatched houses are built with lashings and the frame houses copied from the Japanese have mortised joints, although the design of roof trusses, etc., are identical, and structurally either type of joint is equally satisfactory in either application.

Large portions of the esoteric lore of Truk disappeared with the retirement of the master magicians referred to previously. This included knowledge of the old mythology and of the native gods, and much of the rituals of sorcery. The knowl-



edge of navigation and magical means of dealing with storms and other hazards passed with the cessation of long open-water sailing trips, in the Mortlocks as well as in Truk, although these skills remain active in the islands to the west. Similarly the elimination of warfare made useless to the master magicians their knowledge of war magic. Not only have many of the activities which formerly required magical help for their success disappeared, but in many of those which remain there is now decreasing emphasis on the magical, as against the physical, aspect of the work. The case of house and canoe building has already been mentioned. Ritual continence is not as rigidly observed and there appears to be less feeling that strict observance of every magical rite is as essential to the success of the finished product as was formerly the case. This may be due in part to a general laxity in observance resulting from the removal of the watchful eye of the master magician and in part to the effects of Christianity, for the missionaries have consistently opposed magic; certainly there has been recognition of the fact that the new types of houses, boats, and other gear, though lacking in associated magic, nonetheless perform satisfactorily.

#### MAGIC AND MODERN MEDICINE

One area in which esoteric procedures apparently retain their full aboriginal vitality and validity is that of curing the ill. The Trukese will submit readily to preventive inoculations and vaccinations and will line up for medication for pains and coughs, but when they are seriously ill the overwhelming majority remain at home to be treated by Trukese medicine. This treatment is essentially magical and consists either in exorcising or more commonly simply placating the ghost or other spirit which has entered the body of the person and is eating it, or in counteracting the effects of sorcery which, while on the wane, is still considered an active source of disease. Diagnosis is symptomatic and episodic: the relevant questions are where does it hurt, where has the person been recently, what was he doing? A diviner is then usually called in to determine what treatment should be used, and then which of those practitioners who know this treatment is the proper one to call. It is significant that it is only for diagnosis of illness that the diviner is still consistently called upon, although he may on occasion be asked to deliberate on other matters. If the practitioner selected is agreeable he begins his treatment, for a fee which may be large or small depending on whether the patient is a relative or not. The treatment may consist in steaming the affected portion of the body from a bowl which contains seawater and a plant appropriate to the disease into which is dropped a rock heated in a fire. As the steam rises, a chant is recited calling upon the offending spirit to depart from his evil works. Or medication may be rubbed, sprinkled, or poured upon the body, a spell being recited the while, or medicated coconut water or the like prepared for drinking, and amulets prepared for protection (especially against sorcery). Formerly, but apparently no longer on Truk, a spirit medium could also be called upon to communicate more directly with the spirit and find out just what



he was annoyed about. Concurrently with magical therapy there exists a large body of massage techniques known again to specialists; while these are used primarily in cases of injury, and are often very effective, they are also used in the cure of diseases characterized by aches and pains in the joints, some sorts of abdominal pain, and so on.

The medical staff of the American administration who, unlike the Japanese, are primarily concerned with the care of the native population, have made valiant efforts to teach the Western concepts of disease and medicine to the Trukese, particularly through the native health aides. But progress has not been encouraging. The Trukese understanding of body physiology and even anatomy is very inadequate by our standards; and, while they will readily admit they have not seen the ghost at work eating a sick person, they *have* seen ghosts and they have never seen the germs of which the Americans speak. Under both methods of treatment some patients recover and some do not, and in both cases the ultimate cause of the disease is not visible and must be taken on faith. This being the case in a matter so serious it seems reasonable to the Trukese to credit the ghost which he has been taught to fear from early childhood and in which he firmly believes to this day rather than some imaginary infinitesimal bug so small it cannot be seen and does not even bite.

### GHOSTS

The belief in ghosts, while strong, is rather poorly defined. They may be seen perhaps most commonly as simply a red spot of light at night, but on other occasions appear as clearly human figures. They may be identified as being the ghost of a particular relative or as the familiar spirit of a certain location, although still presumably the ghost of an actual person long dead. Some references to the life histories collected on Romonum may serve to show the range of belief in ghosts and spirits. Sam, a boy of thirteen, tells us of his early childhood exposure to the belief in ghosts:

When they used to tell folktales about ghosts I used to be frightened thinking about them, and would think they were going to eat me. I used to pull my knees up in front of me and put my arms around them because I was scared. When my mother was out somewhere around the island at night, just my father and I slept in the house. But we did not sleep very close together and a ghost could come in and bite one of us easily; I was very worried. It is not good that way.

Other children have actually seen ghosts, as did Sarah, now a woman of twenty-one, when she was still a small child:

One night I was asleep and woke up and cried. My mother told me not to cry, for there was a ghost outside; if I cried he would attack me. I looked out and there was the ghost, big and glowing red. I was scared of him and stopped crying. My mother asked if I had seen him, and I said yes and I would not cry any more. So then I went to sleep again for I was afraid of the ghost.

Susan, a woman of twenty-three, saw a ghost in the daytime:

When I was about twelve I went to bathe one afternoon, and on the way back a ghost came out of the bush and bit me; I saw him as he left: he was a grown man but small like a very small man who lives on Romonum now. I think he was the spirit of a brother of my father. That night I was sick, with pains and chills, but the next morning I was better. I did not take any medicine. I don't know why he came to me.

Tony, now a man of twenty-three, stayed with a family on the neighboring island of Udot while he attended the Japanese school there. He was then in his teens, and one night went fishing by torchlight with another Romonum boy and three Udot women of the household.

We went fishing off Penia [a village on Udot] near a taboo area where the sea spirit Nimmoi has his<sup>2</sup> home in a big rock. We caught a lot of octopus and then went home. We ate and then went to sleep. Shortly one of the women began to shake, for Nimmoi had entered her body. We tried to hold her, but we could not; she acted just like a ghost. When we got torches she recoiled from the light and hid her eyes [ghosts usually abhor bright lights]. We realized she would soon be dead from this but we did not know the medicine; only one woman, the wife of a chief on the other side of the island, knew. Someone went off to call her. When she arrived she went and got medicine from Nimmoi's home, that big rock, and came back. When she returned, Nimmoi [i.e., the sick woman, whom Tony now identifies with the possessing spirit] knew she had gotten the medicine and began to cry and said he had seen the woman go into his house and get it. She [the sick woman] began to jump around wildly, for Nimmoi was trying to get out as the woman closed in with her medicine. We got hold of her—a lot of us—and gradually got her under control. The woman gave her medicines, rubbing them into her clothes and putting some in her mouth, until finally she got weak and it was easy to hold her. Then the chief's wife chanted the chant of the seas around Udot, and when she got to Nimmoi he left her body. We finally went to sleep, but the next morning we saw she was burned from the torches, and her arms all cut and bruised from our trying to hold her.

The Christian missionaries, too, make strong efforts to counter the belief in ghosts. The success of their efforts can be seen in the widely held belief that one who works hard at his Christian religion has little to fear from ghosts, spirits, and sorcery. That this belief is not entirely effective in quieting such fears is clear from the passages quoted above, but at the same time there is little doubt that some comfort is derived from the feeling that there is a force opposing the malevolent spirits.

#### CHRISTIANITY

Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries have been working on Truk for over forty years and all but a few Trukese profess one or the other faith. How deeply

<sup>2</sup> The actual sex of Nimmoi is not clear from the story in Trukese; he has been referred to as male in translation merely for purposes of clarity and convenience.

this faith is held is open to conjecture. The fact that people often shift quite readily from one to the other, as a Catholic who wants a divorce will become Protestant, or a Protestant will marry a Catholic and join his church, does not necessarily indicate that they take the whole thing very lightly. The essential difference in dogma between the Catholic and Protestant beliefs is understood little if at all by the average Trukese and, viewing the two churches as but two manifestations of the same thing, they see little wrong in changing from one to the other. With the loss of the old religion, Christianity has stepped into a void with virtually no organized opposition. On the other hand, it has not yet proven itself in the eyes of many skeptical Trukese and they deem it wise to avoid making any errors which might cause trouble in terms of their own older beliefs in magic, spirits, and sorcery.

### POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

This same attitude of skepticism has impeded the American administration's efforts to reform the political system which had grown to a hierarchy of unmanageable proportions under the succession of foreign administrations. Truk was almost unique in Micronesia in not having hereditary lines of paramount chiefs of great power with many prerogatives and complicated and diverse functions. At the time the Germans arrived in Truk at the beginning of this century there were only local chiefs, each the head of the most powerful lineage in its locality. On the larger islands there were several such chiefs, on the smaller ones only one. They further shared their prerogatives with the powerful men we have called magicians, whose spheres of influence did not necessarily coincide with those of the chiefs, and who were sometimes chiefs themselves. On the larger islands there were yet other men who acted as arbiters of disputes over rather large areas. Thus the political structure of Truk was not organized above the local level, and was not even very precisely organized at that level; it was, however, hereditary in the sense that as long as a lineage retained its ascendancy in a locality the oldest man within it would normally be the chief. The Germans in some manner selected from each of the larger islands a man who was proclaimed chief of the whole island and of any smaller islands near it. This was necessary for, lacking the high chiefs found in their other districts, the Germans had to create an office through which to channel their administrative actions. However, this new office was without aboriginal precedent and the society therefore lacked any means of controlling the incumbent; the new chiefs had to please the German administrators above them but could afford to take considerable liberties with those under their jurisdiction. Over the years and with changes in foreign administrators, the number of Trukese officials multiplied, lesser officials being appointed below the island chiefs and, under American military government, higher officials, up to an atoll chief, being installed above them. This hierarchical organization was even more beyond the control of the people and, due to the language barrier, more or less beyond the control of the American administrators

who depended upon the highest officials also as interpreters. The entire hierarchy was therefore eliminated in 1948, and after the reorganization there remained only a single chief over each island, large or small. In an attempt to return to the Trukese some control over their chiefs, secret elections were introduced and given all possible support from the administration. Here, however, the Trukese skepticism and conservatism intervened for, although there is little doubt they recognized that the elections were truly secret, they found it very difficult to vote for anyone but the incumbent even though privately they would admit that he was not a good man. Having become used to hereditary succession and to the feeling that the chief was due respect and should not be offended, they could not bring themselves to take the essentially aggressive step of voting against him, even in comparative privacy. In the discussion of personality we shall examine more fully this tendency of the Trukese to inhibit any public display of aggression.

### ROMONUM

Having completed this brief summary of the general features of Trukese culture today, we shall begin in the following chapters to consider the life cycle of the Trukese as he develops from infancy to old age. For this purpose we shall further narrow the scope of our discussion to the inhabitants of a single island, Romonum. This is a small island less than a mile in length, situated in the western part of the Truk lagoon (See Fig. 4). With an area of only slightly over a quarter of a square mile and a population of about 230, its population density is close to 800 per square mile, which is much higher than any other island on Truk, though lower than that of many of the low islands to the south. This does not, however, make it as atypical as it might appear, for the people of Romonum live along the shore, as do the inhabitants of the other islands (although this was not the case during the period of warfare on Truk), and find ample land for gardening and other purposes in the higher volcanic interior of the island. The principal difference is that on Romonum there is less empty unused land in the interior, whereas large areas of the more mountainous central portions of the larger islands of Truk are completely unused.

The smaller island and its consequently smaller population does, however, present the individual who lives upon it with a smaller number of people with whom he is apt to be in daily contact. This is probably not of any great consequence either, since on the larger islands people do not travel extensively between districts with appreciably greater frequency than the people of Romonum visit the neighboring islands. At the time of this study, however, a condition existed which created considerable difficulty for the younger men in that there was a temporary shortage of girls of marriageable age. This forced some into bachelorhood rather longer than might otherwise have been the case and others to seek wives on other islands where, in matrilineal residence, they had to remain with their wives. This was a consider-

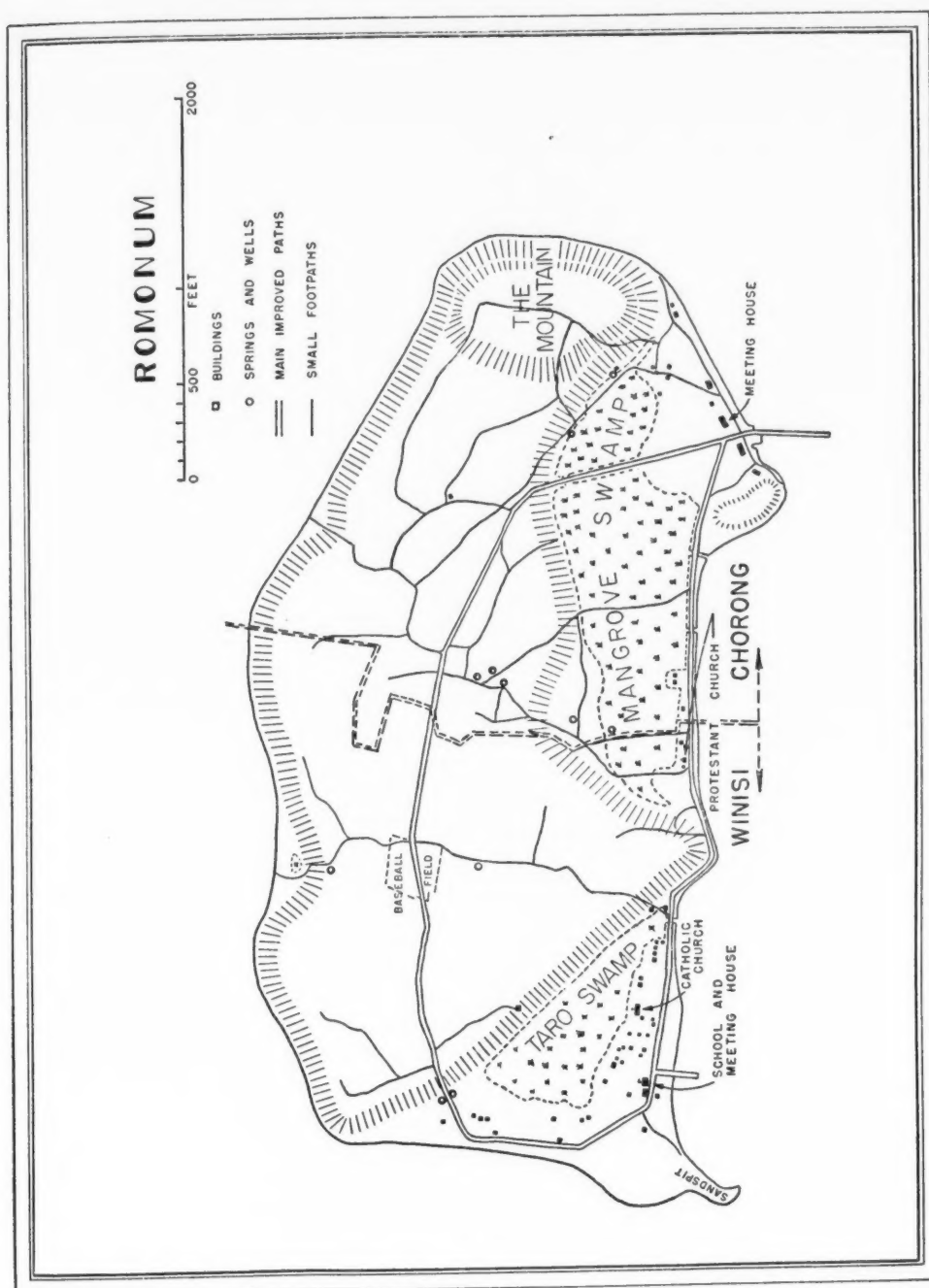


FIG. 4. ROMONUM



ably greater hardship than would have been the case on a larger island if a man had only to seek his wife in the next district to which he could walk in a few minutes. However, this was a passing condition and could not be looked upon as a factor which would have any major effect on the personality development or life trajectory of the people of the island as a whole.

Romonum is divided into two districts, Winisi on the western end and Chorong on the eastern. While at present these divisions are not of major importance, during the last century they were at war with each other and a feeling of distinctness remains to which we shall have occasion to make reference from time to time.

There is an excellent pier in Chorong, a lesser one in Winisi, and adequate stands of breadfruit, coconuts and other trees; in addition there are taro swamps, good gardening land, springs, wells, a baseball field, meeting houses, and the other things we have described as necessary to an adequate economic and social life on Truk. One fairly distinctive feature should be mentioned as it is of great importance in the life of a growing child on Romonum: at the western end of the island, in Winisi, is a long sand spit whose soft sand makes an ideal playground and along one side of which is an admirable swimming beach. This sand spit is the focus of a great deal of the children's play activities on the island and is duplicated on few if any of the other islands of Truk, although the children find perhaps slightly inferior favorite spots for play on all the islands.

## THE BABY

### BIRTH

THE Trukese baby is almost without exception born in his mother's own house, where he will spend the first few months and probably years of his life; very few mothers indeed will go either to the government hospital or to another house to give birth. The birth is attended by a midwife, an older woman and if possible a relative of the mother, and in addition two or three other women, relatives of the mother. The midwife advises and exhorts the mother in her labor contractions and directs the assistants in their efforts to assist her with massage; in the later stages of birth the midwife also assists by some manipulation of the baby, although only with her hands, no instruments or other devices being known.

The baby upon its emergence is simply held in the midwife's lap until the placenta has been expelled or withdrawn. The umbilical cord is tied and cut, and as soon as possible thereafter the child is washed in warm water by the midwife. Until this time the midwife has not herself washed even her hands, performing her manipulation of the baby, placenta, and so on, with her hands in whatever condition of cleanliness they may have been when she was called. The child is swaddled in the best available clothing, embroidered towels, or the like; in the past, he was rubbed with turmeric in coconut oil and placed under a plain woven hibiscus fiber sheet. The more elaborate covering of the present appears to be in some measure a substitute for the former turmeric, a substance which was felt not only to make the weak strong but also greatly to enhance one's appearance.

There is a fairly large proportion of stillbirths as well as cases in which the infant dies after a few minutes or hours. The number of stillbirths could undoubtedly be reduced were techniques of artificial respiration or stimulation known; the baby is simply expected to breathe spontaneously and if he does not no effort is made to induce breathing. Many of the deaths in the first few hours or days of life are undoubtedly due to the effects of prolonged labor. Other babies cling precariously to life for days or weeks, finally achieving a measure of strength, or perhaps succumbing to infection derived from the unsanitary birth conditions or from another source shortly thereafter. Recognition of the relatively high rate of mortality of newborn children is reflected in a general unwillingness to name the child until it has shown signs of real strength and health; while cultural attitudes on this score are not very precisely formulated, it appears that there is a feeling that until the child is seen to be strong enough to survive he does not really attain the status of

an individual in the family or community. Should the child die, the body is buried without ceremony by the father or another relative or, in at least one recorded instance, is simply dropped from a canoe in the sea to be consumed by sharks. No formal mourning behavior is associated with such a death.

In the event of normal births, which are of course in the majority, a few hours after the birth when everything has been cleaned up and the mother has rested a little, friends and practically all the relatives of either the mother or father will drop in, a few at a time, to visit the mother and congratulate her on the beauty of the baby. They often, though not always, bring small presents of soap, perfume, or the like. The child, whether aware of them or not, is thus exposed within a few hours of his birth to a large number of people, a condition which will obtain more or less throughout his infancy. It must not be overlooked that in being exposed to these people socially, the baby is also exposed to their diseases; it would not occur to a relative who was wheezing, coughing, and sneezing with a cold to stay away on this score.

#### NAMING

During these first few days of visiting, one of the visitors may be asked by the parents to suggest a name for the child. This may be a relative or, if a name is desired related to some of the spells of magic or divination (which do not give to the child any special benefits but are just considered a good category of names), a person knowing these spells may be called upon. It is considered flattering to be asked to name a child and no payment is expected.

#### FEEDING

Meanwhile, many green coconuts and any other food the mother wishes are brought to her. It is felt that she will not only regain her strength more rapidly by eating, but her milk will begin to flow more rapidly. The colostrum is started flowing by rubbing the breast with coconut milk and giving it to the child to suck. As soon as he has sucked a little he is not given the breast again to avoid the diarrhea which would result from consumption of much colostrum. If the mother's milk begins to flow within a day or so, the child is given water, usually from the mouth of an adult, and outside of this awaits the flow of milk for his first nourishment; even coconut water or the juice of sugar cane is considered too strong for a newborn baby.

If, however, no milk has appeared after several days, feeding of these liquids will be started. However, it is recognized that these do not provide adequate sustenance and other more nourishing foods will be sought. Fresh sap from coconut palm leaf shoots is one of these; it is very digestible and babies have been known to survive on this alone. During the Japanese period the Trukese were encouraged to keep a few goats for this purpose, the goats being milked into a pail and the

infant fed from this via an adult's mouth. At present, canned milk is increasingly available and is often fed by the conventional baby bottle, although this is of course never sterilized and seldom washed.

If the mother appears permanently unable to nurse the baby or has died in or shortly after childbirth, the baby's chances of survival without mother's milk are considered poor and a foster mother is sought. Preferably this is a lineage "sister" of the mother or other relative, for her function will be little more than that of a wet-nurse. Failing such a relative who is willing and able to nurse the child, it is likely to be given to an unrelated woman who wants it; this, however, results in complete adoption by the foster mother, which will of course be avoided by the parents if possible. With this one exception the mother will keep the child until it is weaned regardless of divorce, adoption, or other changes affecting the child's relationship with its parents. Thereafter, in the event of the death of either parent, or their divorce, arguments may ensue, but it is the father of the child who has the ultimate jurisdiction over the child if he wishes to exercise the right.

During the first few weeks the child is fed almost entirely on demand and generally receives more favorable and consistent treatment than he will ever again enjoy. The mother is not expected to do any work until her strength has returned, and she spends all her time lying on the mat with her baby beside her, playing with and fondling him and feeding him whenever he is restless. Now, as later, no attention is paid to consistency in alternating the breasts or to the length of time one breast is sucked, so the child undoubtedly encounters some frustration in sucking a breast dry of milk.

With the return of the mother's strength, feeding becomes less reliable. Ann Fischer<sup>1</sup> reports that:

As the mother becomes more restless, she is less likely to satisfy the oral needs of the baby. If the baby cries, someone will come to it, but the response is not instantaneous. The baby may be allowed to cry for a minute or two. If the mother comes, and the baby stops crying when she begins to feed it, she may feed it only for a few seconds, become interested in talking to someone or wish to walk away to speak to someone, and put the baby down again. Feeding the baby is an aside for her, which is done if the baby is loudly making his wishes known, otherwise she may lose interest and walk away. The baby, of course, quickly begins to cry again. This type of feeding is not conducive to draining the milk-laden breasts well, and the quantity of milk may grow insufficient to nourish the baby, making early

<sup>1</sup> Ann Fischer, *The Role of the Trukese Mother and its Effect on Child Training*, a report to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council on research done under the program entitled Scientific Investigation of Micronesia, Cambridge, 1950 (mimeographed). Mrs. Fischer's field work, also on Romonum, followed ours by about a year. She was able to make a more consistent and complete observational study of child training than the present writer, and her report provides an invaluable supplement to our data. All references in the text are to this report.

supplementary feeding of fish and breadfruit a necessity rather than a planned part of infant feeding. Thus, the mother of [one boy] reports that at six months her child was eating everything an adult eats. It was noted by the observer, that whereas a true demand schedule is supposed to induce the infant to eat on a schedule of its own which may make some approximation to the once-thought ideal schedule of every four hours, Trukese babies, said to be on a demand schedule, appeared to wish to eat a great deal of the time during their waking hours. This statement should be regarded as a statement of a tendency and not a universal fact. [The mother of] one baby, who appeared to have a less compulsive desire to eat . . . was mentally deranged and weak, and once in the feeding position found it difficult to move from it. [He] was also unique in that he spent a remarkable number of hours sleeping soundly (p. 80). . . .

It was felt by the observer that further proof of this desire for numerous feedings might lie in questioning informants about night feeding of Trukese infants. Many American babies are reported to give up feeding in the middle of the night before the mother leaves the hospital, others shortly thereafter, and most all of them tend to give it up in the first few months of life, unless awakened in order to adhere to an eating schedule. Trukese informants report that most Trukese babies continue this feeding for many months, and many of them do so until they are over one year of age. It is felt by the Trukese that this tendency is very weakening to the mother. It is intimated there that there may be a feeling among Trukese mothers that the suckling of the infant is weakening to them and may account, in part, for their attempts to keep feeding periods short. This belief is, of course, not without foundation, especially in the case of an underfed mother (p. 81). . . .

In the opinion of this observer, the evidence indicates that Trukese babies meet with important frustrations in attempting to satisfy their oral needs. These frustrations are caused by feeding periods of extremely short duration, which come only when the child is protesting noisily and are broken off when the child is somewhat pacified, leaving him with an unsatisfied hunger (p. 82).

#### CARE OF THE BABY

When the mother has regained her strength she becomes able to work again, but until the child can at least crawl and preferably walk she remains close to home almost all the time or carries the baby with her if she has to leave. At this age the child is carried in the arms. But the mother's constant availability loses much of its value for the child in that her attention, unless the child is in real trouble, is very casual and the child finds very early that even minor distractions are sufficient to keep adults and even its mother from responding as rapidly as the child would like to its summons. With the ability to crawl and later to walk, this condition becomes even more acute. The mother leaves for protracted periods of an hour or more, with the child often rather vaguely left in the care of a "sister" or other relative of the mother, an older sibling of the child, or the child's father. These people may themselves wander off, leaving the child with yet another person



or taking the child along. It is not uncommon to see a girl of seven or eight carrying a small baby astride her hip and wandering about the houses of the village. Adults carry babies in this fashion also, or piggy back, with the hands clasped below the child's buttocks, or in a variety of other postures of which the two mentioned are the most common. Even when the mother is present, her response to the child is almost entirely a function of her degree of preoccupation with something else. Little children have been repeatedly observed to stumble and fall rather painfully or tumble off a step or low porch; although they cried with such violence as to verge on a true tantrum their mothers continued with their tasks or conversation with only a glance to see that the child was not really injured. Yet on other occasions, when the mother or another adult is not otherwise occupied, the child will be picked up immediately if it suffers the slightest mishap, fondled, kissed, and cooed at until it forgets its disaster.

Fondling of small children is very common on the part of both men and women. They are picked up, bounced on the knee, kissed with a sucking gesture of the lips, talked to, or just held; both men and women will also hold boy babies up above their heads and play with the baby's genitals in their mouths according to Fischer (p. 91). At the same time the baby may be teased, being offered an object only to have it snatched away, or having a lighted cigarette held near his face until he recoils. One gets the impression in watching adults play with children in this fashion that the child is an amusing plaything for the adult and perhaps a somewhat sensual object rather than an individual toward whom an expression of real affection is being made. This could not of course be said to be the entire motivation, but certainly this attention is directed less to the baby as an individual than would be the case with an American playing with an American baby.

Although the baby may feel the lack of consistent personal attention, this condition benefits him to the extent that he is subjected to almost no restrictions. Babyhood lasts until the child can talk and until that time an infant is usually referred to by a term meaning "does not understand." Almost any behavior is excusable on this ground and the Trukese carry their tolerance of small children to remarkable extremes. Babies are not diapered and in fact seldom clothed, but practically no attempt is made to train them not to urinate or defecate in the house. Mothers will take small babies out of the house when they awake or at other times when they may be expected to urinate, and will carry them out also if they begin to defecate, if this is convenient; but if it is not the feces are simply cleaned up off the mat or the mother's legs or wherever they may be with no apparent concern. The child's buttocks are usually cleaned with the mother's finger and rinsed with water. Later, when the child can walk he will be gently directed outside when he eliminates, but a lapse is not punished. Similarly, fingering the genitals is either overlooked or prompts an indulgent smile or laugh. It is significant of the infant's status at this time that such behavior is not considered improper even if witnessed

by an older sibling of the opposite sex, a person toward whom the most rigid sexual taboos will later apply. Again, we get the feeling that the small child is not yet really a full-fledged person; its status might be said in some respects to be that of a household pet, to be enjoyed when convenient and ignored otherwise and, not being very teachable, will have to be tolerated as a minor nuisance. Infants are certainly a nuisance as they toddle about and pick things up but they are scarcely ever told to put them down. They often play with sharp knives and the like, but very rarely injure themselves, although they sometimes break things and more often wander off and lose them. Nor are they excluded from adult groups: a small child may wander into a group of adults in serious discussion without any fear of being told to leave. One of the adults will probably pick the child up in an absent-minded way, hold him for a while, and then put him down; the child will then wander off again without having once interrupted the flow of conversation.

There is little attempt, in infancy or later, to regulate the child's sleeping habits. Babies simply go to sleep whenever they feel like it, wherever they may be, although if the place is too inappropriate someone will move them gently. Occasionally a woman will joggle a baby to sleep on her lap, with the baby's body between her forearms and his head cradled in her hands, but this is by no means a consistently followed routine.

Bathing continues to be in the hands of adults, usually the mother, throughout the child's infancy and even later. Again, Mrs. Fischer has a good account of this:

Young babies are generally bathed twice a day. In the early months, water will be heated for this purpose. One mother was very concerned about the temperature of this water and was eager that it should be just right for her child. The bathing process may be more or less elaborate, depending upon the equipment which the mother is able to afford. Any container may be used for the water; most generally in use is the wash pan which is also used for food. Most mothers do not have wash cloths, but one mother was observed to use one. Soap is also a luxury item, and greatly cherished for the baby, being somewhat concealed from other would-be users. If there is no soap, the mother simply rubs the baby over with her hand with clean water. Some mothers seem to feel that their baby's hair should not be washed, and in most cases, it is oiled with a sweet-smelling hair oil, also used by adults. As a result of this kind of treatment, many babies' heads will be covered with a black, scabby-looking material which may be a mixture of dirt and cradle cap. On inquiring from the anthropologist what could be done for this and following the suggestion of washing the head, this came off. In the bath the baby is soaped or rubbed with water over its entire body, and then rinsed off. If there is a towel, it may or may not be dried with it. The mother generally wipes excess water off with her hands. She carefully wipes out the ears, where fungus is likely to grow, with her fingers. At all times during the bath the baby is held firmly. In no case did the baby appear to be afraid of this process or to feel that it was unpleasant. Some mothers protect wooden floors and the baby by spreading out a towel or other protection under the child (p. 92).

When the child can walk, it is carried to the spring by its mother when she goes to bathe. Except that the water is then cold the process is otherwise quite similar.

### WEANING

It is often while bathing at the spring that the child receives its first consistent introduction to solid food. A small package of breadfruit is carried along and each small bite is immersed in the water by the child's mother before it is given to him. Whether supplementary foods are introduced in this fashion or at home, such feeding is started early. Fischer's survey revealed no child over eight months old who was not eating the foods of the adult diet (except indigestible preserved breadfruit) in addition to receiving the breast (p. 83). Some children dislike certain of the adult foods; in these cases they will be given something else if it is available. Even before this time coconut water and the juice of sugar cane supplement the mother's milk for very small babies; sugar cane has to be prepared by the adult in his or her mouth until the child has teeth, but coconuts are soon drunk directly by the baby, albeit with a good deal of spilling.

While the proportion of adult foods in the diet gradually increases, complete weaning away from the mother's breast is seldom accomplished solely by this means and no particular value seems to be placed on permitting the child to wean itself. However, the tendency of mothers to report their intention of weaning those children still breast-fed at an age later than the average (Fischer, p. 84) may indicate some recognition of the unpleasant effects on the child, or alternately it may simply reflect the inadequate Trukese awareness of chronological age. In any event, Mrs. Fischer found (p. 83) that practically all children were weaned by the age of two and many when they were only slightly over one. When the child is to be raised by its own mother and weaning does not therefore come automatically with separation, the most frequent impetus to weaning is given by the eruption of teeth and consequent biting of the mother's breast. A child which has not yet teethed will be nursed into a subsequent pregnancy as long as there is a supply of milk. When weaning has been decided upon, the child will be fed solid food with more reliability than usual and picked up to discourage its crying, but this is rarely sufficient and positive steps have to be taken. These consist in making the breast uninviting by smearing the nipple with sticky black breadfruit sap or applying wild pepper to it, or both. The child learns with only one or two applications and ceases to attempt to nurse. One of the more thoughtful mothers reported that she then provided her children with sugar cane or other objects to suck, but it is doubtful whether this is the usual practice. Those mothers questioned stated that there was no unusual disturbance in behavior after weaning their children, but it cannot be assumed that they would notice too closely; unfortunately no data are available from observation. Thumb and hand sucking is not discouraged but it is not very common among children of any age, although again no precise observations have been made.

### ADOPTION

Adoption is quite common on Truk; a brother or sister of either the mother or father may ask for the baby if the parents already have several children and the couple making the request have none or perhaps only one. This is usually arranged shortly after the child is born and the prospective mother will thereafter share rather largely in the care of the baby which, however, will remain with its own mother until it is time for it to be weaned. Weaning is not accelerated or retarded for this reason and usually takes place when the child teeths. The child is already eating solid food and is simply taken away at this time by the adoptive mother, thus automatically weaning it. While the two women often live near each other, the adopted child is kept away from his former home for a while until he is presumed to have become accustomed to the separation from his mother and her breast. This dual separation cannot help being of major consequence to the child and it is not surprising that in the two accounts we have in the life histories of children adopted in this fashion (Irene and Roger, both adopted by Rachel) both the children were reported to have cried almost continually for some time, although this was ascribed to the adoptive parents not yet having found the kind of solid food the children liked.

### ILLNESS AND DEATH

Illness is common among infants and more often than not it is serious and not infrequently fatal. While reliable vital statistics are not available, a survey was made of all the mothers on Romonum living in 1947. Of 204 children born alive to these women, 56, or 22.5 per cent, died in the first year, and 75, or 36.8 per cent, died within the first three years of their lives. Stillbirths are not included; four were reported among these women but this figure is almost certainly low. Also, as only living women could be questioned, cases in which mother and child died were of course omitted. The actual rate of infant mortality was thus probably higher than that given here, but on the other hand it must not be overlooked that this covered the years of desperate food shortage during the war, and the current rate is undoubtedly lower. Food supplies, sanitation, and medical care have all improved and continue to improve, and the first to benefit are the babies.

However, to the present time there is absolutely no understanding of the need for hygienic procedures in child care from birth onwards and the baby is constantly exposed to infection by intestinal parasites and any disease which may be current; his survival is entirely a matter of his own resistance to such infection. After a very few months virtually all children have intestinal parasites; the swollen, gaseous belly is characteristic of the Trukese infant. These parasites reduce the child's resistance to disease directly, and indirectly by reducing the value of his already not entirely adequate diet; on rare occasions they may also be the primary cause of death.

The most common cause of children's deaths, however, is respiratory infection. The Trukese are all susceptible to what are essentially colds and several epidemics of this sweep the atoll every year; while the adults are merely miserable, the more virulent forms kill fairly large numbers of children, usually through pneumonia. Acute diarrhea, to which the parasites undoubtedly contribute, is also quite frequent.



## THE CHILD

THE ability to talk, or more properly to understand what other people say, produces a major change in the status of the Trukese child, for with this ability is removed the excuse whereby almost any behavior was justified, that he "does not understand." But no concerted effort is made by the parents or other adults to hasten the learning of speech. On occasion, the child's father may perhaps spend an hour teaching him a word or two, but again he may not; when this sort of training takes place, it appears to be a congenial way to spend the time, seeing whether the child can be taught the word. It seems but another case of the small child being a pleasant source of entertainment. And it is not nearly as entertaining as teaching the infant to walk; parents are almost always delighted with the baby's first steps, but, unless he is precocious and therefore noteworthy, the child's gradual acquisition of speech is largely taken for granted.

With the understanding of speech, too, comes the exposure to deceit, shame, and fright. All of these are used by older people, adults or children, almost before the child can really understand the words, to discourage him from crying or to make him cease an activity the older person may find annoying. The child who is crying for his mother will be told "Stop crying, here comes your mother!" The child looks, and fails to see his mother; but there is always the hope that thus distracted he will not resume his crying, a hope which is seldom realized. Our efforts to obtain the confidence of small children were similarly limited by adults who would tell a child who was creating any sort of disturbance, "Stop it; see, so-and-so is watching," pointing to one of us Americans; this combination of the use of shame and fear was made more pointed in the latter direction by "Stop it, or that American will eat you!" We may infer that this admonition was believed, for the child would usually stop crying and try to bury himself in the lap of a handy Trukese adult; for months the small children would flee in terror if they found themselves without a phalanx of adult bodies between them and a voracious American.

With the child's growing comprehension he is not only considered to be increasingly liable for the consequence of his acts, but is also assumed to be able to take care of himself in most situations and achieves a large degree of independence at a very early age. By the time a child can talk with reasonable competence, at three or so, he is expected to regulate his daily activities and the fulfillment of his bodily needs by himself. He sleeps when he wants to, and if he wishes to stay up at night to watch some activity of older people no one tells him it is time for bed.

A child who is obviously very sleepy will, however, be told to go and sleep, with a tone which implies he should have had enough sense to have done this himself some time before. Similarly, Ann Fischer (p. 96) found that between the ages of two and three practically all children had learned without the necessity of severe discipline to go outside the house to urinate or defecate, and by three or four were going on their own initiative to the benjo. The benjo, as introduced by the Japanese, is an over-water toilet on the shore, usually a fairly flimsy structure, and often approached by nothing more than a single coconut trunk. The children, however, already accustomed to trying to climb sloping coconut trees and other precarious objects (without being alarmed by the anxious intervention of their parents which would be expected by an American child) view the benjo with no misgivings.

Bathing, too, soon ceases to require adult supervision, although a reminder is usually necessary and parents will often take their children along when they go to bathe to make sure that it is accomplished. But often a dirty child will just be told by a parent or older brother or sister, not infrequently in tones of mild disgust, to go and bathe. He will thereupon seek out a companion and go, frequently not returning for hours as they become diverted by some other activity on the way to the spring or returning.

The child is also expected to come and eat when he is hungry; the adults in the household do not wait for the child before eating nor do they attempt to call him to eat unless he is close at hand. On the other hand, there is the feeling that the child should eat with reasonable regularity, and if he is absent for a long time playing he will often be reprimanded or punished. Furthermore by not being on hand when the adults are eating the child may find it more difficult to obtain food when he is hungry. Frances expresses this well in her life history:

When I was small I used to cry if they did not have food for me. After I had eaten I would go out and play; I used to play a great deal when I was small. When I came in to eat and was hungry, if they were slow in giving me food I would start crying. If they were working they would just keep on working and tell me to wait until they were through; if they were tired and on edge from their work they would beat me. But I would not stop crying until I was fed; then I would go out and play again.

### PLAY

Frances was not alone in playing a great deal. Until the age of ten or so practically all the waking hours of a Trukese child are spent in playing with his age mates. At the outset this takes place close to home with other children of about the same age who live nearby, or simply alone in the sand near the house. But soon they range farther afield, joining other children the same age from other houses in that section of the community or following along with older children's play groups as they wander about. As swimming is a major pastime for the older children, and the water is always close to these villages built just in from the shore,

the smaller children are constantly lured to the beach. This presents one exception to the general parental unconcern over the hazards to which their children may expose themselves in their play. The mothers particularly seem obsessed with the fear that their children will drown. This fear is not entirely groundless for the life histories contain several episodes in which this very nearly happened, although I know of no case in which a child actually died in this fashion. Despite the parental admonitions, however, children by the age of six or seven and often before have learned to swim quite adequately and their movements are almost entirely unrestricted.

Play at this time becomes more organized and definite games take the place of the wandering and idling of the smaller children. At the same time the play groups also become a little less random in their composition, although they are always more or less fluid. Boys and girls tend to play separately, although often at the same things, and the groups will be composed of children more or less all of the same age. An exception to this is the quite well organized play which takes place on the Winisi sand spit at night; boys and girls play together at this time and many adolescents (but no adults) may also join in.

The child has also by this time become well aware of the importance of his relatives and will tend to select his "brothers" or his "sisters" as his playmates. He probably often does not have a very accurate picture of the genealogical connections which make them "brothers" or "sisters," but they have been told they are so related and this is enough to assure him that if a fight or other crisis occurs they will stand by each other.

The typical daytime play group spends a good deal of its time on the move. One member will suggest an activity and, unless something occurs to distract them, they will go off to pursue this; when they tire of it another suggestion will be made and they are off again. Or they may spend hours watching some interesting adult activity. Whenever anything unusual happens, a boat arrives, a man gets in an argument with his wife, or someone chases a chicken to catch it for the pot, a few children always miraculously appear and are on hand to watch or participate as appropriate. They run impromptu races, practise throwing stones by the hour, or try to catch birds, an effort which is surprisingly often crowned with success. A favorite pastime for boys is watching fighting fish: a species of small fish will fight when it finds itself trapped with one of its fellows in a banana leaf filled with water. This provides endless merriment and the expression of expert opinions as to what makes a particular kind of fish a better fighter; adults are often attracted to watch but the boys ignore them. Girls pause in their rounds to compete in jumping up with both feet and kicking their buttocks with their heels; the one who can do this the longest is the victor, and the losers may find redress in violence. And when there are no other ideas, or the day is hot, there is always the water, particularly off the Winisi sand spit, where the children will play for hours, swimming and making

little sailboats of coconut husks with coconut leaf sails which are launched and sail away until they capsize beyond the reefs. Older boys carve more efficient canoes, complete with outriggers, from the spongy midrib of the ivorynut palm if someone has been using the leaves for thatching a house.

Guessing games are common, usually consisting in guessing which hole contains the shell, or (with the back turned) how many holes have been made in the sand. These and other variants have in common extremely long odds against the guesser so that when someone succeeds in guessing right there are great whoops of joy from the group.

Make-believe, both in talk and in actual imitation of adult activities, is a favorite pastime. Someone in the group will suggest they go off on a trip. There follows elaborate talk of where they are going, what canoes they will use, who will go, and what preparations should be made. As suddenly as it was begun the matter is dropped and something else begins. Adults often are present and laugh and join in. But more formal acting-out is done where the adults are not likely to intrude, and if an adult should come up the children dissemble what they were doing lest the adult laugh at them instead of with them. This is among the many virtues of the sand spit, for it is the children's province; adults have practically no occasion to go out upon it (unless to look for a small child about whom they are worried) and it is screened from the village by dense bushes. Bundles of dirt or sand become packages of breadfruit for a feast, while "chiefs" call the people into meetings and harangue them or try them for their many offenses.

At night, the breadfruit may be real. Children ask their parents for breadfruit and fish, build fires on the beach, and roast their food. They eat it and sing songs in a falsetto voice but with surprising ability, finally trailing off home when sleep overcomes them or their parents come to find them. The parents do not come after the older children, however, and they can stay out all night if they wish, although some parents will not permit this.

More active games are also played at night, particularly if there is a moon. A game similar to our "prisoner's base" is commonly played by boys, while the girls have one in which they join hands to make a "net" with one girl as the fish. Oddly enough, the "fish" is outside and her objective is to get into the net, breaking through the ring made by her fellows. But far the most popular of these night games, and one in which boys and girls join, as well as the younger adolescents who do not yet have to take themselves too seriously, is the ghost game. This a variety of hide and seek in which all but one person hides. This one person is the ghost and seeks the hiders out. Once found, they are "eaten" in the manner of ghosts, which for the present purpose usually consists in digging the knuckles, sometimes rather painfully, into whatever part of the victim's body comes to hand. The victim then becomes a ghost and the game continues until all but one have been found. The lone survivor becomes the ghost in turn and the game begins anew. This may



often go on through most of the night or until the moon sets, the younger participants dropping out as they get sleepy. The younger ones usually giggle or fall out of the bush in which they are hiding at the wrong moment and get caught, so the game is not as rewarding for them as it is for their more accomplished elders.

### STRIFE

This carefree play is not, however, without its pain and strife. Fights between the children are fairly common, although in most cases the "fight" consists in one child hitting another (who is often smaller) whereupon the second boy bursts into tears and the fight is over. If he has a "brother" in the offing, particularly an older "brother," the "brother" hits the first boy who in turn bursts into tears. Only occasionally do the fights reach more major proportions; when they do, particularly if they last for some time, one of the parents or another adult relative of one of the participants is apt to become aware of it and intervene. Even if this does not happen the tearful victim of aggression frequently dashes home to tell his mother or father, the story of course making it clear that the attack was unjustified, unfair, and cruel. Almost every life history tells of at least some childhood fights. A few may be quoted as representative, the first from Mike, who was seventeen when his life history was recorded:

One night when we were playing out on the beach a boy, smaller than I, came up and hit me. I cried, and a "brother" of mine came up and asked why we were fighting. The boy said I was bad and did not play right, so they fought. Later, my "brother" went to my parents and told them about it, and told them it was true I did not play nicely, but that he had fought the boy for saying so. So they beat me and I cried again.

When I wanted to go out and play my parents would tell me I could not because I would not play nicely, and would get in a fight, and then they would be angry. Then I would cry and they would feel sorry for me and tell me to go on and play, but lecture me on not getting in a fight, and I would say yes.

This episode also shows clearly how even in childhood the Trukese feels he should defend his "brother," right or wrong. Edward, twenty-seven, lived inland away from the beach in his childhood with his mother and half-brother, his father being dead.

One day we went down to the beach and sailed our little boats. My older half-brother told me to go and get some ivorynut wood, which I did. We had a knife and made some boats and sailed them. Then my half-brother got in a fight with another boy; the boy was small, but he used very bad language to my half-brother, so they fought. The boy's older "brother" helped him and my half-brother was beaten. I was frightened of the boy, and ran inland. I went to our house and was crying. My mother asked me why I was crying, and I said the boys had beaten my half-brother and I felt sorry for him. She asked where he was and I said I did not know. Later she went off to look for him and returned with him in the afternoon.



She asked why they beat him and he told her. She felt sorry for him and told us both that we must no longer go down and play on the beach. So we just played inland. When our mother went down to the beach we went with her, but otherwise we just played inland.

Such fighting is not by any means confined to boys, as two episodes among the many recounted by Sarah, twenty-one, will attest:

One day when I was fairly big and knew how to swim I was playing out in the ocean. A boy came up and beat me, so I got a bowl and hit him over the head and his nose bled. My father came up and beat me and asked me why I was always bad and getting into fights. I told him the boy had hit me first; he said that did not matter, I should not fight.

Once I was playing with another girl on the path by the ocean. She told me to go to her house and get a drinking coconut from her mother. I went and got it and we drank it together; but she ate all the soft meat out of it and did not give me any. I was angry and we fought. Her father came up and asked why we were fighting. I told him she had eaten all the meat out of the coconut and not given me any. So he beat her and told her she was very bad not to give me some to eat. He asked her why she had done it and she said she just wanted to eat it herself.

Sometimes others are drawn into the fights and when a free-for-all develops the combatants frequently divide along district lines, the old warfare between Winisi and Chorong repeating itself on a miniature scale. These sometimes extend into guerrilla warfare lasting several days; Frances, twenty-one, who lives in Chorong tells of a briefer episode:

One moonlight night when I was about nine we went and played on the beach. We sang and played the ghost game. Then some of the Winisi children started to beat a Chorong girl, and all we Chorong children set upon them. We had a fight and beat them; they fled. The next day our parents told us we must not go over there any more because we had been naughty; if we did they would beat us. But they did not really mean it; they were just talking.

In addition to actually fighting, children can also be very cruel in teasing one another, particularly an older child frightening or taunting a younger. Sam, thirteen, was frightened when he was small:

Older boys used to tell me a ghost was about to bite me; I would tell them they were lying. "No, there he is under that rock!" Then I would be frightened and run home crying. My father would ask me why I was crying and I would tell him the boys told me a ghost was going to eat me; he would beat me and tell me not to be frightened of ghosts because they were not real, and I should not believe in them.

Goaded a smaller child into a fury and then taunting him in his helpless rage seems a fairly common pastime. Early in our stay I observed a girl of about six do this to a boy of three. As she teased him he became furious and, crying, picked up

a stick to chase her; she ran away, keeping just ahead of him for a hundred feet or so, and then led him through a house and out into a banana grove. This lasted for five minutes or more, the little child screaming and crying in rage until he finally became lost in the banana grove. She ran away laughing and he wandered aimlessly among the bananas, sobbing, until he was joined by a slightly older boy and they went off together.

On another occasion, a boy of about ten who had been crippled since infancy received the same treatment. One leg was withered and he walked, or hobbled, on one leg and a pole which he gripped with his hands. He became angry at someone, for reasons I could not ascertain, and rushed at the person. This was thought very amusing for it was silly to think he could catch anyone. Others joined in the fun and shortly he was surrounded by a ring of jeering boys his age and a little older, with smaller children on the outskirts. They all hurled taunts and every now and then one would dash in as if to push him or pull the stick out from under him. He sobbed and cursed at his tormentors and occasionally made a hobbling lunge at someone, an effort which always fell short of its mark and produced roars of laughter. This continued for ten or fifteen minutes until everyone had tired of the sport and wandered away, leaving him to clump away, still sobbing. Several adults were in the vicinity and, while they did not take part, were highly diverted by the show which took place in a clearing surrounded by houses.

#### DISCIPLINE

The child suffers not only at the hands of his playmates but also in the beatings he receives from his parents and others for his misdeeds. These beatings are, of course, not without cause, but what is to be considered sufficient cause varies widely in different families as does the severity of the beatings. Susan reported in her life history that she was never beaten, although this appears unlikely. Beatings are often just a cuff or blow with the hand on the buttocks or elsewhere, but a stick may also be used. It would, however, be felt to be going a little too far if a mark was left on the child. Outsiders would not comment, at least openly, but the child's mother's brother would probably intervene. He is also a "father" and of the child's lineage, which the father is not, and it is thus his prerogative to see that the child is not unduly mistreated. He may also beat the child himself if the occasion demands, although this is usually left to the parents or any of the grandparents.

If the parent is especially annoyed at a child's misdeeds, a fairly commonly observed pattern of behavior is to switch the miscreant with a handy thin stick on the buttocks, the while asking the child, "Why did you do it? . . . Do you hear me? . . . Why did you do it?" Fright and pain shortly reduce the child to speechless sobs and the demands for an answer become more insistent. This may go on for several minutes until the lesson is considered to have been learned; then the child is

told to go off and wash off the sand accumulated while he lay on the ground crying. Both men and women have been observed administering this sort of discipline but only to their own (or adopted) children.

Beatings may be administered for a wide variety of offenses. One such as that described above was administered to a boy of three by his mother when he threw a stone at a chick and to his surprise and very temporary delight hit and killed it. A somewhat older boy received one from his adoptive father for hitting a smaller boy quite accidentally with a baseball bat; interestingly enough in this case the beating was felt necessary not because the smaller boy was hurt, but because when hurt he cried and thus disrupted a meeting which was in progress at the time. Small children who venture into the water are consistently beaten, usually by their mothers. After the age of five or so, when children have a fair command of the language, they are reprimanded or beaten for using vulgar words.

Stealing cannot be taken very seriously with a small child, but by the time he is seven or eight he is expected to understand about property and thefts will be punished with increasing severity from this time onward. Lying, on the other hand, while it is disapproved, is not dealt with very severely, largely perhaps because it is too much trouble to trace the facts and determine for sure whether a statement is a lie. The life histories contain stories of lies, big and little, told by children and adolescents, mostly to get themselves out of trouble or, as adolescents, to get themselves out of attending the Japanese school on Udot.

In spite of the freedom given to children in the way they may spend their time, there is a point beyond which they are considered to have been away too much. This point again varies widely as determined by different parents, from an attempt to keep the children home practically all the time to almost complete unconcern over their whereabouts. Beatings are administered for this, coupled often with threats not to feed the child. This latter sanction is also applied on occasion to other offenses. Food may be withheld for some time but of course the parent ultimately relents, an ending which one often feels is regarded by the child as a victory over his parents. In view of the uncertainty as to his food with which the child has been faced from babyhood there is little doubt that this threat is disturbing. This opinion finds support in the large number of times such episodes are remembered and appear in the life histories. A few of these may be quoted as representative. Mike relates that he stayed out late playing two days in a row. On the second day his father was very angry and Mike promised not to do it again.

But the next day I thought of my playmates all playing on the beach and could not resist going out again. When I came back my father was very angry with me and told me I could not have anything to eat. I got angry then, and went out again. After a while I came back and he was still angry and told me again there was nothing for me to eat. So I just stayed there and did not go out playing again that day because I was hungry.

Tony, twenty-three, remembers many occasions on which he was refused food for staying away so long playing. He was also punished for failing in the little tasks which older children are supposed to undertake:

When my father used to go to prepare breadfruit he would tell me to come along later to bring him some cigarettes or the like, but I would just go off playing and not worry about him any more. Then when I came home, there he would be, angry at me. He would ask me why I had not brought his cigarettes, and I would tell him I had been playing. Then he would beat me and tell me how naughty I was, and that if I liked playing so much I could eat it too, because I was not going to get any food.

I inquired of Theodore, who was forty at the time, as to the disciplining of his son, now a grown man.

When he was small, just able to walk, he was sometimes slow in coming when I called him. Then I would take a stick and beat him. I only remember beating him three times; two of these times I tied up his arms and legs afterwards and put him up on top of the house for an hour or so. He cried up there because he had no food, and then I felt sorry for him and took him down. He learned from this and always came when I called him the first time. My wife approved of this, for she said if I did not discipline him he would be naughty and go off a long way and steal things from people's houses and end up in the calaboose.

It is certainly significant of the Trukese attitude toward food that Theodore was able to feel that his small son, tied up in a precarious place, was crying only because he was not permitted to eat! Susan, who says she was never beaten, was, however, refused food:

When I was about ten I got into an argument with two "sisters" of mine of about my age; they used bad language to me so I talked back to them. When my parents heard about it they were angry and told me I should not be so fresh. They told me if I was fresh again they would beat me. They said they would not give me any food, but an hour or so later they gave me food.

A child who feels he has been really badly treated by his parents has one form of retaliation available to him which is almost always successful: he runs away and hides. In due course his parents and others in the household will become concerned, and perhaps feel a little guilty, and go out searching for their wandering child. When he finally returns all is forgiven and, to resolve the crisis and re-cement the family bonds, he is given all he wants to eat. Sam, who was thirteen and close to puberty, told of a recent episode:

A while ago I smoked, and my father found out about it and beat me on the buttocks and on my head so it bled. I ran away and when it was night I did not come back; I was hiding outside of a house a little way away. There was no moon and I squatted down so they would not find me. But they came out looking for me with torches and found me. They soothed me, and then took me home and we had breadfruit. They no longer wanted to beat me.



Hiding out alone, particularly at night when there are ghosts about, is fairly frightening and it is not surprising that younger children rarely stay away for very long. It is interesting in regard to Sam's smoking that in spite of his recent trouble on this score he smoked a number of cigarettes with no apparent concern while having his interviews with me. Roger also got into difficulties over cigarettes; he was seventeen at the time he gave his life history, but this had happened several years previously. In this case the trouble stemmed from the theft of cigarettes from his adoptive mother, Rachel, an exploit he shared with a "brother." They were found out.

So Rachel beat me and beat me, asking "Why did you take my cigarettes?" Then she called an older "brother" of mine and told him to come over and speak to us because we had taken her cigarettes. He tied us to a coconut tree, with our hands behind us and beat us and beat us. Then it began to rain, and he left us tied to the tree with the rain falling on us. We were cold. We lay down, and my "brother" managed to bite through his lashings and ran off to a nearby house and hid in some taro. I decided that if I stayed around they would beat us some more, so I ran away too and joined him. They looked and looked for us and did not find us. We did not dare come out that night and just stayed in hiding. The next morning we were hungry. I said to my brother, "Let's go back, because we are hungry. It does not matter if they beat us, we have to eat." We went back and they asked us where we had been. We told them. Then they felt sorry for us and told us to come on and eat. So we ate and ate.

The participation of Roger's older "brother" is interesting in this case. I asked him why his "brother" had been called in and he said simply because he was a "brother." However, it is far more likely that he was called to deal with Roger's other "brother" with whom he had been caught stealing. This boy was a son of Rachel's own brother, by then dead, and hence not of her lineage. Therefore she could not discipline him. The man who was called in, however, was the boy's mother's sister's son and had more or less taken him in charge after his father's recent death. He was far more distantly related to Roger but, having been called upon by Rachel for the purpose, could also beat Roger.

The child is also disciplined for any sexual activity. While idle fingering of the genitals is not stopped until the child can talk, active masturbation begins to be discouraged even before this time. Once the child is felt to be able to understand any such activity is dealt with severely. Heterosexual experimentation does not begin until later, probably not until shortly before puberty. It appears that most children of this age have experimented to some degree, but not many are caught at it. When they are they are disciplined but it is important to note that the reason given is not that it is inherently bad; rather it is not good for a child and will make him sick. The child is told to wait until he has reached puberty and then it will be all right.



Frances tells of the commotion caused by her first sexual experience:

One day I was out playing with an Uman boy who was living here with his parents; we played together a lot because we were practically brother and sister. He suggested we should go inland, so we did. He told me to sit down, and put his finger in my vagina. While he was doing this an old woman came up and saw us. We ran away. The old woman went to our parents and told them what we had done. We played and played, and finally went home. I went in the house and told them I was going to eat. But they had a big stick ready. My father told me to sit down. I did, and he stood over me and asked me why I had done this bad thing; then he hit me. I said I had not done it, and he said I lied and hit me again. He kept talking to me and hitting me. Finally I ran away. He told my mother to go out and get me and tell me to come back and eat; this was a lie, but she went out and looked for me anyway. She came up to me, and was still a little angry, but crying too, because she felt sorry for me. She told me I must never do this again. We went back in the house together, and my father talked to me again; I still denied it, but he did not beat me any more. Meanwhile the boy's father was beating him. Later our fathers got together and scolded us some more. We never did it again.

Eleanor, twenty-four, was exposed to such sexual play as a girl but did not want to try it:

One afternoon I went to a house with some girls. There were five of us in the house, and no other people, but we played around in it. Then three boys came in underneath the house, which was quite high off the ground, and told the girls to come and sit down over a small hole in the floor. The girls were much bigger than I, close to adolescence. They each sat down over the hole in turn but I did not know why. Then the boys said they were through with them and wanted someone small. So they told me to come and sit there; I thought there was something to see so I sat down. But when I looked down I saw that two of them had a stick and they were going to push it, or their fingers, up my vagina. I cried out, and said I did not want to. The girls asked me why and I said it would hurt. They told me it would not, but I refused to sit down again. Then they started taking turns again. But meanwhile a woman came up and peered in; she was unmarried. She saw the girls sitting on the hole and cried out that they were having intercourse in the house. People came running up and saw who we were. I went back to my house and my mother asked me why I was doing this when I was small and would be sick from it. I told her what they had been doing, and that I had not been willing to, but she did not believe me. Later that woman came in and told my mother that it was true that I had not done it.

### CLOTHING

As appropriate to the increasing effort to keep children from indulging in sexual activity and to the increasing likelihood thereof, they are more and more urgently told to wear clothes. They seldom want to, and a constant, if minor, struggle goes on between parent and child on this issue during the early years of child-

hood. It is reported by informants that in the old days children went naked until puberty; this seems unlikely, particularly as the early sources on Truk report that girls started wearing wrap-around skirts at seven or eight, and boys a cloak (though not a breechcloth) at ten. On the Western Islands which are much less Europeanized older children are not naked, although pre-adolescent girls often wear only a bunch of leaves over their genitals. In any event, by the time a child is three or four there is some pressure on him to wear clothes; by the time they are seven most children are clothed all the time. An exception is when they are swimming; children do not wear clothes when they are swimming until they are close to puberty.

Small children of both sexes are very commonly seen in the cast-off undershirts, with or without sleeves, of their older brothers or other male relatives. These undershirts, which are invariably torn and dirty, often reach to the ground on a small child and cause the child to present the appearance of a walking rag, a remarkable sight to the uninitiated. They also have clothes of their own, made by their mothers; for girls these are short dresses otherwise similar to those of women. Boys often have little shirts and short trousers with shoulder straps; not infrequently they wear only one or the other. The little shirts, when worn without trousers, reach only to the navel and do not entirely fulfill the intended function of clothing, but the gesture appears to satisfy everyone. On Sundays and special occasions even babies are dressed quite fully and everyone turns out in the best clothes he owns whether he wants to or not.

#### CARE OF YOUNGER SIBLINGS

As children grow older they are expected to help with the care of their younger brothers and sisters, although not for long periods or as a daily routine, for it is recognized that they do not care for the responsibility and would become unduly lax if they were overburdened with such duties. The aversion to this task undoubtedly contributes to whatever feelings of hostility may already exist toward the younger sibling. But on the other hand children, as we have seen, learn early the value and importance of their siblings to them for they are often the only ones on hand to provide support in time of trouble and any real dislike they feel must be kept well under cover. Thus Norman, forty-two, tells us:

My mother had an older brother of mine, who is now dead, take care of me when I was too old for her to be able to handle me. He used to beat me when I was bad and talk sternly to me; but he did not beat me very hard, for I think he sympathized with me.

Tony, however, did little to conceal his hostility:

There was a little baby brother of mine in the house and I used to beat him. They used to tell me not to, for if I beat him and he died when they [his parents] died I would be all alone; but if there were lots of us we would be better off. But I was just naughty and went on beating him, and later they would beat me.

Several times my older brother, who is dead now, came home and asked me if there was any food. Although there was, I told him to go back out and play because there was none. Later when my parents came home and he returned, he asked them for food and they gave it to him. Then he asked me why I had said there was none and said I probably had wanted to eat it all myself. Then he beat me.

I used to take my little brother outside to play, and pretty soon start beating him. He would cry, and my mother would come and ask me why. I would tell her I had beaten him and then she would beat me.

The entrusting of small children to their older brothers and sisters is not without its hazards, as this account of Kate's demonstrates:

When I was fairly big, I took my little brother up to the spring to bathe him. He fell over into the water; I pulled him out and brought him home. He was not yet able to talk and I was afraid to tell our parents for fear they would beat me, so they did not know. They still do not know.

#### LEARNING ADULT TASKS

As the child approaches puberty, from the age of nine or so onward, he is expected to begin learning the adult tasks which he will have to undertake as an adolescent. Boys should be able to climb trees and perform the tasks of getting and preparing food; they should be able to fish, although they would not be expected to know all the various techniques they will later learn. Girls increasingly accompany their mothers and learn from them the routine tasks of washing, cleaning the house, cooking, and those fishing techniques used by women. Parents vary in the degree to which such learning and assistance are required, and of course this is also a function of the number of people available in the household and lineage to do these tasks. However, some demands of this order are put on all pre-adolescent children, and on the other hand none of them are required to give up playing entirely in order to work.

They are also expected to show more of the emotional restraint which will be required of them, and particularly not to cry although they still do so under sufficient provocation. As they grow older they tend to be held more and more responsible for their acts, for they "understand" more; but this is a continuing process which does not reach its completion until almost middle age. There is no sharp break, no time before which they are not responsible and after which they are.

## YOUTH

### PUBERTY

THE Trukese child has been gradually prepared for the change in his status which comes with adolescence but the transition is nonetheless in some respects fairly abrupt. This change occurs at puberty, marked in the case of girls by the first menstruation and for boys by the first appearance of pubic hair. Other indicators, such as breast development or the first *emissio seminis* of boys, are not considered relevant to the Trukese. In the past, the emergence of the child as a full-fledged member of the community was signalized by a change in clothing. The boy, who before puberty had worn a very simple breechclout or just a G-string, was given a more elaborate breechclout (made for him by his oldest sister) which he would wear thereafter, and a headband and dancing combs put in the hair to improve his appearance and appeal when dancing. Girls, who had formerly worn a rather plain waistcloth and not a very good one, began to wear the more elaborately decorated and well made adult cloth of hibiscus fiber, often supplemented with glistening banana fiber to make the most desirable style of all. During her first menstruation itself, however, she wore a completely plain one (also worn in subsequent menstruations and when pregnant and nursing) and usually retired to a separate hut where she was given small presents by her closest relatives to signify her new status. There is some conflict among our informants on the subject of a separate hut (which is, however, still used in the western islands) and this makes it appear likely that the early sources are correct in stating that its use was not universal on Truk.

This formal social recognition of puberty is no longer observed in any way. It is, however, important to remember for, although very modest in scope compared to the initiation ceremonies found elsewhere, it is the only ceremonially formalized change in status which takes place throughout the life of the individual in this society. And it appropriately signalizes the only permanent change of status in the individual's entire life trajectory which does not occur so gradually as to be imperceptible. To a large extent the transition is as important today as it was in the past. It consists essentially in the person ceasing to be a child and becoming an adult. We have, of course, seen that the pre-adolescent child took on a number of adult functions and behaviors, and we shall also note that the adolescent is still far from being a fully mature adult, but this does not make the change any the less real, although perhaps less dramatic than it might otherwise be. We might best

phrase it by saying that before puberty the person is a child with some adult attributes; after puberty he is an adult who has not yet fully lost his childish irresponsibility.

The most noteworthy aspect of adolescence as compared to childhood is that in this status the person may engage without censure in sexual activity, whereas formerly this was not possible. As this will form the subject matter of our next chapter discussion of this topic may be deferred for the moment. We should, however, bear in mind in considering the other activities of youthful Trukese that at this time in their lives lovers' liaisons are a compelling preoccupation of both boys and girls, and their attention is seldom deflected long from the planning, discussion, or pursuit of such liaisons.

## KINSHIP ROLES

### BROTHERS AND SISTERS

With the advent of sexual maturity an important change takes place in the relations between sisters and brothers. They must now treat each other with reserve, and any reference to sexual subjects or even elimination (which involves the genital areas of the body) must be avoided between them, and avoided by others if a brother and sister are present in their company. These restrictions apply almost as strongly to the "brothers" and "sisters" more remotely related and to a man's "daughters" and "mothers" to a somewhat lesser degree. As Goodenough has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> there is a definite progression in the extent and strictness of these prohibitions with remoteness and type of relationship. Thus a man should not even be seen in company or sleep in the same house with his "sister." He should not see the exposed breasts of a "sister" or "daughter," and should not permit any sexual allusions to intrude upon a conversation with any of these or his "mothers." Actual sexual relations are prohibited with any related woman except his "wives" (which include his wife's sisters and his brothers' wives). In each case, a relationship which is defined only by marriage is rather less strongly tabooed than a blood relationship. And as these kinship ties become more remote, it is frequently possible to find another means whereby the relationship between two people may be traced which is less restrictive if the individuals concerned so desire.

The fact that brother and sister cannot sleep in the same house of course means that at puberty one or the other must move out of the house in which they have been brought up. It is the boy who makes this move, just as it is usually the man who goes to live in his wife's house at marriage. In the old days this consisted in moving into the lineage men's house, a large open-sided structure in which were often kept boats and other men's paraphernalia, although these houses were not normally taboo to women during the daytime. This was also appropriate as it was at this

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 116-118.



time that the boy's training in the arts of war began, in isolation from the women-folk. Today, the men's houses are no longer used; a few such structures remain, usually only one in each community (on Romonum, there is one each in Winisi and in Chorong), but they are used as meeting houses and schools. In some cases at present brother and sister sleep at opposite ends of the house or, if there are several rooms in the house, sleep in separate rooms. However, the feeling remains that the brother should move out, and he will often find some other close relative with whom he will live until he marries. This is also the time many boys go away to the administration's school on another island as they did in even greater numbers during the Japanese period. Many also seek employment, with the administration or elsewhere, and there were again many more who did so under the Japanese.

Also at puberty in the old days were instituted a number of restrictions on behavior which further complicated the relations between a man and his "sisters" and "daughters," of which the most striking was that he could not stand in the presence of his seated "daughter" while his "sister" could not stand in his presence if he were seated. Rather, they had to crouch or crawl in these circumstances. These prohibitions were also graded by relationship but extended considerably beyond those which could be considered to have any reference to incest categories (one crawled, for example, also to district chiefs and magicians). These have again been fully analysed by Goodenough<sup>2</sup> and appear to have very little bearing on present-day behavior, so they need not further concern us here.

#### BROTHERS

In addition to the change in behavior expected between a man and his "sisters" and "daughters" at puberty, his relations with his "brothers" also change. The "brothers" here involved, although referred to by the same term as more distant ones, are only those within the man's own lineage and particularly his own brothers with whom he grew up. From adolescence onward he must treat his older brothers with respect, not indulging in vulgar humor toward them and not intruding himself upon them, particularly outside of their own house. This custom is not as pronounced as it was formerly but still remains effective. These limitations are not of the same order as those between "brothers" and "sisters," for they do not prohibit social interaction to nearly the same degree, but they do reduce the possibility of relaxed and easy relations, particularly for a young man whose greatest delight is in telling humorous stories of his sexual escapades. The restraint and respect he must show toward his older brother, which the older brother will therefore reciprocate to some degree, also reduces the possibility that any hostility which they may feel will have an opportunity for expression. The obligation to provide support and assistance is of course in no way reduced for either of them and this incentive should be enough to preserve amicable relations between them; the reserve demanded is,

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 111-116.

however, an added assurance. This respect relationship does not appear to exist, at least to the same degree, between "sisters."

The young man's "brothers" related by blood cannot, then, provide him with much companionship. He can be more free with those "brothers" who are not of his own lineage, and if he and a more distant "brother" find themselves companionable they may join forces in pursuit of their amours and other activities. More often, however, this role is taken over by another boy who may not be related at all. Two young men who find each other good company will come to spend more and more time together and soon consider themselves "brothers." The same kin term is used by them to refer to each other as if they were actual brothers, but it is known by all that it is an artificial relationship. As we have pointed out already, however, a measure of kinship obligation and behavior devolves upon each toward the relatives of the other, and this increases as the "brother" relationship endures over time, so that in some cases their children and children's children maintain a feeling of kinship stemming from their relationship. The bond is not formalized by any ceremony or public announcement; they simply begin after a while to refer to each other as "brother." Most young men acquire one or several such relationships; they may be brief in duration and of little consequence or, on the other hand, be quite permanent, imposing on each as much obligation toward the other as would be the case with real brothers (but without the restraint), and result in fairly complete integration of each into the lineage activities of the other. Thus when the mother of Andy's "brother" died, Andy participated throughout in the funeral ceremonies and remained in her house thereafter through the mourning period with the other members of her family, even though he was in no way related to them.

Such "brothers" share more freely with each other in all respects than do actual brothers, having access to each other's clothing, food, possessions, and loves. Such sharing is of course also the prerogative of actual brothers, but it appears to be much less freely accomplished. "Brothers" often spend most of every day in each other's company, sharing whatever activities they may have jointly, or just idling about the island, walking along holding hands. The holding of hands, incidentally, is very common particularly for adolescents between persons of the same sex; it is rare and not entirely proper for people of opposite sex, for it would be forbidden for those in incestuous relationship to each other and otherwise would suggest the couple were lovers, thus starting a whirl of gossip.

#### SISTERS

Adolescent girls, as well as older women, also form "sister" relationships (using the same term as men, actually, because the term as translated should properly be "sibling-of-the-same-sex"). This bond may again be quite enduring in some cases, although Ann Fischer (p. 129) verifies the impression I also had that it is not as close among women as among men. To some degree this may be a func-

tion of the fact that to a man his "brother" means support in time of crisis as well as a companion, while for a woman it is her brothers, rather than her "sisters," who rally to champion her cause when the need arises. The "brother" relationship is therefore a more important one to those who participate in it than is that of "sisters."

#### PARENTS

Relations with one's parents also change with puberty. The parents still feel an obligation to provide for their children but in lesser degree, depending in part on the extent to which the children are able to provide for themselves. In some respects this obligation of the parents becomes, when their children pass puberty, merged with the more general obligation of the lineage to provide for its members. But it is also more specific than this; we find, for example, in many life histories that it was the parents of the adolescent children who accompanied them to the Japanese school on the neighboring island of Udot to see that they were fed and otherwise provided for.

While the parents maintain in large degree their roles as providers (tempered, of course, by the ability of their children to contribute themselves) they almost entirely drop the role of strict disciplinarians. They may advise or even berate their children, and frequently do, but unless deeply angered do not strike them. It is a bitter humiliation for a youth to be struck by either of his parents and this very rarely happens. If stern measures are necessary the youth's parents will call upon his older brother to deal with him; this is usually successful without any resort to violence. And often this is more appropriate, for the misdeeds of an adolescent are quite likely to involve his brothers rather deeply. An adolescent, in his adult status, is felt for the first time to be responsible for his acts; if he uses disrespectful language to his elders, or becomes involved in an adulterous affair and is discovered, or otherwise gets himself into trouble he may well find himself in a fight and his brothers will have to come to his aid, often at their own peril. These crises are now more often resolved by the calaboose than by violence, but the threat and the obligation remains and not infrequently still materializes. A man will thus often take the initiative in curbing his younger brother without the intervention of their parents.

To the reduction in friction between parent and child which comes with puberty is added the fact that for boys the opportunity for any friction to arise is lessened by the circumstance that he has usually left home and thus has considerably less contact with his parents. The relationship increasingly becomes one of mutual help and considerably more warmth than ever existed before. This was true of Norman (whose father died when Norman was a baby) to a rather striking degree if we may believe his account:

When I was about eleven I was very naughty to my mother; I did not listen to her or do what she said. A number of times I hit her; I used to do this when I came

home from playing and there was no food. I would get angry and throw a rock or something at her. Once I came home and asked her if there was any food and she said she had not prepared any. I was angry, and took a stick and beat her hard. She cried. After that she would not give me any food; I just got it from other members of the household, for I still stayed there. A few days later she felt sorry for me and gave me food again. When I beat her, an older brother of mine in the house in turn beat me and told me that I had been treating my mother badly for a long time. He said that every time I did this he would beat me again. I cried too, and did not try to intimidate my mother again, for I was scared of my brother.

Later when I was about sixteen I did what my mother told me, for I felt sorry for her and for the trouble I had caused her. When she went fishing I went and picked breadfruit, pounded and prepared it for us. If she caught a lot of fish she would give them to me to eat, and when I prepared breadfruit I would leave it for her. We no longer talked of beating, either she beating me or I her. When I went away to Udot or Tol she just worked to make food for me, making sure it was all very good, and then when I came back she was always delighted to see me.

### WORK

The gradual induction into the adult subsistence activities which began in late childhood continues into adolescence for both boys and girls. Most children by the time they reach puberty know most of the principal techniques but are usually not expected to bear their full share of the work. Some, of course, have to work more consistently than others, such as young men whose fathers are dead and who have but one older brother to do the household's share of food production for the lineage. But most youths help only occasionally, and this is expected for "they just think about women," a phrase which often justifies almost as much for adolescents as "they do not understand" does for small children, although it serves little to excuse real misdeeds. It must also be remembered that food production is primarily the responsibility of the household heads within the lineage, and in most lineages there will be enough older men to share the work without very much assistance from the young adolescents.

When young people do produce food they are doing so as members of a lineage and they have to learn to share it as they will the rest of their lives. One gets the feeling that Sarah was not too enthusiastic about this in her early youth:

One day I went fishing but I did not get any fish: nothing but one octopus. I brought it home to my mother and she told me to take it to a "brother" of hers. So I went off and took it to him and gave it to him. He asked me who had caught it and I said I had. He asked my why I did not eat it myself instead of bringing it to him; I told him my mother had told me to bring it to him so he thanked me very much. So he ate it, and we did not.

On the other hand, young men for the first time in their lives can always be assured of food if they want to take the trouble to get it for themselves and a threat which



has been hanging over them is at last removed. This feeling of self-sufficiency and pride in it is well expressed by Edward:

When my half-brother was away if my step-father went out fishing I made the food all by myself, for by then I was able to; I was about sixteen. I liked doing it, because if I did not we would not have had any food; also I liked to, and still do, because people hear the pounding of the pestle and know I am strong and doing it well. Also, I felt that if I wanted to get married but did not know how to make food the girl's parents would not approve of me. So I worked hard at it, thinking of getting married.

Warren, who was close to sixty when he told his life history and thus spoke of earlier days when he was an adolescent, still remembered the delights of being a provider for his household:

My father took me to his men's house and I stayed there. One day we picked some breadfruit and cooked it and pounded it, and then went out fishing with spears. We speared a great many fish, including some big ones. We brought them back to the men's house and my father told me to take one to his wife. So I went there, carrying it on my shoulder; when I went to the house they were amazed at the fish for it was enormous, as long as my arms. They scraped it and cut it up into pieces and put it on the fire to broil. There was breadfruit too, so when the fish was cooked they said we should eat. So we started eating and ate and ate; when we were full we slept. Then we woke and ate again, and slept, and ate. My mother did too. Finally my father came and told me not to gorge myself or I would be sick, so I stopped. I went back to the men's house to sleep. The men's house belonged to the oldest man in my father's lineage; he and nine other men, including my father, lived there.

Girls, who are not displaced from their homes at puberty, do not undergo as great a change in status as do boys; but, being constantly with the older women in the household who are working, start working consistently every day earlier than do boys until they marry and have their first child. Their later menses do not affect their activities much. Little is done to staunch the menstrual flow although some may stuff leaves or rags up under their wrap-around skirts. However, some blood not uncommonly runs down their legs and is no particular cause for concern. Formerly, they had to keep out of the way of their "brothers," for this again was a reminder of the genital area, but this is no longer observed. To the present, however, they usually eat food prepared by their husbands or someone other than their "fathers" or "brothers" when they are menstruating, and eat separately from their "brothers." But they continue to work in a normal fashion and there is no suggestion of isolation at present.



## LOVERS

WITH puberty, as we have already noted, the sexual activity which had previously been forbidden the child at once becomes not only permissible but expected of the adolescent. There is in fact a widespread belief among both men and women on Truk that menstruation in a girl is not possible until she has had intercourse. This belief could of course only exist if the two coincided closely. Also, since puberty is culturally defined for girls by their first menses we must further say that the belief gives implicit recognition to the fact that the prohibition against prepubertal sexual activity is largely honored in the breach. Some of our informants disclaimed the menstrual hypothesis, but said that while menstruation could take place prior to the first intercourse the development of the nipples on the breasts could not! There is ample evidence that boys enter into sexual activity little later than girls; any adolescent can be expected to have had a fair amount of experience by the time he or she is sixteen.

## LIAISONS

Typically, such sexual activity takes the form of lovers' liaisons which may be fleeting or quite permanent and may often lead to marriage. Some individuals may feel the need for extensive sexual conquests and have several liaisons in effect simultaneously or consecutively, while others find satisfaction in but one. In either case, the society does not disapprove but considers liaisons quite appropriate provided neither of the individuals is married and a person with multiple affairs does not let the situation get sufficiently complicated to provoke a public scandal. Theodore, in fact, tells in his life history of his embarrassment on the occasion of his first affair when the family in the house woke up in the middle of the night and, instead of chasing him out of the house, invited him to join them in a midnight snack.

## INCEST TABOOS

Liaisons, of course, cannot be undertaken or even any intimacy shown with persons who come under the incest taboos. These taboos cover essentially the same people with whom marriage is forbidden; liaisons, however, not being subject to the public scrutiny which obtains in marriage permit of more latitude in practice if not in theory. At a minimum, the forbidden group includes all members of one's

lineage and all those persons defined as "parents" or "children" by virtue of kinship through a male line. The latter are primarily the children of one's "brothers" and the lineage mates of one's father. Usually, members of the larger descent groups of which the lineage is a part are also included, but exceptions even in marriage are possible and appear to be not uncommon in the case of temporary liaisons, although case records are not conclusive on this point.

The most significant feature of the group of people so defined is that they are the persons toward whom one has extensive reciprocal obligations of economic and social support and with whom one must exercise appropriate and often culturally defined restraint and respect. One's livelihood and security depend upon their continuing cooperation, and one must therefore behave toward them with sufficient reserve to assure that an inadvertent act or remark will not antagonize them and thus jeopardize the relationship. These lineage members are the people with whom one works and who collectively provide the framework for practically all important activities; a large part of one's time is therefore spent in an interpersonal context in which one has to be more or less "on guard." On the other hand, the extension of the incest taboos to and rather beyond the limits of this cooperative group assures that one's lover will, by definition, be a person toward whom one does not have such obligations. Therefore the restraint with which one must behave toward those defined as important relatives need not be exercised between the partners in an affair, in matters sexual or otherwise.

#### EXTRAMARITAL AFFAIRS

As we shall have occasion to discuss more fully later, liaisons do not cease with marriage. Our informants as well as many case histories make it very clear that "love for your wife is not the same as love for your sweetheart." Extramarital affairs differ essentially from premarital relationships only in that they are conducted with more circumspection and considerably more hazard, and the descriptions which follow will deal with both as more or less one complex of behavior, differing in almost all respects from the relations which obtain between married persons. The difference, again, between marital and extramarital relationships (except for the sexual act itself) lies in the obligations and reserve which characterize the former. As we will see in the next chapter, marriage even with a former lover immediately establishes a web of obligations and duties toward a new set of relatives, mediated through the spouse. The marriage relationship, then, is also too important to be exposed to the hazards accruing to careless behavior. It is not as crucial as that which obtains between the members of a lineage, for divorce is possible and in itself not very disastrous; but it is significant that while sexual relations are permitted between man and wife, humor with a sexual content is disapproved and considered in bad taste in this context.

## INITIATING A LIAISON

The ultimate objective and expression of any liaison is quite explicitly sexual intercourse. The initiative is taken by the man and it is mutually understood from his first advances that this is his intention; he is accepted or rejected on this basis, although if more than a passing conquest is intended actual coitus may not take place on the occasion of the first or even the second rendezvous. Adolescents are not prepared for this by any formal instruction or advice by an older relative or other experienced person. However, they have had ample opportunity to observe others in their childhood households, and learn also from the conversation of their slightly older or more precocious acquaintances. Boys may furthermore be afforded "practice" by their "brothers'" generosity with their wives. Thus Andy's first sexual experience was with the wife of a somewhat older artificial "brother," who said he felt sorry for Andy because he had no one with whom to sleep and invited him to his house. Andy did not find this an entirely satisfying experience for his "brother" remained in the house, obviously wide awake, throughout his embarrassing first attempts, thus robbing him of what little assurance he had been able to muster for the occasion. This did not, however, prevent Andy from embarking some time later upon an intensive affair with this girl which very nearly brought the dissolution of his "brother's" marriage and terminated the brotherly relationship; nor was he impotent in his first attempt. As far as can be determined, sexual impotence is unknown for a Trukese man who is not seriously ill or senile.

The first step in any affair is of course to find a partner. Here as later the initiative rests with the boy; the girl is supposedly demure and chary of her favors. Actually, Trukese girls can be, when they wish, extremely provocative, giggling and peeping and teasing in a manner which is neither subtle nor ambiguous. This sort of behavior is perhaps a little less frequent on Romonum than on some of the other islands where there have been more continuing contacts with foreigners, but it is by no means unknown. There also obtained on Romonum at the time of our study an acute shortage of unmarried adolescent girls which practically forced the boys to seek their partners among the young married girls. Some of these girls, however, were barely past puberty (again, in part, a function of the dearth of marriage partners) and, as we shall see, adultery tends not to be taken as seriously when all parties concerned are young as when they are more mature. As a married woman has to be rather more circumspect than one who is single, the fact that practically all the adolescent girls on Romonum were married may in part account for the fact that they were observed to be somewhat more demure than those on the larger islands at the time of our stay. Some of the same girls observed later on the large island of Moen, where they were more or less away from the surveillance of husband and family and in competition with the Moen girls, were not notable for their restraint.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a recent article Goodenough pointed out the lack of unmarried girls on Romonum and sought to use this, the hazards of clandestine affairs, and the unsatisfactory nature of

In any event once the boy has conceived the idea of having an affair with a girl it is up to him to make the first approach. This may consist in simply creeping into her house and awakening her in the middle of the night, but it is more common and less risky to arrange a rendezvous in advance. This is presently accomplished by means of letters in the majority of cases, the letter being carried by a go-between. Either a boy or girl is suitable; if a man feels the initiative is entirely with him he will often select a younger "brother," whereas if he already had some encouragement he may call upon a younger "sister" of the girl. Such younger "sisters" make admirable conspirators and thus tend to be preferred. The love letters are quite conventionalized in form, protesting the great pain caused to the writer by his undying love for the object of his affections, apologizing after some particularly telling bit of prose for his ineptitude as a writer, and finally suggesting that he would like to see the girl. The first letter or two should properly be ignored, and subsequent letters become even more passionate and despairing. If enough letters are ignored, the boy may either give up or try the more direct method of visiting the girl at night. If, however, she finally answers the letter, either through the intermediary or with her own letter which the intermediary carries, she has indicated her acceptance and it is only a matter of arranging a tryst. This may be done through a chance meeting on the path, or by means of further correspondence which, although with a more practical goal, is still couched in flowery terms of heartache and longing. It is ironic that, in terms of quantity at least, the most important use to which the art of writing has been put by the Trukese since it was taught them so painfully by missionaries and administration alike is the writing of love letters. The art of writing a good love letter is highly prized and it is not uncommon to see a Trukese youth sitting down somewhere with a concentrated frown and a scrap of paper writing phrases for practice. These are always the phrases of love and assignation.

The love letter is, however, a two-edged sword. Because lovers' liaisons are so frankly sexual in purpose, to write a letter is in essence to request intercourse, regardless of the subtlety of its phrasing, and to answer is to accept. A love letter involving a married person is, then, *prima facie* evidence of the intent to commit

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furtive coitus to account for the preoccupation of young Trukese men with sex. This unbalance in the sex ratio of unmarried adolescents is, however, temporary; sexual preoccupation, furthermore, obtains among the youths of other islands where the communities are larger and the girls of nearby villages have been readily accessible over the past forty-odd years. It is also doubtful whether conditions which militate against the achievement of orgasm in the woman will have any necessarily frustrating effect on the man who always reaches this point, although it may contribute somewhat to his anxiety. The distinction which Goodenough makes between vaginal and clitoral orgasm does not appear to be supported by clinical or other evidence. See Ward H. Goodenough, "Premarital Freedom on Truk: Theory and Practice," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., vol. 51 (1949), pp. 615-620. For the nature of female orgasm and the clitoral stimulation which is most conducive thereto, see Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (New York, 1951), especially Chapter 2.



adultery and if discovered is treated in practically the same manner as actual evidence of adultery. For this reason the approach to or by a married person is handled with great caution, and subsequent letters will use code names and other devices to conceal the identity of the correspondents.

Prior to the introduction and spread of writing other devices had to be used, many of which are in use in some form today but have taken second place to the letter. The chance encounter, or a message carried by a go-between, were of course useful; as the houses were then widely scattered through the interior of the island, instead of being concentrated as they are today along the shore, the opportunities for meeting in momentary privacy along a path were far greater. A variety of different species of flowers, worn in the hair or over the ears of either sex, had both traditional and private meanings for lovers, determined both by the kind of flower and where it was worn; silent messages were exchanged by this means and still are, although one gathers to a far lesser degree. A soft melody played upon a nose flute outside of a girl's house was both a serenade and an invitation; today the harmonica has taken over some of this function but is more often played merely for pleasure and entertainment, as is the guitar (which is a little conspicuous to carry to a tryst).

#### LOVE MAGIC

Magic is also available if more direct means are not effective in evoking a response to one's advances. While its use was undoubtedly more prevalent formerly, love magic did not belong to the body of more esoteric lore which was reserved primarily to the master magicians and is thus still known and used today. In fact, the most knowledgeable practitioners are often women, and while it is usually discussed in terms of its use by men, as appropriate to their function as initiators of liaisons, it is significant that women also resort to it on occasion. The most common forms which love magic take are perfumed ointments which are surreptitiously rubbed on the person whom one desires, and powders or other preparations which are mixed with something the person may be induced to drink. In either case both the substances and the spells which have been said over them are calculated to arouse the desires of the recipient more or less exclusively toward the supplicant. Charms may be concealed in the clothing of a hopeful lover, which will make him irresistibly attractive; these are plaited with suitable spells from the midrib of a coconut leaf. The love for a rival may also be dissipated by magic, the objective being the rather unusual one of making the woman associate the rival with feces. Some of the spells refer to the rival as feces, and a more direct effect may be produced by mixing a little feces (not necessarily of the rival) with an appropriate plant and secreting the mixture, after reciting spells over it, in the woman's house; after this whenever she thinks of the rival she thinks too of feces. Or a bit of feces, properly dedicated to the rival, may be put in a coconut husk and put in the sea where it will drift away with the current and carry her affection for the other man away with it.



## ADORNMENTS

Young men try to make themselves look as attractive to women as possible. Nowadays this consists in wearing on Sundays, and other occasions when no work is in prospect, a white shirt and white trousers and an embroidered towel about the head, as well as flowers over the ears and as much perfume as is available. While perfume is used by both sexes, it is the man for whom it is considered most important. Perfume is old on Truk; now it is practically all imported but was formerly made locally of coconut oil and the flowers of various plants. The costume of the old days was different from that worn now, except for the perfume and flowers, but presumably equally dashing. A man wore an especially fine breechclout heavily rubbed with tumeric and perfume, and sometimes a finely woven white hibiscus fiber cloak; in his hair, in addition to flowers, he wore long combs decorated with feathers and red shell. Women, then as now, wore clean and fairly new clothes, with perfume and flowers in the hair, but without the intention of appearing as conspicuous as the men.

## DANCES

A man could best show off his charms when dancing for there were usually a large number of admiring women in the audience. The early missionaries combined with the increasing load of work to reduce greatly the performance of the old dances, although there was nothing inherently licentious in them. The most common routines included slapping the thighs and the crook of the bent arm (the latter producing a startlingly loud noise when done successfully) rising to a gradual crescendo as the body wove back and forth with increasing violence, and culminating in a loud whoop by the dancers as everyone burst into appreciative laughter. Equally common was a dance performed sitting or standing in which each dancer held a long staff, gracefully but simply carved; alternate ends of this staff were cracked resounding against those of the dancer's neighbors in a highly complex series of routines, each gaining in pace to a climax, again punctuated by a great whoop. Various groups of young men vied with each other in undertaking ever more complex combination of motions and shifts in position of partners, along with increasing speed, as they were inspired by the admiration of the audience.

Dances were also performed at night in the men's houses by the light of a large fire; in these both men and women participated. They danced in facing rows or alternately, usually sitting on the ground slapping arms and thighs as previously described. As some danced, others circulated about them pouring perfume on the heads of those of the opposite sex whom they admired. At the conclusion of such dances, which often lasted well into the night, the fire was extinguished and the crowd dispersed, many of those both married and unmarried pairing off with their lovers for a sojourn in the bush before proceeding homewards. While this was scarcely an orgy, and the incest taboos for example were not relaxed for the occasion,

there was considerable tolerance expected even of married persons on nights such dances took place.

The knowledge of these dances is not entirely lost and their revival (although without the social context) has been encouraged, particularly in the administration's school on Moen; but the infrequent dances which still take place on the other islands, including Romonum, are primarily less spectacular imported routines which require much less skill. The young men still dress to the teeth for them, however, and endeavor to appear as skilled and graceful as possible.

### RENDEZVOUS

Once the girl has signified her acceptance of the boy a meeting is arranged. These may take place either in the daytime or at night. In the daytime, such meetings always take place inland, in the bush. The girl may advise the boy, directly or through an intermediary, that she is going to such-and-such a spring to bathe at a certain time, or more specific arrangements may be made for a rendezvous, including the routes to be taken by each to excite the least curiosity if their travel is noted by a passerby. Secrecy and subterfuge are of the essence in arranging such meetings and the girl will often bring along a younger "sister" to lend plausibility to the story of bathing; the "sister" waits at a distance from the meeting place and may even stand watch to sound the alarm if anyone comes. While the Trukese like to boast of their daring in having rendezvous in which the couple just step a few paces off the path and have intercourse with an eye out for passersby, it appears that in most cases they penetrate rather far into the dense second-growth brush which provides excellent cover in many places on the island, and meet with pretty fair assurance of privacy. It is in fact very rare for a couple to be caught *in flagrante delicto* in the bush, and more serious lovers almost always meet in this fashion where they can give full expression to their passion without fear of interruption.

Meetings at night normally take place at or near the house where the girl sleeps. A long trip inland would not only be unnecessary but invite the onslaughts of ghosts; the girl's prolonged absence would also be hard to explain if a member of the household were to awake and find her gone, while a shorter stay can be explained as a trip to the benjo or the like. Such nocturnal meetings were formerly facilitated by the use of the so-called love sticks. These were slender rods about two feet long, at one time quite plain; with the advent of steel knives during the last century a vogue of elaborate carving was developed. Young men carried them about with them and at night, having ascertained where the girl slept in her house, would push the rod quietly through the thatched wall and, touching her head, twist the rod to entangle it in her hair and thus awaken her. In some cases a man's rod would have distinctive notches in one end which he would show the girl during a meeting in the daytime; by feeling the rod she could be sure whose it was. Or, awakened, she might inquire in a low voice who had awakened her; to this the standard reply is

simply "I"; if she does not recognize the voice, she asks again, and the name is given. If silence was important, she might also signal with the rod: if she pulled it, this meant "Come in." A push meant "Go away," and a shake meant "Wait a minute, I am coming out." Similarly, if she pulled the rod to indicate the man should enter and he felt this too risky, he might in his turn pull it to indicate that she should come out instead.

The love stick was discouraged by the missionaries and became completely useless with the increasing use of frame houses with walls of lumber through which the stick could of course not penetrate; they are now made only for sale as curios. No substitute for this device has been developed and the man has simply to take his chances in entering the house with great care and, creeping around the sleeping bodies of the other members of the household, seek out his love and awaken her. She asks who it is, and the reply is again "I"; if the meeting has not been pre-arranged he will ask if he may come in under her mosquito netting. If this represents an attempt at a new conquest for the man this is a perilous moment, the girl may raise an outcry, awakening the other people, and the man has to beat a hasty retreat. Usually, however, this does not happen, although the girl not infrequently refuses; if he cannot persuade her he must leave. In this situation the woman is completely the master; if she makes a commotion this immediately attests both her innocence and the intruder's guilt.

Not infrequently the plan has been sufficiently well laid so that a quiet call or distinctive whistle from outside the house will bring the girl out, or the man may wait near the appointed hour outside the house and intercept her as she supposedly heads toward the benjo. In these cases the couple retire to a secluded place not far from the house for their meeting. When the man enters the house, however, intercourse usually takes place there, although they may go outside together. It is not uncommon for lovers to sleep together for some time, having intercourse when one of them awakens later in the night and arouses the other. It must be remembered that during this time the other members of the household are sleeping nearby, sometimes under the same mosquito net. If this is an adulterous affair the girl's husband may even be with her, although in this case it is not likely that the couple would attempt to sleep; they simply have intercourse and the man leaves again. Although this situation involves some risk, it is not as great as it might appear for the Trukese sleep remarkably soundly and are furthermore used to the violent movements of their sleeping partners; they do not usually awaken unless their names are called over and over or they are gently shaken for some time. They may, however, awake spontaneously from a dream or the like and it is here that the hazard lies. The soundness of their sleep is probably best attested by the fact, vouched for by a number of our most reliable informants, that men on occasion succeed in entering a house and copulating with a woman who is sleeping on her back without her awakening throughout. If she awakes, of course, there is apt to be commotion, for a man does not do this with a woman he feels might accept him, and he has to

get out of the house and run for it. We shall discuss the Trukese reaction to this sort of behavior a little later.

The risks of nocturnal trysts are increased by a curfew, instituted under the Japanese to curb such behavior, and continued to the present by the island chiefs. A conch is blown at about nine o'clock by the island policeman or secretary as a signal for all who are not fishing or otherwise legitimately occupied to remain in their houses. Anyone who is seen and recognized thereafter at any distance from his own house is called before the chief and is usually at a loss to explain himself. This does not, however, involve the girl whom he intended to meet or met (unless he has just escaped from the house amid hue and cry and is thus identified), and the worst consequence is usually a few days of enforced labor on the island's paths, to which little stigma is attached.

As noted above, a meeting deep in the bush in the daytime is preferred by couples seriously interested in each other. They may also, in lieu of other opportunities, meet at night, but the lack of privacy and, if either are married, the hazard of this situation militate against it. The night is more common for younger couples (particularly if neither of them is married) who have not yet developed any very strong relationship with each other; such couples may also rendezvous in a quiet spot prior to the curfew, have intercourse, and leave. An abandoned motor launch which lay on the beach in a secluded but convenient location used to be such a favorite trysting place until it was put back in commission. Somewhat older men, too, often seek their partners in the night if they are merely interested in attaining sexual satisfaction and perhaps the pride of conquest with a woman to whom they know they can have access, or with whom they are going to attempt to establish such relations. It is of such exploits that men may boast, or be kidded about if they have failed and been found out, whether they took place at night or through a chance meeting on a path in the daytime. The more or less permitted adulterous relations, such as with a "brother's" wife when the "brother" is away and has sanctioned the meeting, also usually occur at night. In short, then, the night is the time for most liaisons of a more or less casual nature and for those which would create little or no disturbance if discovered; night meetings do not involve much advance planning, if any, and if discovered always give the man a chance for flight in the darkness and the woman to protest that she did not know who he was and was about to reject him. But they are not without their hazards when illicit, and certainly the strain is considerable for the man of entering the house silently, of avoiding the other sleepers, of finding the right person in the dark, of perhaps being rejected and an outcry made, and of watching lest someone be awake or wake up while he is there. For the women, only the last is really a cause for concern. In the daytime almost any of the relationships noted above may reach sexual expression in the bush, but such meetings appear to be much less frequent and, we should note, expose the woman to the dangers of surprise and discovery equally with the man.



## INTERCOURSE

Intercourse itself usually takes place with few or no preliminaries. The contemplation of the forthcoming coitus appears to be sufficient to arouse both the man and the woman to a point where they may begin. Younger women in particular do not even permit a new lover to see or touch their genitals; they keep their wrap-around skirts on, and merely lift them enough for the man to make an insertion. More commonly, particularly in the house at night, she removes her skirt and is naked, as is the man, but even then practically no foreplay takes place. Even the daytime trysts in seclusion lead quite directly to coitus, although while the couple prepare the mat of banana leaves or the like upon which they will lie they have already undressed and the sight of each other's body arouses them to considerable passion. This is said to be particularly true if the woman has tattooing on the inner side of her legs; such marks, being high on the leg, are hidden under the skirt and are only visible under these circumstances. We must therefore conclude that this painful operation (which is no longer practised) has only the objective of arousing a man before intercourse.

Coitus is phrased by several of our informants as a contest between the man and the woman, a matter of the man restraining his orgasm until the woman has achieved hers. Female orgasm is commonly signalized by urination, although failing this a woman still gives adequate indication of its onset. If the man ejaculates before this time he is said to have been "defeated," and some informants report that she may even laugh at him because of it. Again we should note that the man in this situation may lose the battle; but no matter what happens the woman does not, at least by the Trukese definition. The conformation of the genitals of both the man and the woman is considered relevant to the achievement of the woman's orgasm. A large penis is effective in this regard and makes a man more desirable to women; one informant states that young men sometimes compress their penis between their hands when bathing sufficiently to bruise it in the belief that this will increase its size. Similarly a woman whose vagina is "full of things" will achieve orgasm more rapidly and give more pleasure to the man. The "things" consist in a prominent clitoris, labia minora, and a small projection below the clitoris whose anatomical definition is unclear. A large amount of pubic hair is desirable for both sexes, although some men like to have their sexual partners shave off their pubic hair; as this only indicates that a woman had too much it does not detract from her charms.

Having a vagina "full of things" is of importance to a woman, for it brings with it the assurance of many lovers. Girls are said by a number of informants to pull at their labia minora whenever they urinate or bathe to increase their size, often at the behest of their mothers. Until recently some even perforated the labia and inserted objects which would tinkle when they walked with their legs a little apart; these objects (whose nature is not more closely defined) remained during coitus. This practice is mentioned in the early sources and by several of our informants,



even to the point of naming certain women not yet old who did this although it was stated they had by then given it up; it may thus be considered a fact. Probably the most remarkable demonstration of the importance to women of well-equipped genitals is a custom, verified by all older informants questioned and noted by the early writers on Truk, of a public comparison of women's vaginas. If two women got into a bitter argument the final insult was to accuse one another of having a vagina with nothing in it. One woman thereupon stripped off her skirt and the other followed suit and, spreading their legs, they and the onlookers (who of course could not include male relatives of either) examined and passed judgment on the qualifications of both. A woman who proved inferior was deeply humiliated. For this reason many women, while they will permit a man intercourse, will not let him feel their vagina. It is also stated to account in part for the considerably greater genital modesty of women as compared to men. Women keep their genitals covered at all times, while men when bathing or urinating feel it necessary only to be a little way away from a group of people and make the gesture of turning their backs.

The modes of intercourse are also relevant to the occurrence of female orgasm. That which is generally preferred takes place with the man seated with his legs out or crossed before him; the woman is facing him, seated on the ground or on the man's feet, or sometimes lying back. An insertion is not made; rather the man manipulates his penis up and down with his hand in the orifice of the woman's vagina with the explicit purpose of stimulating her clitoris. Just prior to ejaculation, which in this type of coitus can best be expected to follow or coincide with the woman's orgasm, the man draws her toward him, completing the insertion. Meanwhile, as the couple approach climax, the man may mouth the woman's face, neck, ears, or breasts, or even bite her neck, enough to mark but generally not break the skin. The ultimate gesture of affection between lovers at this time is to open their mouths and, with tongue play, mix their saliva. Such lovers may also interrupt intercourse to perform cunnilingus or fellatio on each other, although some people consider this a disgusting practice and would never do it; when it occurs it is never foreplay, but an interlude in coitus.

A second common type of coitus is accomplished with the couple lying more or less on their sides facing each other, with legs variously intertwined. The man makes his insertion at the outset and provides the necessary motion with his hips; there is no change in this posture until the climax has been passed, and some couples simply go to sleep in this position without separating. There is obviously far less direct stimulation of the clitoris in this position and it is recognized that orgasm is less likely to be reached by the woman. However, it is more discreet and less likely to attract attention in a house full of people; for this reason even married couples often prefer it lest they disturb someone else and cause embarrassment to all concerned. Some women also will not permit the former type of intercourse because it necessitates the complete exposure of their genitals.

Although the above are the two principal forms of coitus many other variants are known. It is interesting that another form given by several informants as frequently used, in which the man lies on his back and the woman squats over him moving up and down, gives the woman the active role; this also provides a maximum of clitoral stimulation which may account for its popularity. The reverse of this, with the man squatting over the woman, is less common, as is the form in which the man lies prone upon the woman. Intercourse when standing, with one leg of each supported on a stump or the like, is occasionally used as a quick daytime expedient. Rear entry is reportedly favored by women who do not wish the man to see their genitals at all.

### LOVE SCARS

After intercourse of a casual nature the genitals are simply wiped off and the episode is concluded; a thoughtful man may show his affection by wiping his partner's genitals for her. Prearranged meetings in the bush, however, are not infrequently followed by some rather painful mutilation, usually of the man only but sometimes also of the woman. This is phrased as providing, in the scars, a memento of the occasion and their relationship. Because such scars provide indisputable evidence of sexual activity and are never a part of married relations they are usually acquired before marriage; new scars were, however, observed on some married men. How these were explained or justified to their wives I do not know; unlike casual liaisons, these more intense affairs are never discussed and adequate data derived from accounts of individual cases are not available.

In recent years, such mutilation has been confined almost exclusively to burning with a lighted cigarette; only older persons show any other type of scar. The cigarette is held just touching the skin of the man's arm by his partner until a burn has been made, and the operation repeated until four, six, or sometimes eight such burns have been made in a double row down the upper arm on either side. The man, of course, makes no outcry before his love and properly should appear unaware even that it hurts. The burns blister immediately and are highly conspicuous. No new scars were observed on women during our stay on Romonum, as might be expected in view of the fact that they were all married with one exception (who was reported by some informants to be hostile toward men), but very few indeed of the older women had scars either, indicating that the practice is at any time rare for a woman. Burning has always been used for this purpose; prior to the introduction of long-burning imported cigarettes by the Japanese this was done by igniting the punk-like dry powder found in dead breadfruit stumps and produced a less neat scar. More commonly small parallel incisions were made with a knife on the man's arm; a conspicuous scar was often later assured by rubbing dirt into the wound to increase the amount of scar tissue. It is significant that when one informant was describing this practice to Dr. LeBar, he added that identical cuts were made

by a man on his own arm to show his bravery and thus intimidate his opponent just prior to a fight. The only mutilation confined to women in this context is a scratch on the cheek, inflicted by the lover with a long sharp thumbnail. Men formerly kept one thumbnail long for this purpose, although again there was also a relevance to fighting for this long nail was useful in slicing an adversary's eye. No such scratches were observed and informants stated that this no longer takes place; one youth, however (who had no burns on his arm), cherished a long sharp thumbnail but would not divulge its purpose. He simply said he liked it that way.

### MARITAL SEXUAL RELATIONS

Sexual relations between man and wife never reach the heights of passion described above. While occasional intercourse by married couples in the bush during the day is reported, this activity is typically confined to the house at night. The second type of intercourse, in which the couple lie on their sides, is the preferred form; it is both discreet and presumably satisfies the more limited function of sex in the married relationship. This function is simply the fulfillment of sexual needs but, as we have already noted, lacks the glamour of extra-marital affairs. Intercourse takes place on the average about three times a week, although some informants stated they usually did not exceed once a week; there are presumably also variations in the other direction. No such regularity, of course, obtains in extramarital affairs; it is noteworthy, however, that the life histories contain several accounts of brief affairs, mostly premarital, in which the couple had intercourse three or even four times in a night. This characteristically took place as a final gesture with which the liaison was terminated due to the departure from the island of one partner or the like.

Variety may enter into the sexual experience of a married woman without social repercussions through the visits of her husband's "brothers." This, as we have seen, is not infrequent if the husband is away and has given a particular "brother" permission. Usually in such cases the preference of the wife should be consulted; during our stay on Romonum, however, a major fracas was occasioned by a man who beat his wife when she refused to continue sleeping with his "brother" who was a widower. While a man's wife's "sisters" are supposed to be sexually available to him, in practice this is far less often realized than relations with a "brother's" wife. These relationships, through which variety may be realized without the anticipation of social disapproval or difficulties if they are discovered, partake largely of the character of married intercourse, being confined among other things to the house at night. Exceptions to this are rare and when they do occur the repercussions are complex, for the all-important "brother" relationship is jeopardized or destroyed. This was the case with Andy and his "brother," described above; the ramifications were extensive and many of the numerous people who ultimately became involved in the resolution of the crisis were frankly in a dilemma as to which of

the several relationships—lovers, man and wife, or "brothers"—was to be given the primary emphasis. It is significant that it was the "brother" relationship which finally held sway (aided by a very remotely incestuous connection between the lovers pointed out by the girl's irate father) and violence was avoided, although by tacit consent the "brothers" ceased to recognize each other as such thereafter.

### TYPES OF SEXUAL LIAISONS

It may be profitable to pause at this point in order briefly to consider the types of sexual relationships we have described in terms of their consequences for the individuals concerned. Those which obtain between a man and his wife, and to a lesser degree between a man and his "brother's" wife, are not considered very rewarding; they provide sexual satisfaction but no romance or glamour.

Those relations which are most talked about, and which are felt to be vastly preferable to married love, are the more or less casual liaisons which usually take place at night and often in the woman's house. These include relations between unmarried persons; girls, however, tend to marry even under normal conditions only a few years after puberty, and such relations must therefore be more or less in the minority. Many of them also develop into the more intense type of liaisons which will be discussed below. The casual liaison appears to be attractive because of the conquest it implies; there is little question that many men and women derive a great deal of satisfaction from the number of their lovers, although one has to be cautious in boasting about this and the blatant recounting of one's exploits is not approved. On the other hand, many informants clearly enjoyed telling the ethnographers of affairs of this sort with the knowledge that the account would be written down upon the record, however remote. In this situation, as we have seen, it is the woman whose position is at every turn secure and the man who exposes himself to hazards. A man has committed himself by writing the first letter; the woman holds and can expose the incriminating document. With the entry into the house and his approach to the woman it is again the man who runs the risk: of being discovered or of being rejected. And finally during intercourse itself it is the man who stands to "lose" if he ejaculates too soon; it must furthermore be noted that it is under these circumstances that the type of intercourse least likely to produce rapid orgasm in the woman is used.

In spite of the risks which the man runs it is not these which make his exploits challenging and rewarding if successful. This is very clearly seen in the case of a man who copulates with a sleeping woman. His situation is more perilous even than that of the man who enters unannounced to seek the woman's favors, for if she awakes she will almost certainly object and probably raise an outcry during which the man will have to beat a desperate and ignominious retreat. But the universal reaction to such behavior is not admiration of the man's daring; rather it is ridicule and perhaps a little sympathy because he is so unattractive to women that he cannot



find sexual satisfaction any other way. This is also the comment which informants make in discussing those few cases of actual rape which have taken place in the past.

Insofar as the Trukese interpret intercourse as a "contest" it must be viewed as a situation in which both individuals seek not to defeat the other but rather not to fail themselves. It might be said to be a contest in which neither strives to win, but both strive not to lose.<sup>2</sup> For the man, failure is immediate: in discovery, rejection, or premature orgasm. For the woman it is realized in long nights of sleep uninterrupted by the advances of anyone but her husband. A woman will soon be known as undesirable if she consistently rejects prospective lovers (and it must not be overlooked that some women may be entirely satisfied with purely marital sex relations) or if she is indiscreet in making known too widely the identity of her lovers. But above all she will not be sought after if she does not have enough "things" in her vagina, for men will not only find relations with her less pleasurable but believe they will face almost certain failure in the "contest." The importance to many women of having desirable and desiring lovers is most graphically demonstrated by their preoccupation with their genital adequacy.

The situation in which individuals achieve the fullest expression of the sexual relationship is that of the secluded lovers' meeting deep in the bush. Here the objective is not merely to bring the woman to orgasm but for each to arouse in the other the greatest possible heights of passion. Such relations have a far greater character of intimacy and appreciation of the needs of the other partner than do more casual affairs. But it remains only a sexual relationship. Despite the flowery but stereotyped language of the love letter, with its professions of undying devotion and sacrifice, lovers meet only to have intercourse. Discretion, if nothing else, precludes any intimacy on other occasions. The liaison can only expand into marriage, and with this it loses its savor. It is certainly significant in this regard that the Trukese language has no word for "love" as such. The word most commonly used in this regard even more frequently expresses sympathy, condolence, or loss at the departure or death of another. It most closely approaches the sense of love if the suffix "together" is added, giving the meaning of having "sympathy for each other." A word restricted in application to the relationship between lovers expresses affection, but would have to be translated not as "I love . . ." but rather as ". . . has affection for me." This makes quite explicit the fact that for lovers the objective is not unselfishly to make the other happy but rather to elicit from the other a positive expression of affection and emotional dependence. Beyond these there are only words which correspond to "like" or "enjoy"; the same word would be used in "I like coconuts" as in "I like so-and-so." Even this word, however, cannot appropriately be used in reference to one's kin of opposite sex.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting in this connection to note that the Trukese word to "lose" is obviously a part of the language. The word for "win," however, is identical with the English word and may well represent a recent introduction.



## OTHER SEXUAL OUTLETS

It should also be noted that the need which is felt for affairs both pre- and extramarital does not stem solely from the necessity of gratifying sexual desires as such. Such gratification is rarely unavailable. For a married person the spouse is always at hand, except on journeys and during certain phases of pregnancy and lactation; intercourse is also seldom favored during menstruation but not culturally disapproved. For the unmarried, in normal circumstances, unmarried partners are available without any social disapproval attaching to their relations. And for those forbidden intercourse by ritually prescribed continence or unable to find a sexual partner, masturbation carries no stigma for either men or women. For a man this is not done in an exhibitionist manner—in the company of other men masturbation requires no more discretion than for example urination: he draws apart and turns his back. Women also masturbate alone by stimulating the clitoris, although my principal older male informant stated that this may also be done in company with an actual sister in the process of comparing their genitals from the standpoint of adequacy for heterosexual intercourse. This statement was made quite circumstantially, but the opportunity did not present itself to check it with other informants. This presents the only approximation to any deliberate homosexual activity encountered, and even here the sisters do not stimulate each other, but each herself. Young men and young women, as we have seen, very frequently walk hand in hand or sit one with his arm over the shoulders of the other; young men, when roughhousing, on occasion may snatch at each other's genitals but this is only incidental to the fight. In no case was a spontaneous erection or any other indication of directly sexual implication in these activities noted. All informants, when attempts were made to explain to them homosexual activity in order to inquire about it, seemed at first puzzled and then denied that such ever took place. Similarly a spontaneous erection (which is usually only evident when a man awakens from sleep) seldom evokes any attention; when it does the reaction is to laugh at the man in his embarrassment. A corresponding erection on the part of other men present was never observed and such a possibility was dismissed by informants questioned on the subject. This evidence, while admittedly all negative, would appear to indicate fairly conclusively that a person of the same sex has little erotic value in this society, and that overt homosexuality does not exist.

Among older people no longer able for physical or social reasons to have heterosexual liaisons, two practices are reported by a number of informants. Older men not infrequently perform cunnilingus on preadolescent girls; both are said to enjoy this, the men because it is their only sexual outlet and the girls because it is so gentle. Older women, on the other hand, entice dogs to lick their vaginas by putting coconut meat in them. Both of these practices are referred to with tolerant amusement over the dilemma of these old people who have to resort to such devices in order to obtain sexual satisfaction. There seems little doubt that these

practices actually occur but their significance and the social context in which they take place cannot be determined. These facts would be particularly interesting to know in regard to the relationship between old men and young girls, which certainly appears to run counter to the prescription against sexuality for children of this age. Investigation of this behavior, however, is subject to the limitations which obtain to a greater or lesser degree in the study of any area of non-public activity, and which in the case of this research have made the data on sex far more difficult and exacting to obtain and in some respects less reliable than that on other subjects. Observation is of course impossible. Lists were given with little hesitation of men the informants had "heard" had such relations with young girls; they in no case knew the identity of the girls. It is probably no coincidence that the lists failed to contain the names of any persons with whom I had established any degree of rapport. It would obviously be unwise to approach an old man with whom one had only a passing acquaintance and say, "So-and-so says you perform cunnilingus with young girls. How about it?" Our information is therefore confined to that given above. This instance is mentioned because it is typical, even though extreme, and must lead us to accept with some reservations all of the data presented in this chapter. Accounts of at least some specific cases were, however, available to take the place of direct observation of all important types of behavior; for the highly private intense lovers' liaisons only one record of any degree of fullness is available, but this is supplemented by fairly consistent descriptions from several informants of the general case.

### SEXUAL JOKING

Humor and horseplay of a sexual nature are fairly common between men and women. The initiative is always with the man and is confined to women whom he calls "wife": his "brothers' " wives and his wife's "sisters." It should be noted that this joking relationship is thus confined to persons who in age as well as social relationship are potential sexual partners. While this relationship in other societies is often confined to persons separated by such a wide age disparity that the contemplation of actual sex relations would be ludicrous, this is not true on Truk. It does not, however, obtain between man and wife or between lovers who are actually having an affair. The favorite form of such joking is voyeurism, the man attempting to catch a glimpse of the woman's genitals while she is bathing or coming up under her with diving goggles while she is fishing and swimming near the reef. The woman is supposed to object, although not strenuously; in the several cases observed the women generally shrieked with mock fright and good-natured laughter and giggles. Men also make obscene gestures toward women suggesting intercourse (but not if they are serious in this suggestion), or pretend to try to pull them away from a group of other women in order to have intercourse with them, accompanying this behavior with remarks on their value as sexual partners. In the great majority of cases observed or recorded, the targets of these various types of sexual joking

were "sisters" of the wives of the men, although "brothers' " wives appear to provide more actual sexual partners for men.

Kidding between men is usually concerned with a man's actual or assumed inadequacies, failures, or mishaps, and that which is of a sexual nature follows this same scheme, although it of course cannot take place in the presence of "sisters" or "daughters" of the men present, nor include mention of such women. We have already noted the kidding a man receives if it is known his advances were rejected by a woman, particularly if he had to flee the house. A spontaneous erection causes laughter; it indicates the man has been able to sleep with few women and his penis is thus subject to the slightest stimulation. For the same reason he may be accused of excessive masturbation in lieu of other sexual satisfaction, or of excessive copulation on those few occasions when a woman will accept him. An erection which occurs during sleep, however, is simply due in the Trukese view to thinking about a woman and does not provoke as much laughter; a wife in fact may be annoyed with her husband if she finds he has had a nocturnal emission, for it indicates his adulterous thoughts which she feels he will attempt to translate into action.

Women are reported also to indulge in sexual kidding among themselves but data are lacking on the precise form this takes. It is also said that men formerly made pornographic inscriptions on trees and the like, but no longer do; we have little information on this, nor is it mentioned by the early sources. In view of the Trukese lack of interest in or talent for representative drawing of any sort this appears somewhat dubious.

# MARRIAGE

## AGE AT MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE has always been permitted the Trukese as soon as they are considered sexually mature, that is, as soon as they reach puberty. Because girls appear to reach this point, as culturally defined, before boys, they tend to marry younger. The age difference for first marriages in fact seems to be about five years and thus probably exceeds the difference in age at puberty of the two sexes by several years. Accurate data on chronological age are, however, impossible to obtain in almost any context, so we must forego any attempt at a more precise determination of the difference. It is certainly felt by the Trukese that the husband should be somewhat older than his wife, for women, through the combination of a more sedentary life and child-bearing, are believed to age more rapidly than men.

The lower limit of marriageable age is being exploited to the fullest on Romonum at present; one informant was in fact able to name two girls who had married fairly recently prior to their first menstruation. This tendency is to be observed also on the other islands of Truk but it is not as consistent or pronounced and must be attributed at least in part to the current dearth of adolescent girls on Romonum. In the past, it would not have been cause for comment that a girl was not yet married until the age of perhaps twenty; a corresponding age for men was about twenty-five. At present many men of twenty or younger show considerable concern if they have not yet found a wife. It appears probable that this is in some degree a result of the breakdown of the institution of the men's house; young men at puberty feel under pressure to leave their own homes and, until they marry, have no real pied-à-terre. Their anxiety to marry earlier, combined with a desire to find a girl yet younger than they, naturally lowers the age of girls' marriages also.

## INCEST TABOOS

The only limitation on whom one may marry is found in the incest taboo. This tends to be observed rather more strictly in the case of marriage than of a passing affair. Not only are the members of one's own and one's father's lineage forbidden but also the members of the larger descent group of which one's lineage is a part (the sib and particularly the subsib as defined by Goodenough). There are, however, occasional exceptions. Recent marriages on Romonum included one between members of two related lineages and one in which the partners were born into the same lineage, although the man had been adopted into another in infancy. Such

examples could be duplicated from the other islands. In no case, however, does such a union fail to evoke comment and they are clearly in the minority.

Sexual maturity and a non-incestuous relationship, then, are the only requirements for marriage. Such customs as waiting for a sister or older brother to marry first, or the necessity for the man to prove himself in war, are not found on Truk. Tony was told by his father not to marry because his older brother was gravely ill and, if he died, Tony would be expected to marry his widow; the brother died and Tony is married to his widow today. This situation, however, is exceptional; such considerations do not normally arise.

### SELECTING A PARTNER

Marriage is primarily a social and economic relationship for the Trukese; it is assumed that any wife can provide the degree of sexual satisfaction expected of the marital relation, with more rewarding sexual contacts to be found in outside liaisons. While fertility is desirable this too can be compensated for if lacking through adoption. A man therefore seeks a woman who knows the basic forms of women's work and is not lazy; compatibility with her and her family is also desirable. A woman uses the same criteria in judging a prospective husband. The interest of parents in their children's marriages is again of the same order, although they may also be interested in a match which will retain, for the use of the lineage, lands which have been alienated by a gift outside the lineage line, or in creating some similarly advantageous tie. A woman lacking in physical charm, then, need have no fear of remaining a spinster. One woman on Romonum suffered in her childhood a severe ulcerous lesion of her face which left a rather ghastly looking hole where her nose should have been, and her voice a mere croak; she later married and had several children and is now a widow. A man's work, on the other hand, is more arduous than a woman's and any man who has a defect which will, for example, prevent his climbing coconut or breadfruit trees will almost certainly not be able to marry. While there is extensive cooperation in food production among the members of a lineage, a man also has strong obligations in this regard toward his wife and her family. Because the sons move away at or shortly after puberty the sons-in-law must provide the primary male working force for the household; if they do not or cannot work the household will not be able to produce its share of food. The ability to earn money is a satisfactory substitute, but there are only a few occupations available which do not require equally full physical capabilities; thus a man on Romonum has a crippled leg but learned carpentering from the Japanese and is able to be married and support his wife's family rather munificently.

There is, and apparently always has been, a basic conflict in the culture in regard to who should select the marriage partner: the individual concerned or his parents. There is a general feeling that it is better that the persons concerned should themselves determine whom they are going to marry; on the other hand, the intro-



duction of a new member into the cooperative group has major consequences for the members of the lineage and household, and it is therefore also felt that the parents should have more authority than merely the right to disapprove of a proposed marriage at more or less the last minute. In the majority of cases this discrepancy in culturally determined attitudes does not precipitate a social crisis of any consequence. Most marriages at present are first decided upon by the couple, often as the consequence of a previous liaison and, because the primary criterion of ability to work is shared by most people, are more often than not approved by the parents and members of both lineages. Marriages which are arranged by the parents, on the other hand, are felt to put the onus of maintaining good relations in the marriage on the older members of the household and can thus be expected to produce less friction. Furthermore, it appears to be recognized in deference to the high valuation placed on individual preference that if a couple, married through the efforts of their parents, fail to achieve a successful relationship a divorce must be permitted. Thus we find Mike, who was seventeen and expecting a marriage to be arranged for him soon by his parents, saying:

I don't know the girl's name yet as I have not yet met her and they have not told me her name. I think it is a good thing they are thinking of my wife rather than I doing it myself, as if I did it myself they would not permit it, but this way it is sure to be all right. If I don't like her I will divorce her and look for someone on my own.

Because there is no ultimate resolution of the dilemma created by the opposed cultural values favoring both parental and individual selection of spouses, it is obvious that when both sides remain adamant a severe conflict can arise. In regard to any marriage, however, the heads of the lineages concerned, and particularly the parents of the couple, do have a virtually final veto power. Thus the parents can not force their child to marry someone he or she does not like, but they can prevent another union of which they disapprove. Sarah found herself in this situation. A man had attempted to establish a lovers' relationship with her but had been chased out of the house by her mother. Shortly thereafter her parents attempted to persuade her to marry another man who was partially paralysed; it is not clear why they favored this somewhat unusual match.

They told me I was to marry this man. I said I did not want to; they insisted and I cried. They asked me why I did not want to. I said I hated him because he was an old man. [Actually he is not old, but merely weak and ill.] My brother beat me and I cried some more. They said they could not see why I should dislike him when they liked him so much. My mother told me that if I did not marry him I could not marry my lover nor anyone else. I said that was all right with me because I certainly did not want to marry that man. Later they told me again I had to marry him and he came to our house; I cried again. But I did not marry him, for I left the house. I went to a "mother" of my father's. She asked me why I left my "hus-

band" and I told her I refused to marry him, so she told me to stay with her. Later, the man left my house and I went home again.

It is interesting that Rachel, who reports a very similar episode in her younger years, also escaped after spending a night fending off a would-be husband under her mosquito net by going to stay with her father's "mother." In both cases the parents relented after this and ultimately permitted their daughters to marry men of their own choice. Theodore's first wife was not as successful. This case is also interesting in showing the degree to which a mother's brother, representing the lineage interest, may enter into such an altercation. Theodore and the girl had secretly agreed to marry after his return from a year's schooling on another island; they told only her father, and Theodore left.

Meanwhile, there was another man who wanted to marry her. His father went to her father and asked that his son marry her; her father said yes, and later he went to her mother who also approved. Then her father went to her, and told her she was to get married. But she said she was not yet ready to get married and refused, although she did not mention me again. They talked more and more and finally she fled. Her mother's brother got a stick and went out to look for her; he found her and beat her. She cried, and he dragged her back by the arm. That night she slept with her husband but at two in the morning fled again. She was scared, and finally the next day she returned; thereafter they slept together but as far apart as possible. She wrote me letters and told me she was married, but against her will.

Theodore returned at the end of his year in school; she left her house and they spent his first night home sleeping in the bush. At this her father abandoned his attempt to force her to remain married and she became Theodore's wife. Her mother's brother was furious to the point of tearing up the mosquito netting and damaging his sister's house, but was forced to respect her father's decision.

It is of very considerable interest to note that in these instances, and in all of the rather numerous other cases recorded from informants or in life histories in which an arranged marriage was strongly resisted, it is without exception the girl who resists, often in the face of strong pressure or even beatings. Men may object but, as far as our data go, appear always to bow before the authority of their lineage members and parents. This stands in striking contrast to the considerably greater initiative and daring shown by men in adulterous liaisons where the relationship with their own cooperative kin group is not directly jeopardized.

#### "TRIAL" MARRIAGE

Such ambiguity in the designation of the person who is to have the final authority in the selection of the marriage partner can find its resolution only through the medium of divorce. Marriage and divorce are both, as we shall see, very simple when they follow the aboriginal pattern, and are in fact very frequent. Marriage in the early years is a brittle relationship, easily and seldom painfully broken. Although

there is much talk, especially when the couple are acting on their own initiative, of sincerity and a lifetime of connubial devotion, the first marriage (or the first several marriages) is frankly a trial. This is true whether it has been arranged by the parents or by the principals. It is not unusual to find a person who has gone through four or five spouses before settling down; an individual who has been married to only one person in his lifetime is exceedingly rare. Eventually most people find a satisfactory marriage and settle down with only adulterous liaisons on the side; the birth of children to a couple increases the pressure for such stability but by no means ensures it. The degree to which these early unions are looked upon as merely trial marriages is clearly shown in a comparison of the data derived from life histories and that given in the genealogies collected on Romonum. While the informants recalled their earlier marriages and described them when giving their life histories, in almost no case were they considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned by the older men who supplied the genealogical information, unless they had taken place within the past year or two and were therefore still more or less a matter for current discussion.

#### CHURCH AND ADMINISTRATION

Into the aboriginal pattern of, in effect, trial marriage, and the apparently equally old cultural inconsistency in determining who arranges the marriage, there have been projected in recent years the values of the Catholic Church and the American administration. The administration, at least during the time of our study, had no intention whatever of getting into such a controversy. However, in the early Military Government period an interpreter-chief, apparently taking his cue from American movies, announced on his own initiative to the people that the Americans favored youthful love and that this should be the deciding factor in any marriage. This belief was widely and rapidly accepted and, although the Civil Administrator later disclaimed it as official policy, was widely quoted whenever the matter became an issue. Similarly the recording of marriages, viewed by the administration purely as vital statistics, was interpreted as placing a ban on divorce once it had been recorded at the "office" and led to an effort to conceal marriages as long as possible.

The position of the Catholic Church is similar to that attributed to the administration except that its policy is not, of course, fortuitously determined or interpreted. A marriage is freely entered into by the persons concerned and, once established, cannot be dissolved. There was no priest permanently stationed on Romonum, but at intervals of a few months one would come over from a nearby island. He would then call in all the Catholic couples who it came to his attention had been married by aboriginal patterns since his last visit and inquire whether the marriage was of their own volition. It appears that even those clearly married more or less against their will did not feel equal to creating the social crisis which would be precipitated

by stating that they had been pressured into the match. Most of them were therefore married. This created a conflict which a number of them stated quite explicitly: if they separated and married other persons in accordance with aboriginal precedent, strong efforts were made to persuade them to return to the original spouse. Thus Eleanor, whose marriage was rather notorious in that her father accepted a large sum of money in order to arrange the match, separated and later found herself under considerable pressure to return when her husband's brothers called upon the priest who had originally married them to assist in reuniting the couple. This case, like many others, is ironic in that the original marriage, having been effected under clear duress, was not valid in the eyes of the Church; but to the best of my knowledge Eleanor neither at that time nor later informed the priest of this fact.

While the administration's "policy," which was for a time strongly implemented by the local chiefs, was of only transitory effect, it is clear that a fundamental discrepancy of considerable consequence exists between Catholic dogma and Trukese custom, a discrepancy which will not be resolved in any short period of time. Because the issues are of major importance in each case this creates a continuing dilemma for the individual Trukese who is a Catholic.

## ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

### THE COUPLE'S CHOICE

In Trukese marriage there is no actual ceremony. Once the approval of the necessary relatives has been obtained the couple are considered to be married. A marriage arranged by the couple themselves is usually but not always preceded by a liaison similar to those described in the preceding chapter. When the couple have decided upon marriage, normally during a night meeting, the man approaches his mother and father the next day and, if they approve, may advise others of his closest relatives. The following evening he sets out to request permission of the girl's family. This may be done alone but more commonly he is accompanied by an older man who actually does the talking. His companion should ideally be his father or father's brother, but in practice it appears that almost any responsible male relative will do. It is also said that this man goes along in order to make it clear to the girl's family that the boy's family has already approved the match; however, not all of his family have normally been advised by this time and it does not seem to be taken amiss in those few cases when he goes alone. A probably more important function of this older spokesman can be found in the fact that young Trukese men in this sort of situation are acutely embarrassed and uncomfortable to the point of being practically tongue-tied. Without some older and less deeply concerned person to do the talking the mission would probably often remain unaccomplished.

The girl's parents are approached first; the girl can be expected to be present also. Only her father is asked, but all three express an opinion. With this hurdle past the outcome is fairly certain. They then proceed to the houses of the other



members of the girl's lineage, and particularly the oldest man and the oldest woman in the lineage; these two must be consulted but if others in the lineage are away or unavailable it is not important. If resistance is encountered here the girl's parents may be called upon to lend support to their plea. If the parents or the old man or woman refuse their permission the boy may wait a few weeks to give them time to think it over and be persuaded, and then try again. But their refusal may not be ignored. If the efforts of the boy and his companion have been successful they proceed to tackle the members of the boy's lineage; it is by now apt to be rather late, but it is for some reason felt that the circuit should be completed all in one night, and it is not considered unusual for a person to be awakened from a sound sleep to give his opinion on a marriage within the lineage. The procedure with the boy's lineage is the same and again it is the oldest man and woman who are crucial. After the boy's parents and all of the girl's lineage have approved, however, it would be very unusual for the boy's lineage to voice any objection. Similarly the junior members of the lineage tend to ask only if the lineage head has approved, and then politely concur. With the approval of the boy's lineage the marriage is in effect; the couple spend the remainder of this and subsequent nights as man and wife. It is customary after a day or two have passed (to give everyone time to prepare some food) for a small feast to be eaten jointly by the members of the two lineages, symbolizing the exchange of food which will thereafter be an important aspect of the newly-created relationship.

If a parent or lineage head adamantly refuses to grant permission for a marriage the couple usually simply abandon the attempt to get married and seek other partners. One device remains to them, however, and some determined young people try it: they run away and hide in the interior of the island or go to a nearby island, inhabited or uninhabited as they deem appropriate. It is impossible to go anywhere on Truk and take up an incognito life without running into "relatives," and furthermore a marriage is not a marriage without the approval of the members of the respective families, so a true elopement is not possible; if permission is still refused the gesture is in vain. However, its effectiveness lies in the fact that this pattern of the young couple running away (which is reminiscent of children hiding away when they have been beaten) carries implicit in it the threat that they will commit suicide by hanging themselves in the bush if they are further refused. A great search is undertaken and when the couple are discovered everyone is immensely relieved to find them still alive, even though they may have actually never mentioned suicide to anyone. Only one case of the suicide of thwarted lovers was in fact remembered by any of our informants; this happened several years before on a neighboring island, the couple jumping over a cliff rather than hanging themselves. This episode lent authenticity to the threat and effectiveness to the device. The first of the two recent "incestuous" marriages on Romonum was accomplished by the threat of suicide.

Running away is also resorted to by adulterous lovers who wish to break up



their existing marriages in order to marry each other. In the old days any divorce based on discovered adultery was quite hazardous, for honor demanded that it be settled by a fight, usually involving the lineages of the aggrieved husband and the adulterer. However, it appears that then as now adultery was not taken very seriously among younger people, and if possible unsatisfactory marriages were abandoned in the face of adultery by the acceptance of an apology or minor damage payments in lieu of a fight. In any event, deliberate attempts were and are made to break up an existing marriage (or marriages) by adultery in order to permit persons already married to take up with new partners. The most simple device consists in circulating the gossip that the married partner is having an affair, preferably with someone other than the fellow-conspirator. This of course cannot be proven but if the spouse is already discouraged the suspicions thus aroused may be enough to terminate the marriage. If this fails the man may make his nocturnal visits so regular and conspicuous that they cannot be ignored, being prepared the while to flee the house soon enough to avoid bodily harm. If even this does not succeed, the husband being sufficiently interested in his marriage and disinterested in his reputation to ignore the intrusions, running away is all that remains. The couple depart to the bush or another island and the bereaved spouse must either resort to force (or at present litigation) or let the marriage go by default. Frances married her present husband (her fourth) in this fashion.

#### THE PARENTS' CHOICE

A marriage which is arranged by the parents follows approximately the same pattern as one in which the young man and woman take the initiative themselves except that they are not consulted until their parents have come to some agreement. Nor is there any attempt to complete the negotiations in any set period of time. Discussion usually develops between the fathers of the couple and includes their wives. If they are in agreement, the couple concerned are approached by their respective parents; it is felt that if either objects they should at least be given some time in which to reconsider the proposal, after which it is hoped they will have changed their minds. But not infrequently their wishes are sooner or later ignored. If the parents decide to go ahead with it, with or without the consent of their children, the heads of the lineages of each are approached; if they approve no other members need be consulted. The children are then faced with a *fait accompli* which they may either accept or resist; as we have seen, it appears in our cases that it is only the girl who ever offers active resistance to such a marriage.

A variant of the arranged marriage may take the form of a formal betrothal of children not yet of marriageable age. Although there is some disagreement in regard to how young children may be when they are betrothed, there is little question that the majority of such relationships are, and were in the past, established very shortly before the children reach puberty. As in the case of an immediately

marriageable couple it is felt that the wishes of the children should be consulted, but they may be ignored. The negotiations follow essentially the same pattern as that described above; upon their completion, however, the couple do not begin to live together. Instead, each should go to the household of the other and live with and work for the family of the other until their parents consider it appropriate that they begin to sleep together. They begin immediately to refer to each other as "spouse," however, and use the appropriate kinship terms in reference to the families with which they live. The only couple so betrothed during our stay on Romonum, Roger and his "wife," did not change residence as she was the daughter of a man noted for his flouting of convention who wished to keep her on hand to help with the work in his large house; this was generally considered to be in very bad taste. Formerly an exchange of a rather large amount of food followed the conclusion of negotiations and the change of residence of the children; the boy's family first prepared a large gift of food for presentation to the girl's father, and then the girl's family reciprocated with an equivalent amount when they had had time to prepare it. At present this has been discontinued and the usual modest marriage feast takes place after the couple begin to live together.

Negotiations in which the girl's father receives substantial gifts from a man in order to persuade him to arrange his daughter's marriage, as in the case of Eleanor cited above, occurred in the past as well as the present. This is not in any sense true bride purchase, for it gives the husband no proprietary rights over his wife; if the marriage later dissolves the husband cannot expect to receive any of his gifts back. It is essentially bribery, and as such is accomplished with as much secrecy as possible and generates strong social disapproval when discovered. No active retribution is, however, meted out; it is not considered a crime at present and did not precipitate a fight in the past.

### RESIDENCE

After marriage the couple usually live with the husband's family for a week or several weeks. This is not viewed as an obligation but rather as a polite gesture, signifying the solidarity which should now obtain between the lineages united by the marriage. When they consider it appropriate, the wife's parents invite the couple to come and live with them and in the majority of cases this becomes their permanent residence. But exceptions to such matrilocal residence have always existed when circumstances force or strongly favor the couple's living with the husband's relatives. The proportion of such patrilocal marriages has undoubtedly changed from time to time but there is no evidence for a real trend in this direction on Romonum at present, although the effectiveness of matrilocal residence in channeling day-to-day social relationships has been somewhat reduced. Prior to the breakdown of the institution of the lineage men's house the households of each lineage were grouped on their collective land in a little hamlet or cluster around the men's

house. This kept the cooperative group of female relatives and their husbands in a much more compact unit than at present and gave the custom of matrilocal residence considerably more meaning than it now has. Even with the lineage households scattered about through a larger village, however, as they are today, a man still finds himself in daily contact with a group of people who are primarily related to him through his wife.

#### NEW KINSHIP OBLIGATIONS AND BENEFITS

From the day of his marriage onward a man refers to his wife's relatives by an appropriate series of kinship terms which largely parallel those he uses for members of his own family, and assumes obligations toward them which again correspond in the main to the obligations he has recognized within his own lineage. He helps the household in the growing, gathering, and preparation of food, although most of this will be distributed within his wife's lineage. His wife's relatives may use his property much as if it were their own, borrowing his canoe or even appropriating a large share of his earnings if he is employed (unless he is able to secrete this from them); they do not, however, obtain any rights to his land unless he wishes later to give such rights to his children. In the event of a fight or altercation he is expected to side with his wife's lineage unless the interests of his own lineage are opposed. He should respect the requests of his father-in-law much as he would those of his own father. He uses a special kin term to refer to his wife's brother and is uniquely obligated toward him: a man's brother-in-law may make demands upon him which, if refused, are sufficient grounds for terminating the marriage. The fulfillment of such demands, furthermore, does not obligate his brother-in-law to reciprocate in any fashion; this is one of the few contexts in which a request may be made without involving the necessity of making a return gift or performing an equivalent service. These obligations are respected with considerable consistency; if they are regularly flouted the marriage will almost certainly be terminated by the wife's family. Rachel tells in her life history of the very major rift which was caused by her husband's refusal to give her brother a pig for a feast; her brother stated that he had either to tell her husband to go home to his family or ignore it. He chose the latter course but did not speak to her husband for months. On the other hand, Theodore, who was the first man on Romonum to learn to read and write well, was asked by the island chief to act as his assistant; he refused and left the island. Although he was accused of being lazy, and was approached on the subject three times by the chief of Udot who also had jurisdiction over Romonum and was an important man, he continued to refuse until his wife's father sent word that he would like him to come back. He returned and thereafter served as chief for several years.

The husband, however, also derives benefits from his marriage. He is a member of the household not only in contributing to it, but also shares in whatever food,

equipment, or property may accrue to its members. He has exclusive sexual rights to his wife, including the right to punish her and her lover if she is found in adultery, and may expect the support of her lineage in effecting such punishment; he may also invite his "brothers" to share in his sexual rights, although usually not without her approval, and may ask her to stay with his parents or "brother" when he has to go away on a trip. He expects her to treat him with reasonable deference, to take care of his clothes, to fish and to cook for him. If she fails in any of these respects he may beat her with his hands or a stick; unless he is entirely unjustified or carries such beatings to extremes her family does not interfere. Some men do not believe in beating their wives, at least very much, but the amount of wife-beating which actually takes place is surprising. It is not entirely commonplace to see women with large bruises from such beatings, but at the same time it is not sufficiently unusual to draw more than casual comment. A woman may be beaten anywhere on her body or head except the breast or abdomen, and may even be struck there if the husband is sufficiently angry.

Thus the marriage relationship imposes upon both partners a number of obligations and pressures. The husband must obey and work for his in-laws and surrender to them in large measure his rights to such movable property as he may own or acquire; failure to show such obedience and cooperation may result in the in-laws terminating the marriage without recourse. The wife on the other hand must obey her husband on pain of being beaten or even abandoned, and in addition obey her other male relatives in the household; she is also expected to obey her husband's parents, but because she is usually not living with them this does not become as immediate an obligation. The fact that the couple are living in her home and among her relatives gives the wife a measure of security the husband does not enjoy; on the other hand, if he wishes to terminate the marriage he has only to spread rumors of her adultery (or have his "brothers" do so), pretend to believe them, and leave in a huff. If they have any children he has ultimate rights over them; this is a threat he can hold over his wife and her family (to whose lineage the children belong) with considerable effect. The wife finds it considerably more difficult to terminate the marriage, unless her husband is caught *in flagrante delicto* or refuses to respect the reasonable requests of her relatives. If he is stubborn in maintaining a married relationship which his wife finds distasteful her only recourse, as we have seen, is to run away with another man and force a showdown. It is also said she may shame him into leaving by running away alone and hiding in the bush but no cases of this were recorded.

#### ADULTERY AND DIVORCE

In cases of adultery, as we have seen, the calaboose has almost entirely taken the place of fighting as a means not only of punishing the offenders, but of satisfying the honor of the aggrieved parties. In all cases of adultery or of divorce for any other reason, the first move is to call the interested parties before the island



chief. He hears the evidence and, if the divorce is occasioned by incompatibility or disobedience and laziness, will make an attempt to reconcile the couple, often requiring them to undertake a cooling-off period before making the divorce final. If adultery is involved the offenders will go to the calaboose for a period ranging from a week or two up to several months depending on the circumstances. Thereafter the marriage may or may not be dissolved. But even if adultery is not immediately involved the feeling remains that it is implicit in the incompatibility or whatever is given as the reason for the divorce. If one of the divorced partners remarries in the near future this feeling will become a definite suspicion, and angry words are apt to be spoken. For this reason it is customary for a couple who wish to marry shortly after one of them has been divorced, for whatever reason, to be sentenced by the chief to a token few days or a week in the calaboose. Then everyone's honor is satisfied and the marriage may proceed. This sentence is expected and carries no noticeable stigma; it serves the useful purpose of satisfying anyone's suspicions or possibly injured feelings, and thus reduces antagonisms which might otherwise undermine the entire substitution of legal for more violent means of redress.

In the past a divorce which resulted from adultery customarily resulted in the pressing of claims for damage, often in lieu of precipitating a fight between the lineages although the claims were still held to be valid if a fight took place. Such claims were settled in valuable movable goods such as canoes, and particularly in rights to land owned by the offender or his lineage; payment was usually made by the adulterer to the aggrieved husband rather than by the woman involved. Related to this were payments made by a man to his wife or her family if he deserted her, whether simply of his own volition or on a trumped-up accusation of adultery. In either event payments of any consequence were only expected in the case of marriages of fairly long standing. This acted as a considerable deterrent to a man who might otherwise terminate a marriage in a moment of anger, and added to the hazards of adultery. This practice was apparently in abeyance at the time the American administration took over; when an attempt was made to revive it the administration believed it to be a new custom introduced in imitation of American alimony and damages and ruled that such claims should not be allowed. Lacking knowledge of the aboriginal culture this belief was not unreasonable, as such payments were levied in cash which at that particular phase of rehabilitation was plentiful on Truk. Subsequent to the time of this study, however, the custom was reintroduced and now acts in conjunction with the calaboose as a sanction against divorce and adultery and as a means of assuaging the injured feelings of those so aggrieved.

#### WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS

When a marriage is terminated by the death of one of the partners there is a strong feeling that the family of the deceased should make good the loss by the



marriage of one of its members to the widow or widower. Such a spouse is ideally a brother or sister of the deceased, but any relative of appropriate age and sex will be acceptable. We have already cited the case of Tony whose father asked him not to marry in order to take over the wife of his gravely ill brother when he died. Other fairly recent remarriages of older people are probably of this order, although there often are no appropriately related persons available who are unmarried and the obligation must remain unfulfilled. It was also possible in the past for a man to take his brother's widow as a second wife in a polygynous marriage. This, however, is now forbidden both by administrative regulation and agreement of the island chiefs. Although it is still felt that marriage to the widow or widower of a lineage made is highly commendable, there seems to be little question that the pressure exerted to effect such a marriage is considerably less than in the past and even formerly it would have been most exceptional for a person to forego marriage, as Tony did, in anticipation of a relative's death.

#### POLYGyny

A few polygynous marriages are still in effect on Truk, made some time prior to their being outlawed. The husbands are primarily chiefs or men of high prestige; this condition apparently also obtained in the past. There have been no such marriages on Romonum in recent years and little information is available in regard to the conditions surrounding them.

# THE TRUKES ADULT

## STAGES OF ADULT LIFE

**A**DULTHOOD or maturity is not a sharply delimited period in the life of a Trukese, either at its beginning or its end. It is rather a phase in the gradual development of the individual reflecting a change in status and activities, which are in turn a function of the person's physical capabilities and desires. With puberty, the individual is considered capable of productive labor and sexual activity but cannot be trusted with much responsibility; during the twenties and early thirties sexual desires remain strong but gradually decline. At this time physical vitality is at a peak, expressed for men in hard work and women in childbearing; they stabilize their marriage relationships, have children, and in general become a more integral part of the productive community. As a man approaches forty his physical powers begin to decline and his sexual desires, while still active, are more readily controlled and he can be expected to undertake a fully responsible role, including when required abstention from all heterosexual activities in order to assure the effectiveness of magic associated with important projects. His intellectual and esoteric powers reach a peak as his physical resources diminish. Women on the other hand, not being expected to perform heavy work or to practice ritual continence (except in connection with childbearing) and having less esoteric responsibility, undergo very little change in status at this time. With the increasing reduction in physical and mental capacity of old age both men and women have to withdraw more and more from the productive life of the community, and become gradually more dependent upon the largesse of their relatives. Social status, therefore, is intimately keyed to physical development and decay. While more precise definitions are recognized, for everyday usage a person is a baby, a child, a youth, an adult, or an old person. In terms of their function in the community, these are respectively people who do not understand, who understand but just play, who can work but are irresponsible, who are productive and increasingly responsible, and who are no longer productive.

## MOTHERHOOD

### PREGNANCY

Childbearing is the only physiologically determined criterion of productivity which is not gradual in its onset and effects. The recognition of pregnancy results in an immediate change in a woman's activities and status within her household;

while her new status lasts only through the period of pregnancy and lactation, the presence of a child in the family gives to both the husband and wife a feeling of responsibility and obligation which tends to curb, but does not prevent, inclinations toward both adultery and laziness. As soon as a woman is recognized to be pregnant she is expected to cease any but the lightest work; because she should not go in the sea any more than necessary she no longer fishes on the reefs, thus avoiding the most arduous and uncomfortable of the routine tasks of women. The onset of pregnancy is determined by the cessation of the menses; its further progress is charted by the usual physiological changes of the breasts and abdomen, and finally the movement of the foetus. Conception results from a single union of the semen of a man and the blood of a woman; for the ensuing three months the uterus contains nothing but blood which can readily be lost. Care has therefore to be taken to avoid miscarriages during this early period. The woman must not become upset; for this reason no one may speak angrily to her, nor even in her presence. She may not have intercourse, and is likely to become sick and lose her child (blood) if her husband has intercourse with any other woman. She is not forbidden any foods; she should, in fact, eat anything she wants, and her husband should spare no pains in satisfying her whims for one or another sort of food.

It need hardly be mentioned that not all wives receive in full this prescribed pampered care. However, men do desire children, and the belief in the precariousness of early pregnancy is firmly held, so a pregnant woman is usually in a favored position. There can be little doubt that they enjoy this role as a relief from the subservience usually expected of them; although they do not so state, this must contribute to the desire of women to have children. All women say they want to bear children, although they also note that some women (but not they) are bad and do not want to do so. The reason given by men as well as women for having children is primarily that there will be someone to take care of them when they grow old and help with the household work until that time. In other words, children will increase the size of the cooperative family group and provide insurance against possible neglect by other relatives when one is old and feeble. As we shall see this concern over possible neglect is quite well founded, but unfortunately even children do not provide entirely adequate insurance against it. From the woman's standpoint, against the advantages which might accrue from children must be set the very real dangers of childbirth and the long periods of abstinence from heterosexual activity which are required during pregnancy and lactation. Although women will admit to being frightened, especially during their first pregnancies, it is interesting that "those" women who are bad and do not want children are said to be concerned primarily with an uninterrupted sex life. Similarly, it is felt that women who are promiscuous are more commonly barren than those more circumspect; this belief undoubtedly has a basis in fact as most barrenness appears to be caused by infection of venereal origin. Gonorrhea as well as other sorts of infection are fairly widespread on Truk, and a wide range of sexual contacts increases the likelihood of ex-

posure. The techniques of abortion are widely known and consist in violent jumping or massage of the abdomen. However, while this used to occur in the past it is said not to be practiced any more. This statement must be considered suspect: not only do the doctors in the administration hospital report cases of women with entirely normal pregnancies who suddenly lose their babies, but it is also hard to understand how the women so anonymously reported not to want children can realize this wish and still maintain a high level of sexual activity, for contraceptives are—or were at the time of this study—unknown.

### MISCARRIAGE

After the first three months of pregnancy less concern need be felt over the possibility of spontaneous abortion. The foetus has now taken definite form and is therefore better implanted in the uterus. If a miscarriage takes place it is usually the work of a ghost. Ghosts may plant in the woman's abdomen a black trepang (also known as *bêche de mer* or sea cucumber, a fat worm-like organism a few inches to a foot long found on the sea bottom) which eventually aborts; its presence can sometimes be diagnosed and it is then deliberately aborted. Sometimes the foetus itself turns out to be a ghost; these usually are born shortly before the full nine-month term and are identified by their distorted features, short arms, and other characteristics. In other words, the Trukese have observed the characteristics of the developing foetus when it appears at varying stages of prematurity, but have accounted for its appearance variously as being just blood, a trepang, or a small ghost. Babies born at full term but in some respect abnormal are also considered to be ghosts and are disposed of in the same fashion as a premature "ghost" or "trepang." Most commonly this is stated to be by throwing them in the sea, sometimes in a weighted box; burning is also mentioned. Culturally this is not defined as infanticide and the suggestion of infanticide horrified the Trukese; a ghost is not a person and cannot actually be killed in any case. However, Andy was born with his cranium almost entirely unossified; the midwife pronounced him a ghost and his mother agreed. When they were preparing the box in which he would be thrown into the sea, a "father" of hers looked at Andy, denied he was a ghost, and refused to permit his disposal. Her "father" brought some medicine and Andy developed normally. In this situation his mother reported she was frightened at having given birth to a ghost, but at the same time felt he was her baby and was very reluctant to have him thrown away.

Because such abnormalities are predetermined by the work of a ghost rather than being a result of faulty development, no treatment is available which will assure the birth of a healthy and normal child except for early diagnosis and abortion of the ghost's work. Childbirth may be eased for the mother, however. During the fourth month the midwife who will deliver her is called in and begins periodic anointment of the birth canal with coconut milk, a treatment which is

also repeated at the beginning of labor. Intercourse may also be resumed and continues to be permissible until near the end of pregnancy; strenuous activity and going in the ocean is still not advisable, although women who have had a number of successful pregnancies tend to overlook these prohibitions also. Many women do not experience morning sickness; there is no treatment available for those who do but it usually ends during the third to fifth months.

#### CHILDBIRTH

The dangers of childbirth were formerly emphasized rather dramatically in a feast held by the woman's closer relatives near the end of her pregnancy. Food was prepared and largely reserved for the woman and her husband; her sister or mother wove and presented to her four pieces of cloth finely fashioned of hibiscus fiber. During the feast she sat on one, put her feet on another, and draped the remaining two over her shoulders and about her waist. This ceremony, which was performed only during her first pregnancy, was phrased as a farewell feast in the event that she died in childbirth; the cloths would then form her shroud. If she did not die, they were saved in case she might die in a later birth or her baby be born dead.

When labor begins the midwife is called at once and remains in attendance until the baby is born and mother and child are cleaned up; with this her responsibility ends. She is normally the same woman who has attended the mother through her pregnancy, and a relative of some sort. However, secrecy is important and only the closest relatives and lineage members of the mother are notified, as a woman in labor is in a precarious condition and extremely vulnerable to sorcery. Thus one woman who gave birth to a baby during our stay called in my midwife-informant, although the woman's husband's own mother was the other principal midwife on Romonum. Her mother-in-law, however, lived in a large household at the other end of the island and it was felt that by calling her in the middle of the night too many people would be made aware of the birth. My informant undertook the assignment although she felt more anxious than usual, for anything which goes wrong during delivery is felt to be the fault of the midwife; she thus bears a heavy responsibility under the best of circumstances. The one exception to this is a breech birth; this is no one's fault and no techniques are available for dealing with it. It is a foregone conclusion that mother and child will die; the midwife's first act on arriving is to feel in the birth canal, and if she pronounces it to be a breech presentation all the women present break into cries of mourning. At present such cases are often rushed to the hospital on Moen but seldom arrive in time to save the child, or often even the mother. It is said that some women formerly had the skill to make an incision upward long enough to permit the midwife to get her hand in and turn the baby to a normal birth position; the mortality, however, was fairly high and this is no longer done. Although there may be other sometimes fatal complications the breech presentation is what all pregnant women fear; this fear leads them to submit fairly readily



to examination at the hospital, especially if no Trukese attendants are present who may report to interested people the sexual adequacy of their genitals. Unless an abnormal birth is indicated, however, few women will face the hazardous ordeal of childbirth away from their own islands or even their own houses.

In a normal birth three women, if possible relatives of the mother, assist the midwife. Other interested relatives, including men but not the mother's "brothers" or "fathers," may be present. One helper takes her place at the mother's head which rests on the helper's feet and the other two at her sides; all three of them assist the mother in her labor by downward massage which coincides with the uterine contractions. The midwife sits between the mother's legs and when she is not otherwise occupied holds the mother's feet to give her something to push against. Her hands, which have not been washed previously, are thus for part of the time on the floor in addition. At intervals she works the birth canal outward to assist in its natural dilation and feels the progress of the baby's descent, which she reports to the mother and onlookers. At the same time she exhorts the mother to be strong and work hard. After the head has emerged, or if an impediment develops, she reaches in and manipulates the baby to bring it out smoothly.

If a serious complication develops it may be assumed to be the result of sorcery or, more likely, a family ghost holding onto the baby. Recently deceased ancestors take this opportunity to punish the lineage members for their neglect of their family obligations, particularly toward the woman in childbirth. While such a case did not occur during our stay it is said that all the lineage members are called upon in haste to bring presents to the mother, to show their solidarity and concern and thus appease the ghost. A ghost may also be scared away by steaming the birth canal with water in which has been placed dried banyan leaves, accompanied by the reciting of a spell. No data were obtained on the effects of or treatment for sorcery; it appears that while this is feared it is seldom actually diagnosed as the cause of an impediment.

As soon as the baby emerges the umbilical cord is tied and cut without any special ceremony or materials. If the placenta is not expelled immediately the mother is urged to make a final effort. Then the midwife reaches in, following down the cord, and pries the placenta from the uterine wall to hasten its expulsion. In one case, reported on by my informant the following day, she was unable to free the placenta by this means; the events which followed are interesting in showing the sort of techniques which may be tried in times of crisis. The midwife was genuinely concerned lest the woman not be able to expel the placenta and die; she so stated and the women present began to cry. One of them started to try to pull it out by pulling on the cord; the midwife stopped her. Another stuck her fingers down the mother's throat to make her vomit; this did no good. Then they all worked together, lifting the woman up and dropping her on the floor. This was also unsuccessful. Finally the midwife returned to her attempt to pry the placenta loose; one edge came free and she was able to pull it out.

One of the attendant women buries the afterbirth under the house or nearby. It is the midwife's final function to wash the baby, the mother, and herself. With this her responsibility is at an end, unless the mother hemorrhages. Treatment for this, as for a similar hemorrhage resulting from a miscarriage, is again steaming, using a sea plant and a different spell. No other treatment is known.

#### THE MOTHER'S ACTIVITIES

As we have described in a previous chapter, after the birth the mother and child are visited by numerous admiring relatives and she remains resting for some days or weeks until she feels stronger. Even when she is fully recovered, however, she is not expected to do any heavy work for some time, at least until the baby can crawl around a little. This is intended to permit the mother to give her full attention to the baby, rather than for her own health. This is well illustrated in the case of Rachel whose life history is full of accounts of how she was overworked. However, she adopted her baby sister Irene from birth as they all lived in the same house and their mother could nurse the baby while Rachel cared for her otherwise. At this time neither her husband nor her parents would suggest that she do any work. This continued until the child was about a year old.

They said as long as I had the child to care for I should not leave her. I said I had thought of taking her inland with me if I went, so they said if I really wanted to, there was some weeding that needed to be done in the gardens. So I went up carrying Irene on my back and worked. After a while my husband came up and told me to stop, for he said that with a little baby like that it was not appropriate to keep working all day every day; I should just work an occasional day, or an hour or two every day, that was all. So I left the garden and came home.

This opportunity provided by the society for the mother to devote herself exclusively to the care of her infant does not, of course, guarantee that she will do so. As we have seen in the chapters on the baby and the child, the mother is more or less constantly with her offspring but at the same time is far from concentrating all her attention and energy on the task of responding to his needs.

Intercourse is not resumed until the child can move around a little; ideally, this should not take place until the child is weaned or at least can walk, but it appears that a little crawling is enough for most mothers. Her husband sleeps with her until this time but does not have intercourse. By the time a year or a little more has passed, however, and the child can walk with some assurance, there are no further limitations on the mother's activities, sexual or otherwise, except those which result from her added responsibility for her child. She can return to full participation in the daily round of duties and pleasures which are her lot as an adult Trukese.

## DAILY ACTIVITIES

## PRODUCTION AND PREPARATION OF FOOD

A large proportion of the daily activity of adults, both men and women, is devoted to the production or preparation of food. The techniques for this have already been discussed; the important fact to note here is that this is the primary responsibility and function of adults during their active years. The ability to work means the ability to make food; as long as a man can climb a tree he need not go hungry. He looks backward to his childhood when he was dependent on his parents for food, and forward to his old age when he will depend on his children; but while he is active he is self-sufficient. Theodore, still a robust man at forty, expressed this well:

When I was small and came home and there was no food ready I used to cry. My father would come and ask me why I was crying and I would tell him it was because I was unhappy because there was no food. He would tell me not to cry because there was plenty of food. Now it is not like that any more, because I am big and strong and can get food by myself. I am no longer worried about food.

Theodore, of course, speaks as a man. To men are reserved the most productive fishing technique of trolling (and more recently seine fishing) and all phases of the production of all-important breadfruit. A man is thus truly self-sufficient, and if need be can live satisfactorily alone, as one man did for reasons best known to himself while we were on Romonum. In the old days of the lineage men's houses far more men lived for long periods without any assistance from their womenfolk. Women, on the other hand, cannot climb trees and have more difficulty in obtaining a continuous and adequate supply of fish off the local reefs. However, a girl begins before puberty to help her mother around the house and in the gardens and usually spends most of the rest of her life in the same household. As she acquires a husband and children their relationship with the household is mediated through her, and she thus maintains a measure of control over all of the available food supplies, regardless of their source, without at the same time being as dependent upon her own physical powers to assure these supplies. With the birth of a child her contribution to the household's food production is materially reduced for most of two years, but she is always adequately fed. Therefore, while a man may exult in his self-sufficiency it will last only as long as he is well and strong; the woman's position is in important respects more secure.

## ILLNESS

As might be expected, the reactions of men and women to illness are correspondingly different. Women in general react appropriately to the gravity of their illness; if they feel a little sick they do not do as much work perhaps as otherwise but remain more or less active. If they are seriously ill they no longer attempt to

stay up and about, but at the same time bear their pain and discomfort with a minimum of complaint and outcry. This is also true in regard to men if they are injured; it is not uncommon to see men working with rather severe and recent lacerations, often inadequately bandaged. Injuries, however, do not imply any organic disorder and unless very severe can be expected to heal in a short time; thus they pose no threat of permanent loss of productivity. At the first onset of symptoms of actual illness, on the other hand, men surrender immediately and dramatically to querulous despair. Even a mild headache or stomach ache, or a slight fever, is enough excuse for an otherwise robust man to lie down, cover himself with a sheet, and withdraw completely; his presence remains known through intermittent groans and complaints and requests for a drink of water or a damp rag on his fevered brow. The rest of the household walks and talks quietly and seems to display genuine concern over his condition. A more serious or painful illness often produces groans and moans which can be heard at some distance; the patient will be found lying in state in the middle of the house surrounded by anxious womenfolk who fan away the flies, straighten his sheets, offer him coconuts, light his cigarettes for him, and are in general at his beck and call.

#### PUBLIC WORKS

The work activity probably second to food production and preparation, in point of time expended, consists in the maintenance of the island paths, seawalls, and other public works, together with the implementation of the administration's sanitation directives. One day a week (on a few islands two) is set aside by agreement between the chief and the people for such labor in which all healthy adults from the ages of sixteen to sixty participate through most of the working hours of the day. A cash payment into the island treasury approximately equivalent to the current wage for manual labor may be substituted for this, but can be afforded in general only by those whose regular employment for pay elsewhere precludes their participation. This work is essentially non-productive from the standpoint of the lineages or individuals involved but is rather vaguely felt to be good for the island and in any event is accepted as inevitable. Practically all of the projects undertaken on these island work days can be traced to the orders or recommendations of the present and past foreign administrations; they thus represent a major source of work in excess of the requirements of earlier days.

#### COPRA

The same may be said of copra production. This, however, being the principal source of cash income is considered productive and as being essentially a lineage function, although one person or household will have charge of the drying racks and the attendant responsibility for getting the copra under cover in the event of rain. Revenue derived from the sale of copra is usually received by the lineage head



who retains it for the benefit of the lineage members, although without any sort of strict accountability. Thus the head taxes levied on all adult men are often paid by the lineage head for all male members.

#### WORKING FOR WAGES

Working for wages, usually off the island for the administration or its personnel, occupies most of the time of a limited number of people, primarily younger men. Unlike copra production, the revenue derived is viewed as belonging to the individual and as such any money he does not spend on himself goes to his wife and particularly her father and brothers rather than to the wage-earner's lineage, unless of course he is unmarried. Such employment, whether on Truk, aboard ship, or at a more distant administration activity, seldom affords the opportunity for a man to bring along his wife or children. Nevertheless most men accept jobs eagerly and appear not at all disturbed by the prospect of an absence of several months or a year; their wives are apt to protest less loudly than their fathers-in-law who are deprived of a strong helping hand in the household work force. When the men return, whether permanently or for a visit, they neither receive a jubilant welcome-home nor show any haste or enthusiasm for rejoining their families. If there is a good card game going it is not uncommon for a man to spend his first night home after a long absence gambling rather than with his family. If a strong emotional tie exists between husband and wife it is certainly seldom evident in this context. There is considerable evidence that men enjoy the release from the surveillance of their various relatives which is a part of employment away from the island; on the other hand numerous examples from the life histories, dating especially from school days on neighboring Udot, attest to the feeling of helplessness and defenselessness experienced by a man away from his island and relatives in time of crisis. The tie to home and lineage becomes most clearly evident if word is received that a close relative of the man (but much less so if of his wife) is gravely ill; his efforts to get home often become almost frantic and, if they are not successful, he lapses into the deepest gloom and despair.

#### TRIPS

Trips of shorter duration, but often lasting several weeks, are made to other islands within the atoll. One normally stays with "relatives"; depending on the purpose of the trip, the sort of "relatives" visited, and the size of boat available, a man may bring along his wife to help him with his work or his visiting, but more often does not. The "relatives" most commonly are "brothers." They may be men who are actually related, they or their parents having moved from the home island, but the relationship is more likely to be more or less artificial. They may be very distantly related but drawn closer together by reciprocal visiting, or completely unrelated, having met when they were working together for the administra-



tion or in any of a number of other ways, but now refer to each other as "brother." A satisfactory visiting relationship often carries over into subsequent generations, where it may become reinforced by adoption, mutual ownership of certain plots of land, and the like, until a permanent linkage has developed between the two lineages involved.

Trips are often made to cut copra on such mutually owned land; these last several weeks and are more likely to include the man's wife and children than are trips of shorter duration. More frequent, shorter, and probably more important trips are those concerned with obtaining food. They are phrased as visits only, but it is mutually understood that the parting guest will be speeded on his way with liberal gifts of whatever sort of food is currently short on his home island but plentiful on the island he is visiting. Shortly thereafter the "brother" returns the visit and himself receives parting presents of something he needs. In this way temporary shortages and inequalities in distribution of food supplies within the atoll are relieved and inter-island ties are constantly recemented; the size of the community toward which the individual can look for support and assistance in time of need is in a real but subsidiary sense extended to include all of Truk. Warren, who is now an old man, provides a good account of trips of both types made in his youth:

When I was in my teens but not yet married I went to Iras, on Moen, to cut copra. I stayed with a "brother" of mine and cut copra from our trees. I ate with him and helped with the food too, picking breadfruit and bringing it in, etc. When I had been there two months I got fifty marks for my copra and bought a lot of things. My "brother" prepared a lot of food for me to bring back here, and I had a box full of things I also brought back.

Later I went on a trip to Foup, on Tol. I went to visit another "brother" of mine and got some taro, a big batch of it. They cooked it, pounded it, and put it up in packages. Then I brought it back on the canoe. I gave it to my wife for all her family to eat. I made several such trips to Foup to get food of various kinds, for at that time everybody was hungry here but they had plenty of food on Foup. I also used to go fishing on the reefs here to catch a lot of fish for my "brother" when he came; then he would take them back with him to Foup.

Several lineage ties exist between Romonum and Pis, an island on the barrier reef, and there are constant exchange visits bringing in the fish which are plentiful on the barrier reef but no longer easy to catch near Romonum and taking out in return the starch foods which do not grow as readily on the coral reef island. These trips are more frequent during the summer months; during the winter Pis is upwind from Romonum in the northeast trades and the more traditional tie of Pis with Moen is reasserted.

Trips for food are more commonly made by a man alone and it is not uncommon for his welcome to include an opportunity to sleep with his "brother's" wife; many informants stated that this practice had fallen into disuse but it became very

clear during my stay on Moen that such was not the case. Men from the outer islands cannot take advantage of this privilege on Truk for their magical protection on the long sea voyage would suffer if the taboo on heterosexual contacts were broken.

#### MEN'S SKILLS AND MAGIC

We have repeatedly had occasion to note the association of magic with a wide variety of activities. Some, such as healing or sorcery, are almost entirely magical in nature while others, of which canoe-building and navigation are examples, require very considerable knowledge and skill, and magic serves the auxiliary purpose of assuring the success of work otherwise correctly performed. With few exceptions the magic associated with activities reserved exclusively to men requires that those participating in the magic observe a taboo against having intercourse with women during the time the magic is in effect. This taboo, however, does not apply to women nor to the magic associated with the work of women or both men and women, of which healing is an outstanding example. Nor in the case of men does it prevent them from relieving sexual tension through masturbation; only heterosexual relations are forbidden.

It is felt, however, that younger men cannot long deny themselves the pleasures of women, and it is probably largely for this reason that they do not undertake the more specialized and skilled types of work which occupy an increasing amount of the time of many older men. Some types of magic, particularly those pertaining to war and learning the skills of warfare, formerly imposed sexual taboos on younger men also; these were more easily maintained when living in the lineage men's house. Both warfare and the men's house are now in the past and there are very few occasions left in which younger men must observe ritual continence on Truk. Older men, however, continue to observe the taboos, particularly during the manufacture of such objects as canoes and their equipment; these skills and their associated magic are not taught to younger men. In tabulating the makers of canoes, paddles, bailers, wooden fish spears, and the like, Dr. LeBar found that the youngest among them was listed as being thirty-nine years of age (which is probably a low estimate on the part of the island secretary), and they averaged forty-seven. They all observe to some degree the magic traditionally associated with their craft and are stated to avoid intercourse with their wives until their task is done, although they continue to sleep at home. They have learned their skills from yet older men and will shortly pass them on to men somewhat younger, in both cases members of their lineage or other close relatives.

An incidental but important result of the passing of crucial knowledge from old men to men not quite so old should be noted: it reduces the age difference between teacher and apprentice to considerably less than would otherwise be the case, and the teacher begins his instruction with a relatively short life expectancy. In consequence only a short interruption in the performance of any activity is suffi-

cient to accomplish the loss of practically everyone versed in its skills without the opportunity for them to pass on their knowledge. Thus during the latter part of the Japanese administration a shortage of lumber forced the Japanese to cut down most of the breadfruit trees large enough for the construction of sailing canoes. Now as more trees are growing to adequate size only a handful of old men remain who are competent to build these canoes; the craft has suffered a blow from which it will probably never recover.

The fact that a man undertakes skilled work at the time his physical powers are beginning to wane must also influence his attitude toward this work, for he is rapidly approaching the period when he will be dependent upon others for his sustenance and will not be able to afford to risk offending anyone by unorthodox behavior. Kenneth, who was listed as being forty-six years old and was learning to make paddling canoes (vastly simpler than sailing canoes) from his older brother at the time he recounted his life history, shows anxiety about his age already:

I don't think I will live much longer, for I am an old man and I am a little weak. I am still able to do work, but in the past I was very strong; now I cannot lift heavy things.

The desire for conformance generated by this anxiety leads old people, as we shall see, to place considerable emphasis on living exemplary lives in terms of the culturally defined ideals; this conservatism must also be expected to be reflected in an increased desire to follow in detail the precepts of their teachers as they learn a new craft. However, the tendency toward the following of precepts and the feeling that there is only one right way to do something, with its consequent lack of emphasis on individual initiative, is not something which appears only with old age. The need to get along with one's relatives is felt very early in the life of a Trukese and the surest way to accomplish this is to do things the way one has been told to do them; old age merely accentuates the tendency. This reluctance to take any initiative and the firm belief that there is but one correct approach to any problem was strikingly demonstrated by the young Trukese employed as mechanics in the administrative garage. These jobs were eagerly sought after, under the impression that one could thus quickly learn the facility in working with machinery which the Trukese greatly admire in Americans. These youths were anxious to learn and within the limits of their understanding of English followed carefully the instructions they were given. But if what they had been taught did not work they were helpless. An American boy interested in mechanics is soon inculcated with the idea that every new piece of equipment is a challenge; if he does not know how it works, much less what may be wrong with it, he should take it apart, find out how it works, and then fix it. This approach was incomprehensible to the Trukese; even when given an old engine to practice on, their only solution to a problem was to ask someone who knew. We have already seen the same approach taken in house-building, an art not confined to old men and having little or no

associated magic: the right way to build a thatched house is with lashed joints, while a house with wooden walls has mortised joints. Each must be done only in the way it was originally taught.

### WOMEN'S WORK

Although women, as we have noted, do not have to avoid heterosexual contacts as a consequence of any work they may undertake, they like the men tend to learn skills only after they are well into adult status. The principal crafts practiced by women are the making of nets, baskets, and plaited fans; the average age for producers of these items on Romonum was found by LeBar to be forty-one. However, at least one woman skilled in the manufacture of each of these items was in her early twenties, and both Irene and Rachel were taught these and other crafts when still in their teens. Although these are exceptions, such exceptions do not appear in the case of male artisans.

### SPORTS

Before leaving the subject of activities with which a taboo on heterosexual relations is associated one additional instance of this should be noted: inter-island baseball games and track meets. These sports were introduced by the Japanese and embraced by the Trukese with great enthusiasm; they perform very creditably in spite of a minimum of training or practice. Championship games and meets are attended by hundreds of spectators who often wager far more than they can afford on the outcome and take the contest very seriously; this is one of the few truly competitive contests found in the culture today, in the sense that victory is important. It is in contrast, for example, with the races held each spring between beautiful scale model sailing canoes, all that remains of the now defunct first-fruits ceremony at the beginning of the breadfruit season: in these races the interest is in the boats which sail the best, not which one wins. While a good performance in baseball or track is valued it is more important not to be defeated. For a few days before the game the players live in the village meeting house, converting it for the moment into the men's house upon which it was modeled, and do not sleep with their wives or other women. This is the only activity not traditional in the culture with which such continence is associated. The importance of victory and the imposition of sexual taboos tempts one to speculate on the degree to which the attitudes associated with the former pursuit of inter-island warfare have become attached to these sports.

### THE KIN GROUP

#### COOPERATIVE OBLIGATIONS OF KIN

Despite the temporary self-sufficiency of adult men there is no detectable attempt of either men or women to break out of the matrix of cooperative obligations which exist between the members of the lineage and household kin groups.



In fact the reverse appears to be true: as people mature and settle into an enduring marriage relationship and steady residence in one household their kin ties become stabilized and the fulfillment of obligations takes on a routine and presumably reassuring aspect. This is increasingly true with advancing years and the consequently closer approach of the period of dependency. Kenneth, at forty-six, took great care to emphasize in his life history the observance of kin obligations, as the following excerpts demonstrate.

A while ago my older brother [who is also the lineage head] told me to go out and plant coconuts and breadfruit and I did; he went to look at them and thought they were good and told me I had done a very good job. He also told me to make food—preserved breadfruit—and I did and gave everybody in our family and their wives and their children food. . . .

I have also worked hard on my two canoes. My brother taught me on one we made together, and then when one of my wife's relatives took that one I thought I would begin another which I am working on now. . . .

I have often gone out with the men of my wife's lineage to fish on a little island. We do not go out any more because we have no canoe available. . . .

One time I cut and dried some copra. When it was done I went to my brother. He asked me if it was done and I said yes. Then he told me to go and sell it, which I did. When I came back I brought the money to him. He said the copra came from our trees and I told him to decide about the money. So he divided it up into his and mine.

My sister asked me why I did not go and prepare some food for us. I said I would, but not just for one person: for all of us. So I went and prepared preserved breadfruit for everybody in the lineage and for our families. I made separate packages for each one.

The artificial "brother" and "sister" relationships of adolescence in many cases carry over into adulthood, although if the ties so established appear less satisfactory with maturity they may also be dropped without any great difficulty. If they are maintained the individuals so linked include one another in the distribution of food and continue to watch out for one another's interests. The "brother" relationship may also be formed during adulthood; visiting "brother" affiliations are often created at this time, and it is common to formalize in "brotherhood" the obligation resulting from some signal and voluntary act of generosity or help by an unrelated man. When Theodore was a child he was playing alone on some rocks and fell off into the sea where waves were breaking. He would have drowned had not an old man been passing at that moment; he rescued Theodore and brought him home where he recovered.

My father spoke to the old man and told him that he wanted them to be "brothers," for he was very grateful for his saving my life. So from then on until they died they were brothers.

Later my father and I were walking along one day when we met the old man; he asked me why I went out playing all the time but did not come and play in his



house when he had fished me out of the ocean. He said my father came and visited in his house but I did not want to. My father joined in too and berated me; they were just teasing. I told them I was just playing around and did not think it proper to go to the old man's house, but I was sorry I had offended him and would go. After that I went to his house too.

The degree to which all joint or cooperative activities are traditionally channeled by kin ties is pointed up significantly by the lack in Trukese of any word for a cooperative group as such; one naturally works with one's lineage members or household or the like and words are available to designate such groups. The emergence of baseball teams, divisions of island or other unrelated work groups, etc., has resulted in the application of the Japanese word *kumi* in these contexts, although its use here is not entirely correct in terms of its meaning in Japanese.

#### GROUP REJECTION AND SUICIDE

While the lineage or other kin group provides a large degree of economic and undoubtedly psychological security for the individual, the possibility of rejection by the members of such groups must be a source of very serious anxiety. We have seen this strongly implied in the marked desire for conformance to expected patterns of behavior and the suppression of any behavior which might result in a disruptive or hostile episode. This anxiety over being rejected by a kinsman reaches its most dramatic expression in suicide. The threat of suicide is often made in other situations and is frequently effective, as in the case of the thwarted lovers described in a previous chapter; Theodore finally forced acceptance of his resignation as chief by this means also. But in the four cases actually recorded (one of them observed) where a genuine attempt was made to commit suicide, the precipitating factor was always harsh and unkind words from a close relative. One man had a bitter argument with his wife, finally walked out of the house, down to the beach, and swam off into the open sea; this is a recognized means of suicide but at the same time appears to permit a maximum opportunity for rescue. In this case a "brother" and his wife's father went out in a canoe and after a brief struggle hauled him aboard. A number of years ago my elderly informant was practicing fighting techniques with several of his "brothers" when another "brother" came up and asked to join in; he was told derisively that he did not know anything about it. He left abruptly, climbed a coconut tree, and jumped off, landing on a rock and breaking an arm and leg, although he did not die. In the remaining two cases the man climbed a coconut tree after a violent argument with his parents; in the earlier of these episodes the would-be suicide landed on soft ground, barely missing several rocks, and was only slightly injured. The case observed involved Andy, who got into a trivial argument with his mother over the repair of a pillow. Voices rose and angry words were spoken; his father's sister, Rachel, was present and accused him of being a bad son to his mother. With this he left the house with a look of

almost hysterical desperation on his face; after picking up and dropping a steel bar he took a large stick and beat the side of the house a couple of times. Then he dropped the stick and ran quickly to the top of a fairly tall coconut tree, followed by my old informant who was distantly related. He was able to make Andy pause, but then Andy went on and reached out to swing himself onto a frond of the tree. At this point I abandoned my observer role and stood under the tree, a move I was justified in believing would prevent Andy from jumping. My informant withdrew and Andy remained for perhaps twenty minutes in the tree, sobbing openly, and was finally persuaded to come down by another older relative.

Although in none of these cases did the man die, there is little doubt that the effort, particularly on the part of those who jumped from coconut trees, was genuine. It is also interesting to note in respect to the relative security felt by men and women within their kin groups that all of these cases were by men; my informant, in fact, stated that women never respond by suicide to the harsh words of their relatives. The only possibility for suicide by a woman, then, is in company with her lover if they are refused permission to marry, and only one actual case of this could be remembered by any informant for all of Truk.

#### GROUP CONFORMITY AND INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE

The combination of security and anxiety which is associated with a man's status within his lineage and in respect to his wife's household can hardly encourage him to set himself apart from these relatives, or particularly to stand in opposition to them. The role of impartial arbiter, judge, and executive which accrues to the position of island chief cannot, therefore, be expected to be welcomed by most men. This was probably less true in the old days when his jurisdiction did not normally extend beyond the immediate community and his authority, never highly formalized, was mediated through the members of the most powerful lineage, of which he was the head. At present, however, the chiefs are elected to administer the entire island and have rather clearly defined authority and responsibilities; being in general rather younger men they are seldom heads of their own lineages, but may be placed in the position of taking administrative or judicial action against their own relatives. We have already mentioned Theodore's reluctance to take on such a job and his resignation, achieved through a threat of suicide. His comment on his chieftainship is revealing of his discomfort while in the job:

Now I just do my own work and don't have any trouble; I speak gently to the chief and get along with everybody. When I was chief it was very hard; I was always coming and going, to Dublon and Udot, and having to talk a lot to the people when they were bad. But now I just do my own work and don't worry about anything. I hold no prejudices against anyone; I just want to join happily with everyone I know.

The protests of men who have been elected to the chieftainship are certainly more than perfunctory, and in some cases (though not on Romonum) they have flatly refused in the face of considerable pressure to serve. However, someone always takes the job, so for at least some men the rewards in power, pay, and prestige are enough to overcome their anxiety at being set apart from their fellows.

This anxiety is also reflected in the reluctance, noted in an earlier chapter, of people to vote against an incumbent chief even in private. They are even more hesitant to speak out in a meeting. During our stay on Romonum the divorce and remarriage of Frances provoked considerable controversy; this was accentuated when the then district chief on Udot awarded her former husband damages and this was reported to the Civil Administrator, who rebuked him. The next day the chief came to Romonum and in a public meeting denied that he had awarded such damages; he challenged anyone to say he had awarded them and, although everyone on the island had been talking about the episode, silence reigned. The mounting tension was finally broken by Frances' father, Norman, who murmured that it was true. There was a sigh of relief and assent from the people in the meeting and the district chief was forced to admit it was at least partially true. In another case, Charles, at that time the island school teacher, was having trouble with the chiefs who used his students for work gangs and disrupted the teaching schedules. He brought this up in discussing his present status and when he realized I was going to include it in his life history asked me not to write it down. I assured him no one would see what I had written.

Well, it is up to you. But I don't want any more trouble. I get embarrassed in a meeting and I cannot speak up before the people. I would rather go to the calaboose if I had to than speak up. A while ago I went to the "office" and they said that if the chiefs tried to take the school children out again they would be forced to resign their jobs. So if anyone hears about it the chiefs will be in trouble and it will be a bad thing. It is better to let it go.

Similarly in more individual matters a person will rarely make a decision of any consequence without first consulting the other members of his lineage even though their interests may be only slightly involved. This pattern of referring decisions to one's relatives is part of the stereotype of the "good" Trukese given us by our informants, and is in practice lived up to more than many other aspects of the stereotype. Some decisions of course, even though concurred in by one's kinsmen, depend upon imponderables and do not permit of but one "right" answer; among these are deciding whether the weather will be good for an ocean trip or fishing, what will be the best cure for a sick relative, whether a hazardous undertaking has adequate chances for success, and the like. It is in these and similar cases that Trukese turn to divination; the chance combinations of folds in a strip of coconut leaf can be relied upon to produce the "right" solution and everyone is relieved and satisfied to embark upon the course so charted.

## FIGHTS

Despite the many safeguards which exist to prevent the outbreak of hostility within the lineage it is obvious that a conflict between the interests and sentiments of the various members must exist. Each is an individual, with his own desires, objectives, and standards of behavior, and it is too much to hope that these should mesh so perfectly that no one should ever feel thwarted by another. The Trukese attempt to suppress these conflicts, for they strike at the heart of the social system upon which the security of each rests. Unless pressed our informants preferred not even to recognize that such antagonisms existed; in describing fighting, for example, they phrased the general case as a fight between the members of two lineages, with the lineage mates of each rallying around in support. The few fights between adults reported in the life histories were between unrelated men or women. This was probably generally true in the past and over a long period could prove to be true in the present. On the other hand, the fact that actual fights *can* take place within the lineage is amply attested by those which occurred during our study of Romonum: there were three fights in which blows were struck (exclusive of wife-beating) and all three of these involved not merely members of the same lineage but very close relatives. The first, between Paul and his half-brother, was precipitated by Paul's objection to his half-brother beating his wife in public; they fought with their fists, but no weapons, until the head of their lineage intervened. In the second, Eleanor and her mother exchanged brief but determined blows when her mother intervened while Eleanor was beating her small son. In the third, the lineage head accused his sister's son, who was island secretary, of stealing the lineage tax money; they grappled and when the older man found himself bested he swung his knife and gave the secretary a cut on the leg from which he very nearly bled to death. Three fights over a seven-month period scarcely constitute an adequate sample, and the cases adduced when one asks for stories of fights attest to the fact that fights also occur between non-relatives; but it remains a striking fact that all these fights were in fact between close kin.

## NON-VIOLENT AGGRESSION

## GOSSIP

A more common and less explosive means of expressing aggression, both within and without the lineage, is gossip which the Trukese refer to as "lots of talk" and recognize as a menace and also a very effective sanction. The patterns of gossip would be familiar to any American. There are the inveterate gossips, particularly women, who spend a good part of their waking hours in scandalized expostulation over someone's real or imagined peccadillos, and keep a sharp eye out for everyone's movements in hopes of smoking out a trysting couple. These are at the extreme but all Trukese, men and women alike, gossip, particularly when



something especially shocking and circumstantial comes to light. It was for example almost to be taken for granted that every week or so when the boat came over to Moen a new story would be reported to be making the rounds of Romonum concerning the three or four young men and women who lived in our house and helped with the housework. It is usually possible to get a fairly complete account of a man beating his wife from anyone on the island within an hour of its happening. It appears that most Trukese are prepared to believe without further examination the worst about their fellow man. At the same time the victims of gossip do not appear to be able to shrug it off; however preposterous a story may be they worry about it, and worry that everyone will believe it. On the other hand they hesitate to precipitate the scene which would result from confronting their accusers—if indeed they can find out who started the story—and are in a very real dilemma. Andy, who acted as my principal aide and companion on Romonum, frequently found himself faced with several of these stories in the space of a single week; he could never quite bring himself to challenge the story in public, although he several times found out who had started it, but at the same time despaired lest the wrong people believe it. As a young man apparently attractive to a number of girls (all of course married) and in a special status as my assistant he was doubtless the victim of somewhat more gossip than most.

There is no question that gossip operates within lineages as well as between people who are unrelated. I have the impression that there is rather more of it circulated within a lineage about its own members than that which concerns outsiders but no quantitative data are available and this must be considered a mere surmise.

### SORCERY

Sorcery is a more direct if more secret form of aggression and is practically precluded from being applied within the lineage by the fact that the spells used are in each case the property of a given lineage. While it is not clear whether they would be considered effective, it is very doubtful that they would be used against others who knew them or could be expected to know them. Data on sorcery are difficult to obtain for no one admits to being a sorcerer. Those cases of afflictions (blindness, psychosis, and paralysis) which were definitely attributed to a given sorcerer always applied to someone on another island, angry because his wife had been taken away, his property trespassed upon, or the like. Although various people on Romonum were said to know certain techniques of sorcery and many people expressed a fear of being sorcerized, no one would say that a given person had actually sorcerized anyone. The detailed body of knowledge of procedures in sorcery which exists and the circumstantial accounts of how it was formerly used certainly suggest very strongly that in the past Trukese deliberately sorcerized other Trukese. Whether this is the case today, however, is an open question. In the past



it was used by master magicians, both against rival magicians and against the laity, and was also used in the punishment of thieves; but then as now sorcery was primarily the result of one person's animosity against another and as such acted as a sanction against acts which might antagonize another. Thus anxiety about sorcery is another factor weighing the balance in favor of conformist behavior.

### GHOSTS

The spirits of the dead are not as considerate of their relatives. We saw earlier in this chapter the ghost of a recent ancestor punishing the lineage for its neglect of a pregnant mother by withholding her baby. The spirits of the dead are felt to have the function of watchdogs over the family solidarity; it is not entirely clear in fact whether the ghost that holds the baby is doing so on account of neglect of the mother only, or because the lineage members have generally been lax in their mutual obligations and this is a good opportunity (as it was phrased by one informant) to punish two members at once, mother and child. Again, then, we have a supernatural sanction for conformity. However, in this context it must not be considered too important. Anxiety about ghosts is strong and pervasive to this day, but the many actual cases found in the life histories, as well as those recorded from those who had experienced or witnessed attacks by spirits of the dead, reveal very few instances in which the spirit was actually identified as a relative; in these few the harm inflicted was not very severe. The great majority of cases, and all of those in which serious illness or death ensued, resulted from the attack of a spirit known to inhabit a particular locality, on land or sea, or a ghost encountered by chance on the path at night. They are all felt to be the spirits of people once actually alive but their identity has been lost in the distant past. We shall return to the subject of ghosts in the next chapter.

### LIFE GOALS

Before turning to a consideration of old age a word should be said about the life goals of the Trukese. In terms of ambition or striving toward a definite objective which represents a status ultimately to be desired by the individual the Trukese have no life goals. The recording of each life history was concluded by a question intended to elicit a statement of such attitudes; this often required considerable explanation. Most of the women had nothing to offer; the rest of them, as well as several of the men, expressed a desire to be, in essence, like the stereotype of the "good" Trukese: kind, generous, mild, well liked, and healthy, or to be a good Christian. All of the unmarried men wanted to get married; one also mentioned having gardens so he would not be hungry. Two married men wanted to be able to keep on having love affairs, and two others wanted money. The oldest man said he wanted to die, although the oldest woman said she did not. In other words they just wanted to be Trukese, some good, some not so good. One woman stated

she would like to be like an American woman but this was a response to an example used in an attempt at explanation of the concept of a life goal; others rejected the same idea. No one defined a specific status he would like to occupy (except that of husband) or expressed any desire for power, prestige, or distinction, except in so far as this was implied in wanting money.

Correspondingly, there are very few positions in the society toward which a person can aspire. In the old days a chief attained his status by virtue of his seniority in his lineage; a master magician studied for his job, but only after he was selected by his mentor. Foreign contact has created many more such positions, some of them quite responsible: chiefs, teachers, health aides, office workers, officers in the trading company, preachers, and the like. Many of these are filled by the half-castes described previously who were brought up by their foreign fathers and are thus not fully Trukese. Some of the "pure" Trukese work indefinitely at their jobs, for which they have usually been selected rather than themselves applying, but most of them resign to return to their former obscure status after a few years, often just when their American mentors feel they have finally mastered their work and can be relied upon fully. This behavior is understandable in terms of the anxiety felt by a Trukese thrust into a position of comparative eminence and responsibility but it makes the problems of administration appreciably more difficult. The Trukese society is one with notably few distinctive statuses; with rare exceptions no one strives of his own volition to attain them. Safety and security are best found in obscurity.

#### OLD AGE

A chronological definition of old age is impossible. Not only is it in large part a function of physical condition rather than actual age, but the available records are completely unreliable. Within the past twenty-five years or so under Japanese and American tutelage some attempt has been made to keep records of birth dates and other vital statistics; prior to this time they were non-existent and the ages listed in the island records represent simply some former secretary's guesses to which have been added the years which have intervened since the guess was made. Those cases in which an attempt at verification was made would suggest that most of the estimates are low. On the basis of statements such as "I was about the age of so-and-so when the Germans arrived (1903)" my elderly informant must be in his mid-sixties; he is listed as fifty-three. Two men who are twins are listed at forty-three and forty-six years, respectively.

Men begin to worry about getting old as soon as they recognize any significant reduction in their strength; climbing a coconut tree requires an appreciable amount of strength as well as coordination and balance, especially if it is tall and swaying in the wind. This is one of the first activities which has to be given up by an older man but at the same time is the keystone of his self-sufficiency. It is the one step in the food production process of which women are considered physically incapable.

The function of climbing coconut and the easier but more important breadfruit trees is increasingly delegated to younger men, although an old man still prides himself on the knowledge that he *can* climb a tree if he has to, as my informant did when Andy undertook to commit suicide. A persistent cough is also taken as a sign of old age and disability. This may be inspired by the serious and continuing toll of tuberculosis; however, pulmonary tuberculosis in the Trukese is not characterized by a long-standing cough. In young and old alike the decline is rapid, the sick person dying often within two or three months of the first appearance of symptoms and sometimes even more quickly.

Whether women do in fact age more rapidly than men as a result of their sedentary lives and childbearing as stated cannot be established. Out of an approximately equal population of men and women the island rolls show eighteen men fifty years of age or over, but only ten women. On the other hand aging is not synonymous with dying, and the data are notably unreliable, although the reflection of a trend of this order might be taken as more significant than the actual numerical ages. In regard to the effects of childbearing, all ten women fifty or more years of age had borne at least three children, and three of them bore ten children apiece, not all of whom survived. At present there are many women well into their adult years who have had no children; if this was true in the past such women have not survived to reach fifty and have thus been outlived by their childbearing sisters. It is stated that a fair proportion of women have always been barren, but again this cannot be verified as the genealogies include only persons who survived at least to adolescence and some women (including one of the three noted above who bore ten babies) lose all their children in infancy. These data indicate that childbearing does not necessarily accelerate the aging, or at least death, of Trukese women and may in fact have the opposite effect.

The menopause in women is not looked upon as of special significance by persons of either sex; there is indeed no word in the language for it. It has to be described as "the time women cease to menstruate." It is not felt to have any effect on the woman's sexual enjoyment, although it is recognized that advancing years diminish sexual pleasure for both men and women.

Although older people readily admit their increasing weakness and in fact speak anxiously about it before there seems any actual basis for concern, they make every effort not to surrender to their debility. They try to remain active throughout the day and find an excuse for a daily walk to keep themselves in shape; while younger people take naps at any available opportunity, as they grow older they never do. This is not simply a function of not needing as much sleep, although this is doubtless operative, but represents a conscious and explicit effort to remain active. In this fashion they not only keep themselves exercised and healthy but also reassure themselves that they are not as decrepit as they might be.

But as the years pass there is no escaping the fact that they are growing

weaker and increasingly unable to provide for themselves. Persons with specialized occupations such as midwives, healers, or skilled craftsmen may remain active in their specialties for years but in the all-essential matter of producing food they are dependent on their relatives. Warren, who was undoubtedly older than his recorded fifty-six but had learned no special skills, describes his despair:

I am happy now because I will soon die. I look forward to dying for I no longer enjoy my life. I am weak and can no longer do any work; I am just like a little child. There is no point in my being alive any more for I cannot climb a coconut tree; I cannot pick breadfruit. If I am dead I will lie under the ground; now I lie on the ground, but there is little difference. Little of my life is left, for I am weak; if I were strong a lot would remain.

Warren's life was indeed pitiable. He lived by himself in a small shack which could only be reached from the main part of the village of Winisi by walking on a soggy path through the taro swamp. It required a major effort for him to walk the perhaps one-third of a mile from his house to our house and whenever the type of work would permit I visited him instead. Although he was very cooperative in performing the projective tests and in recounting his life history, he found it difficult even to produce the smile with which the Trukese meet almost every situation. Judging by the samples recorded his nights were filled with vivid and terrifying nightmares. In speaking of bringing up his son and administering the necessary discipline to him as a child he added:

Now I am afraid of my son and can no longer tell him to do things and demand that he do them, for if he were to beat me I would be dead. However, he feels sorry for me and does not talk harshly to me either, for I am weak and I cannot do much work anyway.

I have no record of a child beating his aged parent but it is said to occur. Certainly neglect of the aged by the children they reared in hopes of a happy and well-fed old age is not uncommon. One old woman died during our stay on Romonum, whose age is unrecorded but whose son is listed as fifty-seven, who was so weak and crippled she could not walk and could barely see. She was fed enough to keep her alive but received practically no other attention. She had adopted a younger son, in his adolescence at the time of her death; he was supposed to care for her but despised and ignored her. She died one night on the beach, where she had crawled to defecate, because she was unable to find the strength to return. This is of course extreme and was a cause of great shame to the lineage who buried her in haste with a minimum of ceremony. But, although her neglect was a cause of continuing gossip, no one thought to intervene on her behalf or much less offer to help themselves. This was a matter for the lineage and any outside help or suggestions would be looked upon as rank interference in something that was none of the outsider's business. Another old woman, equally ailing and totally blind, received slightly better care although she lived in squalor in a little hut in the middle



of the village; persons unnamed were said to have put sand in her food occasionally, with the implication that this might hasten her death and rid the lineage of its burden. Although I passed her hut often I never observed anyone talking to her; it is doubtful that it ever occurred to any of her relatives that she might like company or entertainment. She simply lived there in dull and filthy solitude, day after day for months and years, lucky to be fed. A man, listed as thirty-nine, but "very old" as a result of paralysis apparently caused by a brain lesion, was kept clean and well fed but again never had company. Most old people do not suffer this extreme degree of debility, for as they become weaker physically they succumb more readily to disease and die fairly rapidly; the persons described above were the only ones who could not walk unaided out of a population of over two hundred. But they served to illustrate the fact that aging parents can expect nothing from their grown children or relatives except food, and even this may not be all they wish. There are of course exceptions; an old person in a large household is not much of a burden to any one of its members and may be well cared for. The woman whose death is described in the next chapter was apparently one of these. Unfortunately, she died early during our stay and there was no opportunity to observe the degree to which she was given attention over and above the care of her bodily needs during the period of her final illness. We have no data, therefore, on how adequate care can be in the ideal case. But it is probably safe to state that in the majority of cases treatment of those persons debilitated by old age or illness tends toward a satisfaction of only their biological needs and often even this at a minimal level.

While there remain specialized occupations which can give to an old person an important function in the community if he has the necessary knowledge, the decline in importance in recent years of esoteric activities has resulted in a marked reduction in the number of such statuses available. Although by no means all old people, or even old men, played important roles as master magicians, callers of the bread-fruit in the first-fruits ceremonies, spirit mediums, or the like, there were an appreciable number of such specialists and those who enjoyed this order of knowledge could utilize it regardless of the degree of their physical weakness. Even when they could no longer walk they were sought after as teachers of younger men. In the past there must, therefore, have been fewer old men who, like Warren, felt themselves both helpless and useless.

The response of old people to their insecure and increasingly dependent status is to be as ingratiating as possible to their children and younger relatives. They speak gently to them and try not to be impatient; they eat no more than they have to so they will not be considered to be depleting unduly the household's food resources. They do what they can to help around the household, sweeping the house, mending clothes, getting water, cooking and tending the fire, and acting as baby sitters. Most of these are women's tasks; there is really very little a man can do if he is no longer strong enough to get food and does not possess some specialized



knowledge or skills. On the other hand until a man is really senile he is likely to be acting as the head of his lineage and as such receives more respect and attention than would a woman in a corresponding status; he is also more likely to know a craft which he can practice and teach to men somewhat younger. But he cannot produce food and with this the one thing upon which he prided himself is gone; the fact that there are few small tasks he can undertake merely accentuates his loss. Although adequate data are lacking it appears that women can actually continue to be food producers longer than men by fishing in the shallow water inside the reefs. This group fishing with hand nets is considered dull and uncomfortable and is almost entirely taken over by middle-aged and older women anxious to be useful, although occasionally younger women join them; these groups often include women who look surprisingly old. They walk slowly and carefully out across the beach, but they catch fish.

The humble, polite, patient old man or woman is striving toward the sort of behavior which is defined as the ideal for the society. Similarly, older people tend to become more vocal and conscientious in their attitude toward Christianity. In this regard it should be noted that the conflict between the aboriginal and Christian evaluations of extramarital sexual activity have been largely resolved in old age. It is perhaps significant in respect to the lack of life goals and plans for the future we have noted in the Trukese that their appreciation of their religion is in terms of its present help rather than a life after death. Ida's comment at forty may be taken as representative:

My life is and has been in the hands of God; I am grateful to Him for it. I don't know when He will decide to dispose of it. I am grateful to Him for having given me my life to the present, and that of my children and my husband. I shall not know when I enter another year who He will elect to take away. I am happy now because I am getting old and I no longer want men to come to me. [I asked her if they came in the past.] They used to come to me and I did not say anything; I just did it and was bad. From now until I die I just want to try very hard to live up to my religion so I will be at peace.

## DEATH

DEATH is a catastrophe to the Trukese, as it is to most people. In the face of the irretrievable loss of one of its members the lineage responds in a body to a degree not found in any other normal context. Not only must the actual members of the lineage participate in expressing their bereavement, but also their spouses and the children of the male members of the lineage. The only exception to this is in the case of a newborn infant. As we have seen, until the baby first demonstrates that he has a firm hold on life he is not given a name and is really not considered a person and a member of the community. If he dies after a few hours or days during which his life was in the balance, his body is thrown in the sea or more commonly buried without ceremony in a small grave. Because the members of the kin group have not yet really taken him in they do not recognize his death as a loss. No such death occurred while we were on Romonum so it is not possible to confirm that people are in practice able to treat death even of a newborn baby this casually. Our informants agreed on the point, however, and the fact that these babies received no names, even though they lived for sometimes as long as two months, is amply verified by the survey made of living mothers. The three women who gave their life histories who had had this experience did not bother to mention it, but they were among the least communicative of the sample.

### ATTITUDES TO DEATH

Our data are also scanty on the attitude of an individual Trukese toward his own death. There appears to be a feeling of fatalism about it; people who are embarking on a hazardous venture, such as a long boat trip, will often reply to a comment about the dangers involved with "What of it? If I die, it can't be helped." It would probably be very difficult for a people given to trips where the margin of safety is so small to operate with any other viewpoint. On those few occasions when Trukese have been observed in imminent peril of their lives their lack of panic and corresponding lack of reactions of relief afterward were striking to an American. They do, however, fear dying away from home and family. Patients in the hospital who are critically ill, or feel that they are, plead to be permitted to return to their home islands and are little deterred by the doctor's opinion that they may survive in the hospital but will certainly expire at home. Rachel worried about this during the war:

When the Japanese said the Americans were about to start coming over and bombing Truk I worried about my sister Irene who was on Uman. I sent her a letter

telling her to come back. She returned and I told her I was worried about her for fear she would be killed on Uman and we would not be together. She agreed that if she were to die on Uman and I were here it would be a bad thing; it was better that we should die together.

Ruth, whose age was given as fifty and who was crippled by circulatory trouble in her legs, concluded her life history by saying:

I don't like being old, for I am weak. I am scared I will become so weak I will die; I am frightened and feel sorry for my children for there will be no one for them to live with.

This statement becomes more significant in view of the fact that only one of her children was living on Romonum at the time and he did not live with her.

The life histories are considerably more revealing in regard to the reaction of the survivors to the death of a close relative. In most cases the accounts were given in response to questions rather than being volunteered; the people generally showed no resistance to telling of these deaths but did not embark upon the subject spontaneously. Some men and women responded appropriately but perfunctorily with such remarks as, "My father died when I was a young man; I was very sad," and then dropped the subject. It is impossible here to determine whether we are dealing with lack of concern, lack of self-expression, or resistance to talking about the matter. Others, however, described their reactions rather fully. A difference between men and women appears in these accounts. The women tend to describe in some detail the person's last illness while the men pass over this rather briefly. To some degree this is probably accounted for by the fact that the woman, living with most of her close relatives all her life, is more apt to be in continuing contact with them through their illnesses than is a man. The men emphasize their sorrow and their long period of mourning after the death while the women treat this in most cases rather perfunctorily.

It should be noted that the cultural stereotype of ideal behavior is for the woman to react violently and openly to her grief, while the man remains in stony and stoic silence or perhaps permits himself a quiet tear if he is deeply moved. This coincides to a large degree with the behavior observed; certainly the mourning wail of a Trukese woman is dramatic and often chilling, rising from a moan to almost a scream and falling again while she sways back and forth clutching her head or pounding the ground. In contrast, while men have been observed to cry they do so in general silently, or at least quietly, and often appear practically unconcerned. However, despite the greater demonstrativeness of women ideally and actually, the following extracts from the life histories give the clear impression that men feel, or at least express, a deeper sense of loss than do women. Because we cannot determine the significance of the more perfunctory accounts, these examples have been selected from among those which are more full and where the person bereaved was adult or at least adolescent.

Warren's wife died first, followed by his father and then his mother. In his descriptions we should note his far stronger reaction to the death of his wife than to those of his parents, even though when he told the story his wife's death was several years farther in the past.

My wife was sick for two months before she died. After a month she no longer heard me when I spoke to her and I knew she would die. Before she died she told me to be sure and take care of our children and I told her not to worry about it, for I would. Finally one morning at about ten o'clock she died. I cried and cried. She stayed on the mat in the house for three days and people brought all sorts of gifts, cloth and lavalavas. Then we buried her; we dug a hole in the floor of the house and buried her there. After that for three months I just stayed in the house, I above and she below the ground. Finally her mother came to me and told me I must get out and walk around, for if I just stayed there every day all day I would be sick too and would die. So I went out of the house and worked again but I never remarried; I just stayed with my children to take care of them.

My father died before my mother. He was sick for three months before. I just stayed with him all the time under the mosquito netting. Finally one night he was moaning as he had been for some time with his head resting on a box, and I fell asleep. When I woke up I found him dead. I woke up his nephew who was living in the house and told him. Later we buried him in the ground at the side of his men's house. Three months later some people started to do a dance by the men's house and his nephew became angry with them; he threw coconut husks at them and chased them away. However, I told him it was all right if they wanted to dance; we could not mourn forever.

My mother started being sick shortly after my father died. She was sick for three months and then she could no longer eat; during the fourth month of her illness she died. We buried her up on the mountain and at night came down and slept in our houses; there was no one with her, for there was no house up there. I used to go up in the daytime and stay with her but at night I would come down and sleep, for I was afraid.

Note that it was Warren who said himself that they had mourned enough over his father, but his mother-in-law had to stop his mourning for his wife; although there are many ghosts and no house on the mountain, others have been equal to staying at least a few nights up there after a person was buried. In contrast Theodore made only brief mention of his sorrow at the death of his mother who died when he was a young man, and of his wife during the war; he married her "sister" a few weeks later. But when his father died a couple of years prior to his telling his life history he was greatly disturbed.

When my father died I could not eat for days and cried and cried. I could not eat at all; I just threw my food away. For four days I just stayed in the house and cried; my mother was dead and my father was dead and I might as well join them. A "brother" of my father came and told me not to be unhappy because he was still there to stay with me; he told me not to cry because it could not be helped. But I

paid no attention to him and went on crying. One night a "sister" of my mother came and slept in the house with me to keep me company, and she too told me she was there to take care of me; my real mother was dead but she was another mother to me. My own brother also came to be with me at night and told me he was there with me too; our parents were dead but it could not be helped, it was ordained from heaven. Later, when we were old and our hair was white and our teeth had fallen out, we too would die and join them. But now we were strong and could go on together. On the fifth day I was able to go out a little and eat a little, and later I felt all right.

Norman reports the response of an older couple to the death of their grown son, which occurred on the island of Dublon where the Japanese administrative center was located. They brought the body back to Romonum.

We got back here and went to the pier at Winisi. The people looked at the coffin, covered with leaves. The man's father and mother cried and cried. His father acted as if he were crazy and took a knife to a Japanese who was with us to witness the burial. The Japanese jumped back on the boat and stayed there

Again in this case it is the man who has the unexpected and violent reaction.

We may contrast with these accounts by men the recollections of Sarah and Rachel of the deaths of their parents; their husbands were both living when these stories were recorded. As the eldest daughter in each case they were, as we shall see later in this chapter, the chief mourners and in charge of the arrangements for the funerals. The first is from Sarah's life history:

My parents are both dead. My father died first, before I was married. He got sick, with pain in his back and legs, and went to his "sister's" house. He stayed there, very ill, for some time, and finally one night at about eight o'clock he died. We all cried because we loved him. The next morning they wanted to bury him right away but I did not want them to. I told them to wait a little while. Then at about ten o'clock they went off inland and buried him. I did not go with them because I had a headache from crying. I did not cry any more after this.

My mother died quite recently. When she got sick she had a terrible pain in her head; she could not sleep and neither did I, for she cried out all night with the pain. After a while we went to stay with a "brother" of hers, but she kept on crying out. She was close to death and they brought her medicine; they heated a rock and put it in a bowl and put it under a sheet with her. Later they removed the sheet. But it was clear that she was about to die and my younger sister and I began to cry. At seven o'clock that night she died, and we cried more. My sister began to have pain too from her unhappiness and I held her. My mother's "brother" came up and hit me twice on the head, saying that if I held her she would die from the same illness. They brought her some of the same medicine and her illness was gone. They all slept that night, except me and my husband, for my head hurt from the blows my mother's "brother" had given me.

The next morning a great many people came bringing presents, and my sister told me to put them on the body and I did. Then they all left again and my mother's



"brother" came in and suggested we bury her. So we did, as it was about three o'clock and getting late. We put her in a coffin and lowered it into the grave. We stayed there by the grave for we were very unhappy. At about nine o'clock we went home and slept.

We should note that although Sarah speaks of her unhappiness she did not stay by the grave, a function not reserved culturally to men, and she did not even attend her father's burial because of a headache. I have no other data on the contagion of death being transmitted by those who attended the deceased, although the person is buried wrapped in the mats upon which he or she died and it is said that when the death occurs in a house with a dirt floor the sand under these mats is scooped up and thrown far from the house.

Rachel's accounts are similar, but less full:

My father died first. He went off to Yawata [a reef island owned by Romonum] to fish; they were out two days, and then they brought him back because he was sick. He could no longer hear or talk; his mouth was just closed and stayed closed. I no longer made him anything to eat because he could not eat. I was very unhappy for I knew he was going to die. We made some medicine for him, for a sea spirit had eaten him, but it did not help. The day after he came back he died. The next day I buried him.

About a month after he died my mother fell ill. She had a very bad cough and could not breathe easily; when she tried to breathe she just coughed. She told me one day she thought she was going to be dead soon along with her husband; I told her I thought the same thing, and then I would be left all alone in our house. She lived for a month after she became ill; a week before the month was up I tried making her some food, out of taro, but she could only eat a very little. She told me she was going to die very soon and I thought so too and was very unhappy. Then one night at about nine o'clock she said goodbye, she was going, and died. My sister Irene and I cried and cried, because we were miserable; both our parents had died very quickly and I was left all alone.

No other women give any more full statements of their mourning and grief than these. While men do not necessarily become desolate over the death of close relatives (e.g., Warren's parents), in the case of relatives who are presumably especially important to them they may at least report a feeling of grief more profound than that reported by any woman.

#### BURIAL CUSTOMS

We have seen in these accounts burials which took place in various parts of the interior of the island and under the floor of the house. The former are customarily on land owned by the lineage and used only for the graves of its members. Burial under the floor is a means of expressing particular affection and grief for the deceased; the increasing use of houses with raised wooden floors has tended to eliminate this custom. The ultimate gesture of affection was confined to children

and young adolescents whose parents felt their loss very keenly; their bodies were suspended in the house until they decomposed, after which their bones were often retained for years. This custom was stopped by the German administration and was at no time common. Even though the house was kept filled with perfume and fragrant flowers it cannot have been pleasant for the occupants. The Germans also terminated the practice of burying the weighted body at sea, wrapped in mats; this alternative to land burial was used by those lineages which had no land plots, or at the option of the deceased and his surviving relatives. In the past, magic specialists were wrapped in mats and placed in a half of a canoe hull until the body decomposed and the bones were again retained; these funerals required the services of a man who knew all the magic which the deceased had known and are of course no longer practiced. At present all burials are made in a grave, with the body in a coffin usually made of imported but not necessarily good lumber.

### AN OLD WOMAN DIES

In turning to a description of funerals and their associated mourning behavior we shall base our account primarily upon the death of an older woman which occurred during our stay on Romonum. The proceedings were observed from the morning after her death onwards and a substantial account was obtained of her death the preceding evening and what transpired later that night. The data so recorded agree very closely with the general accounts obtained from two older informants; exceptions and variations will be mentioned as appropriate. This funeral is selected because one of the others which we have already mentioned was very hurried due to the shame of the lineage members over their neglect of the deceased, while the other occurred just before I left the island and was observed in only fragmentary fashion.

As it is in bad taste (but not taboo) to mention the name of a person who has died this woman was referred to only as "the woman" or "the one who has died"; this procedure will be followed here.

The deceased lived in a fairly large one-room frame house at the eastern edge of Chorong village; her husband had died some years before. Her household included her unmarried son in his early twenties and her older daughter with her family. Her older son had died previously, and a younger daughter was living with her husband elsewhere. The older daughter was chronically ill but was married and had four children, two of whom were in their early adolescence and the others smaller children. A long illness had preceded the woman's death but she had had a fairly large household and was a member of one of the largest lineages on Romonum so she had received rather better than average care in her declining years. Her younger daughter, whom we will call Kitty, had moved in some time before she died to care for her in lieu of Kitty's sick sister; the dead woman's niece and her husband were also present.

She died at about six-thirty in the evening. She knew she was about to die, and cried out; she told Kitty to take care of the rest of the family. This is the time at which final instructions are given to a favorite sister (or brother for a man) or child: any disposition made of property or the like will be accepted as final on the word of the person who attended the deceased in this capacity.

As soon as she died, Kitty, the deceased's son, her niece, and the husband and father of her niece (who were therefore not of the lineage) straightened out her body, tying her toes together so her feet would not lie flat, folding her hands over her chest, and closing her eyes and mouth. Her dress remained on, although it is said that in the old days the body was stripped, washed, and dressed in new clothes. However, a length of new cotton print belonging to Kitty was spread over the length of her body up to her chin and covered her completely; she lay on a new pandanus mat. Her hair was combed out and stretched on the mat above her head; Kitty made a circlet of flowers to put on her head.

#### THE MOURNERS

Kitty cried aloud with the characteristic woman's wail of grief from the moment of her mother's death until the dawn; when I arrived she was sitting haggard and red-eyed, but not crying, at the side of the body. All the women present cried out at the moment of death and for some time afterwards; after a while they stopped, one after another, starting up again at intervals. Kitty's older sister cried until about two in the morning when she fell asleep. Everyone tried to stay awake all night but not all succeeded. Kitty and her brother were among those who remained awake, as did her older sister's husband and Andy. Andy was a very close artificial "brother" of Kitty's brother and was called right after the death; he remained throughout the funeral and acted the role of a member of the immediate family. Someone, usually Kitty, fanned the body throughout the night; this was done in order that it should not turn black.

When I arrived before eight in the morning the body was laid out at one side of the room, Kitty sitting by it, and various other members of the household and relatives sitting about, talking or otherwise occupying themselves; a game of checkers was going on in desultory fashion in a corner of the house. Conversation occasionally resulted in jokes and laughter, or turned to arrangements for the funeral; everyone participated in this from time to time and almost entirely ignored the body except Kitty who did not leave her post and talked to no one. The people were casually dressed, most of the men without shirts, several of the women without dresses. All the women soon donned dresses, however, again with the exception of Kitty who remained bare-breasted until the afternoon. Only a few put on their best clothes, and these may have done so because it was Sunday; fancy clothes are considered somewhat improper for a funeral, giving to it an inappropriately festive air.

I requested permission to photograph the corpse as it was laid out; they were delighted and the prints they received later have been cherished ever since. (On the occasion of the funeral which preceded my departure I was again requested to take a picture of the deceased; they were so anxious to have a photograph that when I found the light hopelessly inadequate they tore out part of the wall of the wooden house to make a picture possible.)

#### PREPARING THE COFFIN AND GRAVE

Five men, mostly relatives of husbands of women in the lineage, worked outside building the coffin. At intervals someone came in to measure the corpse, first with a fish-spear and later a folding rule. They leaned and even stepped over the corpse without any sign of concern. Five other men, mostly in the lineage, took turns digging the grave; their burial plot was only about a hundred feet from the house on the slope of a hill. This facilitated checking the size of the grave against the coffin and kept all the preparations more unified than is usual if the burial plot is farther removed. Each of these two groups of men was headed by husbands of the dead woman's daughters. Both projects were finished by noon. The coffin was brought in the house and placed by the body. At this time Kitty's mother-in-law relieved her in fanning the body, the first such relief she had had; she got up and shortly thereafter put on an ordinary dress. It was urged by various of the men then and a little later that the burial take place at once lest the body turn black; Kitty refused and her word was final in keeping with her status as the oldest daughter. Her sister was actually older but was not strong enough to officiate.

#### GIFTS

During the morning various people, related in various ways to the deceased or to the husbands of women in her lineage, had been coming in. The men usually stayed only long enough to hand Kitty a present which she put by the corpse; the women, however, all stayed for a little while and chatted before they left. There were seldom more than twenty persons in the house, but never fewer than ten or twelve. Andy as well as others slept at intervals. Everyone who came was obligated to bring a present; these included towels, pieces of new cotton cloth, perfume, and the like. All but two members of the lineage came at least for a visit, or were to be excused because of illness. The majority of persons related as children of the male members of the lineage failed to come, however; this was explained (but not excused) on the grounds that they did not have adequate presents. Although it is said that such relatives should participate in the funeral second in degree only to actual members of the lineage, it was clear that relatives of the husbands of women in the lineage actually played a much larger part in the entire proceedings than did relatives of the lineage men. None of the visitors, nor anyone in the household, offered any expressions of sympathy or the like.



Although Kitty would not permit the burial to take place at noon the body was put in the coffin shortly after the latter had been brought in. This was done by Kitty, two men of the dead woman's lineage, her niece, and her dead sister's husband. The blue cloth remained on the body and Kitty put another piece of cloth from among the gifts on top of this; she then sprinkled some of the gift perfume over the upper part of the body, whose face remained exposed. She then distributed part of the gifts, giving something to her sister, to her sister's son and daughter, to the dead woman's son, niece, and nephew, and to herself. She also gave a bottle of perfume to Andy but this may have been inspired by my inquiring whether anyone else would receive gifts. Several sheets, left over from the gifts, remained beside the coffin; their ultimate disposition is uncertain but they may have gone into the coffin later as some other objects did. Also beside the coffin were some shell earrings and two necklaces which were of old native manufacture and belonged to the deceased. They were carried out when the coffin was taken out.

#### THE FUNERAL

There were few people in the house at this time as a Sunday meeting was taking place elsewhere on the island. There was no further activity. Kitty sat by the coffin, often leaning on it, but not sleeping. It was again suggested that the burial take place and Kitty again said no. At about two-thirty she lay back and went to sleep; she slept heavily for about an hour until the meeting broke up and people began to arrive in large numbers. Kitty finally gave the word for the burial to take place and the coffin was carried out to the grave by eight men; a towel was placed over the dead woman's face. The pall bearers were largely men of the lineage but included Kitty's husband, Andy, and Andy's father who was the Catholic catechist on the island and said to be very fond of the deceased. None of the close relatives (i.e., those who received some of the gifts) were among these; it is undoubtedly significant that the dead woman's own son was present at all times but performed no function whatsoever. It is also notable that Kitty, his sister, did not feel it necessary to cover her breasts as she otherwise would have in his presence. Unfortunately no questions were asked in regard to either of these points so their significance is unknown. He failed to show any signs of grief and joined with others in such jokes as made the rounds earlier.

The coffin was placed by the grave, Kitty leaning on it and weeping silently. It was said she did not wail aloud because a Christian ceremony was to begin and there should be no noise; for the same reason any children present who cried were immediately soothed and quieted. Some sixty-five or seventy people collected, many of them unrelated; this was about one-third of the population of the island. The wife of the island chief, who was the woman Catholic catechist on the island, led a long series of prayers for the deceased who was a Catholic. The people present responded in the prayers and sang a hymn. A few knelt or squatted, but most re-



mained standing. All looked serious but no one cried. The prayers were followed by a brief sermon by Andy's father on the meaning of the service and the fact that all would meet later in heaven.

At the end of the sermon several men who had officiated in various capacities earlier picked up the cover of the coffin and undertook to nail it on. At this Kitty flung herself on the coffin, wailing loudly. One of the men held her to one side but she did not cease wailing until the coffin had been lowered into the grave and covered over. This was done as soon as the cover was on. With the coffin in the grave, an old pandanus mat was placed on top of it and onto this were thrown several handfuls of dirt, some flowers various people had been holding, a small piece of old blue cloth (apparently part of the clothing of the deceased), and a small bundle wrapped in cloth. The contents of the latter were said to be unknown to all the people I queried, as well as its meaning; even the Trukese will not tell an anthropologist everything. A large number of men then began to shovel in dirt with obvious haste. Kitty was still wailing; her sister's daughter squatted down beside her briefly as if to console her, but just looked down and scratched the dirt a little, finally getting up again leaving her aunt to her laments. The dirt was stamped down flat and beveled neatly at the sides. Kitty stopped wailing, wiped her eyes, and left shortly thereafter, returning to the house. The area was very soon completely clear of people.

Shortly thereafter a small group of people, led by the chief's wife who had led the prayers and had apparently been a close friend of the dead woman, assembled on the slope below the grave; Kitty was not present but her sick sister was, as well as relatives and some non-relatives, numbering about seven or eight in all. The chief's wife had the necklaces and earrings which had been beside the coffin; she pulled the necklaces apart and smashed the earrings between two stones. The group then broke up, leaving the pieces on the ground, where a small girl came up and completed the smashing of the earrings for fun. The pieces were still there several days later. Andy stated this was in order to destroy those things which would raise too poignant memories of the dead woman; he was not sure of this explanation, however. It was also stated that had this not been a Christian burial these objects would have been put in the coffin.

Several people drifted back in the neighborhood of the grave, and the nephew of the deceased brought a small wooden cross which he and Andy pounded in at the head of the grave. A little shelf was later erected in front of this and the cross and shelf were decorated with flowers which were renewed periodically, in the days that followed, by Kitty. Kitty brought a small kerosene lamp which was placed by the cross in a wooden box which later received a corrugated iron cover to keep the rain out. She then began bringing sand in a bowl, assisted by two young men of the lineage; this was spread evenly over the top of the grave to give it a neat appearance.

## MOURNING

This ended the funeral and began the period of mourning. The funeral corresponds, as we have already noted, very closely with that described as traditional, except for the addition of a Christian burial service and the use of a coffin instead of mats. In the past the closer female relatives cut off their hair as short as possible and threw it into the grave (although one informant stated this was done at a ceremony a few nights later, described below); this is still done on the Western islands, where it is common to see mourning women with very short hair, but has not been done on Truk for some time. There are no taboos of any sort on the surviving relatives that could be discovered.

The mourning period is said to last about a month, during which close relatives of the deceased who are not normally resident in the house sleep there and visit the grave during the day. In this case these were Kitty and her husband, the deceased's dead sister's husband and his wife, and Andy. Kitty and her husband actually left within a week and the others shortly thereafter. For the first few days after the burial the good and the bad souls of the deceased remain in the vicinity of the grave. The bad soul is what is usually referred to as the ghost, and remains indefinitely as a vague but not serious threat. The good soul stays with the body for three or four days, making occasional trips away, after which it is speeded on its way in a ceremony and goes to the lineage spirit canoe at an indefinite location, where it remains. The good spirit could formerly be called upon by a spirit medium to work for the good of the lineage; these mediums, who could be either men or women, achieved their powers of communicating with the good spirits of the dead either by getting an appropriate medicine from an existing medium or by being possessed by such a spirit in the days immediately following a burial. There are no longer any mediums and the data on them are rather inadequate.

The ceremony which sends the good spirit on its final trip consists essentially in burning a bit of the clothing of the deceased, thus liberating the spirit. It can occur on the third or fourth night after the death; in this case it was on the fourth night. Kitty brought some sand in the late afternoon and spread it in a little area at the side of the grave. Several related young men including her brother and two nephews of the deceased were present also, but no other woman; she had a piece of grey cloth torn from a dress of the dead woman; she placed this on the sand and attempted to ignite it. It would not burn and Andy put some kerosene from the lamp on it, with which it burned in part. They left it partially burned and covered it over with a banana leaf, weighted down with stones so that it arched over the charred cloth. The lamp was lit, to remain burning as it had been on the previous nights. The people in the house were supposed to sleep lightly during these nights, but particularly on this last night, in order to see the good spirit when it left as it now would for the last time. I slept in the house that night to join in the vigil and noted that everyone slept very soundly, at least when I was awake. We did not see

the spirit; this was accounted for by the fact that there were a lot of children in the house and their crying (which was minimal) scared the spirit and made it cautious.

On occasion the good spirit on leaving the grave leaves a small footprint on the sand by the charred clothing; this is a sign that someone will die. If it points toward the grave someone in the lineage will die soon thereafter; if away, someone else on the island. At about five in the morning just as it was becoming light I went out to the grave to investigate. Kitty's husband, an adolescent girl, and the deceased's niece, carrying her small baby, were there ahead of me. They were leaning over the clothing and started when I came up. I looked at the sand, and there was a small, well formed, and obviously genuine footprint pointing away from the grave. It was the same size as the baby's foot.

A heavy rain came up shortly thereafter, obliterating the footprint. As one of the few witnesses I was queried closely as to the direction it pointed and if it truly was there by a number of people who appeared quite concerned. However, when the neglected old lady, of the same lineage as the woman whose funeral I observed, died five days after this I inquired whether this had any connection with the footprint. Those whom I asked looked blank for a moment and then said, "Oh, yes, it probably did, didn't it?"

This ceremony terminates the formal mourning period during which all the members of the lineage are supposed to visit the grave and in general be attentive toward the recent death. Thereafter only the children and other close relatives of the deceased have this obligation, supposedly for a month or two but, as we saw, considerably less in this case. In the past, after the ceremony of burning the clothes, coconut leaflets were tied around the trunks of the trees bounding the plots of land directly controlled by the deceased. This was to mark them off as taboo to anyone but the immediate family; apparently this caused the good spirit to feel more freedom to return when called at intervals during the longer family mourning period by a spirit medium. At the end of this time a feast was held for all of the lineage and other relatives; the leaflets, by now dry, were removed and all mourning observances were terminated. This custom is still widely practiced in the Mortlock and other islands to the south; it has, on some islands, taken on the secondary function of retaining for the household exclusive use of the trees on such lands which would otherwise be encroached upon by other members of the lineage during the times of chronic food shortage which characterize these islands. This is especially true of the Nama and the Losap Atoll, where the population density is very high (close to 2,000 per square mile) and the food problem acute.

## ELEANOR: A LIFE HISTORY

IN the pages which follow is presented the life history of Eleanor, a Romonum woman twenty-four years of age. This account was dictated with a minimum of questioning over a five-day period in mid-December, 1947, on Romonum. At that time she was married to Richard, a man of thirty-eight, slightly crippled but Romonum's most skilled carpenter. His father was a Chinese trader, his mother Trukese; his several influential half-brothers included a chief important in the administration at the time, Paul, the island constable on Romonum, and the island storekeeper who also owned the only powerboat on Romonum. The marriage of Eleanor and Richard appeared outwardly stable (and was still apparently so four years later); both are Catholics. She had two sons, aged four and one respectively. Her parents were both living; they were elderly, respected, but not distinguished members of the community. She and Richard lived with her parents in a frame house of slightly above average size in the village of Winisi. Eleanor was the only surviving child of her parents; two boys and two girls born after her died in infancy. The oldest, a boy, lived to the age of three. The lineages of her mother (and therefore also of Eleanor) and of her father, however, were among the largest on Romonum, so that she was never lacking in relatives.

This account, one of the twenty-three recorded in the course of this study, is selected for reproduction in full not because Eleanor is a "typical" Trukese, or even a "typical" Trukese woman, nor, indeed, because she is exceptional. It is selected rather because it most nearly fulfills the requirement of spelling out in some detail the manner in which the events in the life trajectory of a Trukese, which we have already described in the general case, can become actualities for a given individual. Eleanor's autobiography is richest in sheer quantity, in wealth of detail, and in the degree to which she states her own reaction toward a variety of situations. We see immediately from this that she is not "average," for no one else in our sample was able to give a report on his life which approximates the quality of Eleanor's. On the other hand, it need not brand her "deviant," for the ability to give a good account of one's life is not an attribute normally called upon in day-to-day life on Truk; the skill which she demonstrated in the completion of this task is not one which would necessarily facilitate or impair her adjustment and participation in the Trukese society.

These are, then, simply the recollections of one person who has achieved an adequate adjustment to the way of life we have described. Her statements do not necessarily represent objective fact even when she reports them as such; she does,



however, appear to hew closer to the truth than most of those episodes for which there is external verification. Nor are the facts complete: it is obvious that she does not report on her infancy, for she does not remember it (although some informants blandly recounted events occurring during the first weeks of their lives and insisted they remembered them); this is an inherent weakness in the autobiographical method. She has also lived out probably less than half of her life span, and even then does not give us more than a bare outline of the last five years or so preceding the time of her interview; the reasons for this sudden impoverishment in her account will become apparent, and serve to emphasize the already obvious fact that she is only recounting those episodes which she finds it relatively easy to recall and to relate, particularly to a foreign, albeit friendly, anthropologist.

Her account has been rearranged to preserve a chronological sequence from childhood onward; the original translation has been edited slightly for clarification and the alteration or elimination of Trukese personal names. Otherwise the original phrasing remains as closely as it can be reproduced in English. Comments on her narrative have been introduced as appropriate with the primary objective of pointing out the situations in which she, as a Trukese woman, finds herself during her life; the elucidation of her personal psychological characteristics and problems is to be viewed here as secondary in importance.

One morning when I was small, although I could already talk, my mother told a woman in our house to take me to a spring and feed me, for she would get fish for me out of the spring. At that time all the houses on this island were inland; there were no houses by the beach. I was very thin for I did not like to eat real food such as breadfruit even though they chewed it up for me. I did not want to, but I went on up anyway; when we got there she offered me some breadfruit but I did not want to eat it. But then she saw a fish—not really a fish, but a small crab—and caught it. She pulled off a leg and showed it to me, and said that was my fish. I liked it and ate it with breadfruit until I was full.

Here, in Eleanor's earliest recollection, we see her mother delegating some of her care to another woman, whom Eleanor does not more precisely identify, but who was probably a "sister" of her mother if she lived in the same household. It is notable that this care consisted in feeding; although if they went to a spring it was undoubtedly also to bathe, Eleanor does not feel it necessary even to mention this. The fact that she was "very thin" and did not like to eat "real food" would suggest that she had only recently been weaned, very possibly as a result of the birth of her younger brother who later died. It is significant that she never mentions him, or any of her other siblings who died. If she was indeed but recently weaned this must have occurred later in her case than is usual. Several informants report attempts to entice children at the time of weaning to eat solid foods by feeding them breadfruit moistened and softened in cool spring water along with the fresh-water shellfish found there. Attention of parents toward the child's need for food becomes



more consistent at this time perhaps than at any time before or after and there is little question that the children resist the eating of solid food, appreciating the concern this causes their elders. Eleanor's thinness would indicate that her resistance had been in some degree effective. She notes that she did not want to go to the spring, but did anyway; the combination of parental authority and the pangs of hunger combine to assure the ultimate failure of the child's resistance.

Then we started home but I did not want to leave and started to cry. She told me to come along or she would beat me, but she said it quietly, I guess because she did not want anybody in our household to overhear. I asked her to pick me up but she said she would when we were close to the house. I went on, reluctantly. My mother was ahead of us on the path and when she saw us coming she hid in the bushes by the trunk of a breadfruit tree. She pulled a red cloth over her head and peered out. The woman with me pointed her out to me and said it was a ghost and we had better hurry; she said its face was red with blood. I was frightened and cried again, and then we hurried home. Meanwhile, my mother ran around ahead and when we got there she was in the house.

She asked me if I had eaten and I said yes, but we had seen a ghost. She asked me what it was like and I told her its face was all red with blood; she laughed, and so did the woman. They talked about my eating, loud enough so I would hear, and laughed about her getting me my "fish," but said it was actually all a lie. [?] I don't know why they said it was a lie when she actually caught that crab; I guess because it was not a real fish. The woman said she thought I was sick because I did not want to eat real food, just bananas and mangoes and the like, so I was always thin. But someone else said when I was a little bigger I would eat; I just did not want to then.

The woman threatens Eleanor with a beating, a function normally reserved to parents; Eleanor is not fooled by this threat but at the same time does not proceed from her recognition that the threat is empty to the revolt she might have felt possible. The fact that the threat was made indicated her crying was not successful, and she left as she had been told, walking. Immediately thereafter her own mother teased and obviously frightened her, after which she talked about and ridiculed Eleanor before the other women. This is undoubtedly not the first time she had to face the fact that on occasion she was the plaything of adults, including her own parents, without redress or recourse from their teasing.

Later I wanted some palm toddy. There were no men in the house as they had all gone to Tol to get some food, except my mother's father who was an old man. His legs were so weak he could hardly walk. My mother told him I wanted toddy, and he said he would try to climb up and get it, although he was very weak. [Palm toddy is collected in cups hung on the tree.] He went out and climbed up; I clapped my hands and laughed because I thought he would fall. My mother laughed a little too, and he laughed on the tree. I said I thought he was going to fall and laughed even harder. But my mother told me not to say that because if I did he

would really fall. He climbed down, and my mother poured some out for him in a coconut shell cup and then gave me mine.

Then she told the woman in the house to take me up to the spring and feed me again, but I said I did not want to because they were lying to me. She asked me how I knew and I said I had heard them talking and they had said they were lying to me. So we did not go.

Eleanor regains some mastery of the situation, at the expense of an old man who is in a status perhaps even more insecure than hers. And again it is achieved through the medium of food, which she demands this time rather than refuses. When she confronted her mother with the lie she had told Eleanor again scored a triumph: she did not have to return to the spring. This concession on the part of her mother would indicate more recognition of Eleanor's rights as a person than many Trukese parents would allow. The very fact that Eleanor can tell us of this episode would suggest that such teasing was less common in her case than most. The frequency with which teasing of children by adults was observed would indicate that virtually all children are exposed to a certain amount of it; most informants were, however, unable or unwilling to report a single such episode. Eleanor's ability to tell us this would imply that it was not a situation fraught with as much anxiety for her as for others.

Later a woman went down to the beach; she came back and said the boats were returning from Tol. My mother said they would go down and greet them; I said I would come along because I thought they would have lots of sugar cane and pineapples and things. We went down and greeted them and they had lots of things. Then we went back up to the house; I don't know what else they did because I went to sleep.

After a while I woke up and looked for my mother, because she had been sleeping beside me, but she had gone outside to eat. I started crying and my mother came in. She told me not to cry because the people were sleeping in the house and they would be angry. I told her I wanted her to stay with me but she told me no ghost would come in and to go back to sleep. So I went back to sleep and slept the rest of the night.

When Eleanor awakes and is frightened her mother's first response is an admonition indicating that the sleep of the adults is more important than Eleanor's fright at finding herself alone. Only after this does she reassure her, and then not to the extent of inconveniencing herself by staying with Eleanor. But other parents might have felt that the threat of the anger of the sleeping people was sufficient and not bothered with any reassurance.

When I was still small and just beginning to understand things we used to go out and play on the sand spit off Winisi. We used to dig holes in the sand and watch the water come in. We also used to play in the water off the beach. We smaller children could not swim; we could only play in water up to our waists. One day all the older children were out swimming quite a way off shore and I decided

I too could get out there. I had a piece of wood and lay on it and paddled out. When I was a little way out a wave came along and knocked me off. The piece of wood was only a few feet from me and I tried to get it, but I went down. I sank to the bottom and took in a lot of water; then I pushed up to the surface and called out. But my companions paid no attention to me because they thought I was just playing; they did not realize I was drowning. Then I went down again. My mother finally came and got me but by that time I was unconscious and did not know she had rescued me. I vaguely remember being laid over her shoulder, and her holding me up by the ankles; a great deal of water came out of my nose and mouth. I was still sick after that and just lay down in the house all the rest of the day. [?] They felt sorry for me when they brought me home because I was weak and sick. When I felt a little better they spoke to me very sternly, telling me I was naughty and should not go out and play with the bigger children because I did not know how to swim and would drown and die.

The next day I wanted to go out playing again. I told my mother and she said it was all right but that I must not go playing in the ocean. I said yes, but I was just lying. When I got away from the house a little way so that my mother could not see me I ran down to the beach. Everybody was playing in the water and I could just see the bigger children's heads, way out. So I decided to play in the water, too, and went in. I was playing around when one of the boys said my mother was coming and was going to beat me for playing in the water. I looked around and there she was coming for me. I was scared and tried to think what I would do. I asked a girl who was bigger than I and knew how to swim to lift me up on her back and swim out where my mother could not reach me. But she refused for she said if I was on her back she would not be able to swim.

Then everybody fled and I was left alone. I tried to swim out by myself but could not. So I came back to the beach and ran away from my mother. She told me to stay where I was because she was going to come and get me; but I did not. So she picked up a rock and said she was going to hit me with it. But I still ran, so she dropped the rock and picked up a coconut—a great big one—and threw it. She did not intend to hit me, but she did just the same. It hit me over the ear, and I fell down half dazed. She picked me up; she felt very sorry for me. She cried and I cried and she carried me home. She told her younger "sister" about it, and the two of them cried. My father was there too but he did not say much.

My mother got some coconut cream and massaged my ear with it. She did it under a coconut tree beside the house, not in the house. Then she brought me some bananas, some breadfruit, and a fish to eat. While she was broiling the fish a boy came up and called me and told me to come on out and play with him on the beach. My mother heard this and asked me who was calling me. I lied and told her there was no one calling. But she had seen him and told me not to lie, for I must not be naughty and go swimming any more. Then she told the boy not to come and call me so that I would not get hurt any more. She said that his parents might not beat him, but if he lured me out she would certainly beat me again. Then she told him to go away and he did.

The perils of the water which mothers dread are just as real as the pleasures which draw the children to the Winisi sand spit. Even Eleanor's mother's concern over her mishap was not enough to prevent her for long from lecturing her daughter on the dangers of the beach. But at the same time neither Eleanor's real distress the day before nor her mother's admonitions were enough to prevent her return the next day. The younger child has no place in the adult society and yet often finds the children's society functioning exclusively in this forbidden locale. This presents a real dilemma to the child; it is clear that very strong repressive measures would have to be taken by the parents, in the obvious absence of any available rewards for staying home, to prevent the child from joining the only social group in which he can participate. The group accepts any and all comers but will not make the futile gesture of rallying behind a member who has been caught by an adult; Eleanor was abandoned and left alone by her playmates. Disaster turned into victory, however, when her mother inadvertently (by Eleanor's statement) hit her with a coconut. This is not acceptable treatment of children and her mother immediately had to show her distress and make amends, which notably included giving Eleanor breadfruit and cooking a fish especially for her. Eleanor had apparently not been away from home long and had presumably eaten before she left so she was probably not really hungry; certainly eating breadfruit could do little to repair any damage her ear had suffered. This was simply a symbolic act, although it was real food and she undoubtedly ate it; eating did not, however, in this situation answer any biological need.

One day I was with a playmate of mine, Natalie; we were climbing on a tree by the sea. We climbed around a while and then she dove in the water. She told me to come on in with her but I told her I could not for my mother would beat me. But she told me not to worry for my mother would not be able to see me behind the tree. At that I threw a fruit off the tree and hit her on the head. She asked me why I had done it and I said I did not mean to hit her, although actually I did. Natalie is older than I and also as a child was very tough. If anybody did anything to her she would fight them and was not scared of anybody, nor did she cry. I was scared of her and climbed higher into the tree. She looked for a rock and threw it at me; it missed. Then she got another, tried again, and again missed. So she came out after me. She chased me out of the tree and picked up a stick and beat me. She cut the back of my hand and I cried out with pain and then burst into tears. My mother came running up and found me in tears. Her mother also came up and asked her why she had beaten me. Natalie said I had hit her over the head with a fruit. Her mother said that could not have hurt much, and was hardly an excuse for her beating me because now both of them would be beaten, for my father is a "brother" of Natalie's mother. Natalie said it did hurt but her mother said she was lying. Then my mother asked Natalie's mother who had beaten me and she said her daughter. So my mother told me to come along and we went home. My mother told me I was always going out and playing with the other children; but when we got in a fight I never fought back because I was afraid of them. I told



her that was not true, that I had hit Natalie but she had not cried. Then she asked me why I cried but Natalie did not and said I was weak; I reminded her that Natalie was bigger than I was. She was on the verge of beating me again. Then she called my father over and told him to take a look at my hand; she said that Natalie had hit me and asked him to go and tell her mother to see to it that she did not beat me again. So he went off to her mother's house and we heard him talking to her because the houses were close together. He called her and asked her what had happened. She said she just knew that we had been fighting but did not know why; she said that we had both said Natalie had hit me and cut my hand. So my father asked her to speak to Natalie and tell her not to hit me any more because I was smaller than she. After that when we played together she did not beat me any more.

In this episode we see clearly that even in their play children may not forget that they are part of, and responsible to, a larger group of kin. The first reaction of Natalie's mother is to point out that she too will be beaten for Natalie's offense (although this is actually an exaggeration) because Eleanor's father is her "brother" (in this case, members of the same lineage). Eleanor's mother, too, waits until she can talk in private to her daughter to reprimand her, thus presenting a united front in the presence of their offending relatives.

One night we decided to play on the sand spit. They told us all to bring breadfruit to broil. We were each to bring one or two ripe breadfruit—only good ones, no bad ones. So we all brought them to the sand spit; the moon was very full and bright and there were lots of boys and girls. The older children built a fire and we all heaped wood on it till it was flaming high. Then it was time to broil the breadfruit; we smaller children had scraped them first. We broiled them and when I got mine I went off with some of the children; we were playing throwing them around near the water. Mine dropped to the sand and at that moment a boy came running up and stepped on it. It was smashed into the sand and I cried. They asked who was crying and someone told them it was I: that I was angry because that boy had accidentally stepped on my breadfruit I had dropped. But I said it was a lie, that he had seen it and stepped on it intentionally. Then Irene came up and told me to rinse it off in the water and it would be as good as before, so I did. Then I went over to where they were dividing up the breadfruit and saw that the others were all getting bigger ones than mine. I was angry and told them mine was small; I refused to eat such a small one. They told me all the little children got little ones and the big children big ones. But I was still angry, and told them I had brought a big breadfruit and I ought to get a big one back; I burst into tears again. They all said I had a bad disposition because I was always getting angry over something. Then they told us to eat because we wanted to start playing.

When we were through eating we all lined up and some of them told the rest of us to go off and hide and we would play the ghost game; they would be the ghosts and look for us. So we went running down to the other end of the beach and hid and after a while they came whooping down the beach after us flapping their arms like wings. Everyone hid somewhere, some of them buried in the sand



with only their faces out. I hid in a tree right by the beach because I did not want to go far in the bush for fear of real ghosts.

They found me first. A boy came up and looked into my tree and said "Here is my food!" He did not really see me but just said so to see if anyone was there. But I thought he had seen me and cried out, so he pulled me down out of the tree. He got me down on the sand and dug me in the ribs, "eating" me. He kept eating me and eating me and would not stop and finally I cried. Then he told me to come along and be a ghost with him but I did not want to very much because I was miserable from all his "eating" me. But I did not say anything, and went along with him. I did not actually get any people; when I saw someone I would just say "Here is our food!" and he would come over and get them. Finally everyone had been found and that was the end of the ghost game.

Then we started a tug-of-war. But before we started it was decided the boys and the girls would pull against each other to see who had to bring the breadfruit for the next night. We tugged and tugged, and we girls lost because the boys were heavier. So they told us to bring the breadfruit and we said we would.

In this night play group dominated by older children the little children do the menial task of peeling the breadfruit and are rewarded with only little fruit regardless of the size of those they contributed; they are ineffective in seeking out and "eating" their older playmates. They have no recourse, however, but to withdraw and go home, where there is again nothing to do but sleep while their companions play. Eleanor tried to assert herself by crying, a device sometimes effective with adults; among the children it brought only contempt and she was forced to participate as best she could. In the crisis of her stepped-on breadfruit, however, her "mother" Irene (of the same lineage), seven years older than she, came to her aid.

The next night about six o'clock I left; I had to sneak out because my mother told me not to go out playing at night any more for fear my companions would leave me alone and a ghost would get me. I said I would not but left anyway, bringing a breadfruit with me. I went out on the beach and we built a fire and started to broil the breadfruit. It was not yet done when my mother came. Some of the children saw her first and ran up to tell me my mother was coming and that I would not be able to play any more that night. I wanted to play very much but my mother came and asked where I was. They told her and she came to me and told me to come along, we were going home, as it was nearly midnight and she did not want me to be left alone. So we went home and slept.

Again we see the opposed attraction of the children's society and the parents' desire to keep their children out of harm, although we may wonder whether Eleanor's mother was really concerned with the danger of ghosts or was using ghosts as a threat to keep her daughter home for some other reason. It is notable that in spite of Eleanor's direct disobedience she was not beaten as other children might have been.

When I was still small I had a cat. I was up inland with my father one day when he was picking breadfruit and I heard a "miaow" in the bushes. I went and

looked and found a tiny kitten without any mother. I picked it up and took it to the clearing where my father was working and showed it to him. He asked me whose it was and I told him no one's; I had just found it. So he said we would take it home and tame it. When he was through we took it home. We tried to feed it, but it just cried and would not eat, for its eyes were not yet open. The next day we tried again and it ate a little. We kept feeding it and its eyes opened and it got bigger. I loved it very much; every night it used to sleep snuggled against me under the mosquito netting.

It was a male cat, and when it was fully grown and its testicles were big it started running around inland a lot but always came back to our house. But it also used to eat other people's fish; one day it went to a man's house and ate all their fish; he saw it and speared it and hit it. The spear hit it in the belly and it fled; but the spear did not come out because it was barbed. That night it did not come home and I was worried. The next day I told my mother and she said it was probably just playing around inland and did not come back.

But when it had not come back by noon we went out to look for it. We went to one house and asked if they had seen my cat. They asked if it was the red one and I said yes; they said that they would know it if they saw it but they had not seen it. So we went on to a number of other houses and did not find it, finally coming to that man's house. I asked him myself if he had seen my cat and they did not say anything. Then after a while he asked when I had started missing it and I said the night before. He said the night before he had speared a cat but he thought it was not anybody's, just a stray wild cat that had eaten their fish. They had a very large fish and he had eaten all of it except the head. When I heard this I burst into tears, but my mother consoled me and told me not to cry because it doubtless was not my cat, but just a wild one. So we kept on looking.

The next day we looked some more and finally we found it because we smelled it rotting. My mother said that was doubtless our cat we smelled; we looked and it was and I cried. We went home and later my mother went to the man and told him that he had indeed speared my cat; he said he was very sorry and would not have done it if he had known it was mine.

In this episode we see again Eleanor's mother's concern with her daughter's personal interests and troubles, a theme which has recurred throughout the account of her early years. Although this is set against a background of reprimands, beatings, and at least one instance of teasing and ridicule, the consistency of her mother's attention to Eleanor's status and needs as a person must be regarded as above the average for Trukese parents. She showed, however, her willingness to mislead her daughter in an attempt to avoid an outburst when she remarked that the cat the man had killed was not Eleanor's, even though she probably realized this was not true. The participation of her father in Eleanor's affairs to date has been notable by its absence; he rebuked Natalie's mother when his wife asked him to, but had little to say when her mother hit Eleanor with a coconut. On the other hand, although she does not portray him in an active role we note that Eleanor was with

her father on a breadfruit-picking trip inland when the cat was discovered. Thus he at least provided companionship on occasion and a social alternative to the children's play groups which Eleanor was still a little too young to be able properly to enjoy.

One day when I was about six my mother suggested we go over to play and visit a while in the storekeeper's house. So we went over and while we were there with a number of other girls the storekeeper's younger brother Paul suggested I go with him and play under the sail in the meeting house. I thought we were just going over there for fun and was willing to go, but was scared of an enormous pig of the storekeeper's which liked to chase people. But Paul told me not to be afraid it would not bite me.

So we went over and played for a while under the sail. The other girls came over and wanted to join us but Paul chased them away. Then he told me we were going to have intercourse. I did not want to, because I was small and did not know how. [?] Paul was about fourteen. I told him I did not want to so he said he would just hold my genitals. Then I tried to get out but he held down the edge of the sail and I was trapped. I started to cry loudly and my mother heard. She and Paul's mother came running over, thinking the pig had attacked us or something. Paul saw them coming and ran off to the rocks. They came up and my mother asked me why I was crying. I told her that Paul had wanted to have intercourse. My mother exclaimed I would be sick from having intercourse when I was so small, but I told her I had not. She said I was lying and I insisted. Then Paul's mother told us to wait and the storekeeper would beat Paul.

We waited and waited, but when it was noon my mother said we would go on home. Paul's mother said we should stay on because we were not through playing; but my mother said there was no one in our house and she was afraid someone would steal things out of it. So Paul's mother told us to be sure and come back again, and my mother said we would and left. On the way home some little girls who knew about Paul's wanting to have intercourse with me under the sail called out, teasing me for having intercourse when I was so small, and I burst into tears again.

Eleanor tells us that she resisted immediately the first sexual advances made toward her at the age of six. We have no way of knowing whether this is strictly true; that this was not necessarily her only possible response is indicated by the fact that her mother at once accused her of lying when she said she had resisted. Her mother apparently thought it at least possible and probably likely that she had participated in some sort of sexual act (not necessarily literally copulation) and then raised an outcry afterwards; otherwise she presumably would not have made the accusation. One also wonders why, if Eleanor had resisted so virtuously, she burst into tears when accused of having had intercourse by her playmates. We should note particularly her mother's exclamation: Eleanor would be sick from having intercourse *when she was so small*. In other words, sex in itself is not bad, it is only bad when participated in by one who is not yet old enough. This seemingly small distinction can be of crucial importance in determining the degree and nature

of anxieties which will surround sexual activity in adulthood, as a comparison with the effects of the Puritan ethic in our own society will attest. Of one thing we may be fairly sure: either her age, or Paul's age, or both, at the time of this episode is given incorrectly. The island records which for younger people may be taken as fairly accurate show Paul only four years older than Eleanor. It is unlikely that even an age estimate on the basis of "I (or he) was about the size of so-and-so" could be far enough wrong to account for an error in children's ages of four years and justify Eleanor's estimate of six and fourteen years. We cannot again know the facts but it would seem more likely that she has overestimated Paul's age, thus making his attempted seduction look like the work of one old enough to have known better, rather than underestimated her own. This conclusion is borne out by the episodes which follow, including one (the next day) in which her father carries her in a bag, hardly possible with a girl of ten—an age she would have to be if Paul were fourteen and she four years younger.

That same day I went out by myself on the beach, playing around and looking for shells. I had not eaten in the morning for there was no fish to go with our food and I was hungry. I found a fish washed up on the beach. I did not know whose it was. I looked around and did not see anybody's footprints but waited around for a while. Nobody came along so I took the fish and went home. My mother asked me whose fish it was, who had given it to me. I said no one; I had just found it on the beach but did not know whose it was. There was an old man who lived in our house who told me that this kind of fish sometimes just died and washed up on the beach; when they did there were probably more also washed up. So my mother broiled the fish and we ate it. My father came in and asked us what we were eating, for he said he had not eaten because we had nothing to go with the breadfruit. They told him and he ate too.

Later that day I went inland to get some oranges. I got a great many and tried to make a basket to carry them home in. But I did not quite remember how to do it and tried several times without success. Each time I made one all the oranges fell out. Finally I put them in the skirt of my dress and started home. But they were heavy and when I had gone a little way the skirt ripped and all the oranges fell out again. I was unhappy about losing the oranges and also about the dress. I did not want to throw the oranges away so I concealed them in some grass and just took home what I could carry in my arms. I and my parents ate them. I told my father about the others and asked him to go and get them. He told me to tell him where they were and the next day he would get them. So I told him they were hidden in some grass right by the trunk of a certain breadfruit tree that was dead and without leaves.

The next day I wanted to eat oranges again so I asked my father to go up and get them. He told me to come along with him so he would be sure to find them but I said I was tired of walking. So he told me to climb in the bag he was going to carry; I did and he carried me. We went inland and when we were close to the place he told me to get down and find them. I did and we put them in the bag.



Then he told me to stay there and wait for him while he went to pick some drinking nuts. He went off and picked them and came back and then said we would set off. I asked him to pick me up and carry me but he said it was no longer possible as his sack was full; he said we would just walk slowly and it would be easy. But I insisted on his picking me up so I rode back sitting on his shoulders. When we got to the edge of the plateau where it was steep he told me to get down and walk and I did.

Meanwhile, a boat had come in from Tol; a "brother" of my father's had come bringing food for him. When we got to the house I looked in and saw a lot of bananas, pineapples, sugar cane, and mangoes. We did not have any sugar cane on this island then so we were very happy to get some. I rushed in, but then looked up and saw a lot of strange faces and retreated because I was embarrassed. They told me to come and eat some because it was mine since they had brought it to my father. But I was embarrassed and no longer wanted to eat any. Then they left and I ate. My father gave some to everyone in his family.

It is obvious from the fact that Eleanor was able to go off by herself looking for oranges that neither she nor her mother was deeply disturbed by the sexual episode of the morning: she had not had intercourse, therefore she would not be sick, and that was that. There is no evidence of any psychological trauma.

Her father appears as an important figure in the activities of these two days. As Eleanor tells it, however, it was she who in each case was master of the situation. She was the one who found the fish which permitted everyone to eat, for even she already subscribes to the adult view that one cannot eat starch foods without a protein accompaniment; until she found the fish the whole family had been going hungry. Then she not only gets her father to go up and get her oranges but persuades him to carry her both ways. Her assurance melts, however, in the face of a group of strangers even though they are obviously friendly: she retreats from the unfamiliar.

When I was about seven I started school with the Trukese teacher; he taught us how to write Trukese. One day he told us all to come to school the next day as he had our names written down. So we said we would. The next day when the conch blew I told my parents I was going off to school. But they said the teacher would have a headache with me because I was still too small to be going to school and would not be able to do the work. But I assured them I would be able to for I was very anxious to go with the older boys and girls. So I went and he started teaching us writing.

On the third day he told all the pupils to stand up and recite their lessons. Each got up and read his and then he told me to. I cried because I did not know how to read mine. The teacher spoke to me sharply and told me not to cry; if I did not know my lesson just say so, and not burst into tears. When school was out some of my schoolmates, boys and girls, went home and told my mother about my having cried because I could not read my lesson. Then I came home afterward and my mother asked me about it. I covered up, pretending not to know about it. I



asked her who had told her and she said my schoolmates. I told her it was a lie, that I was the smartest one in the school and knew my lessons perfectly. She told me I was lying but I showed her my lesson all written out and then she believed me; actually it was the teacher's writing.

The next day when it was time for school and the conch had blown my schoolmates came by outside the house and asked me if I was still going to school in spite of having cried because I did not know my lesson. My mother was there and called them; she told them off for having lied about me when I was really the brightest one in the school. But they told her the whole story and then she realized it was true. So she said she would go and ask the teacher if I could leave school. I insisted it was all a lie but we went off anyway.

We went to the teacher's house and my mother told me to wait outside while she talked to him. She went up to the house and he greeted her and she him, and then he asked if there was something she wanted. She said there was, and it was big: she wanted me to leave school because I had cried and she did not think I was yet able to learn. But he said the only reason I cried was because I was just starting and was frightened. My mother said she was sorry, but she really thought it was not good for me to be in school now; if he did not mind she would take me out then and when I was a little bigger I could go back. He in turn said he was sorry, but it would be well for me to stay in school; he thought I would be very bright for I was not old enough to be embarrassed. I was very happy, because I wanted to stay in school; I did not think about being bright or trying hard: I just wanted to play with all the bigger boys and girls.

So we had school that day. When it started he separated us, five of us little children going into one grade separate from the others. He gave us our lessons and taught us and taught us. Then when the day was over he told us to go home and study and then come back the next day and be able to recite our lesson. So we all took our lessons home. I asked my mother when I got home to help me but she looked at my lesson and told me she did not know it either. I asked her who would be able to help me, for if I did not know it the next day I would be given a bad mark and have to haul sand to put under the schoolhouse. She suggested I go and see Irene, because she was older and knew how to read. So I went to Irene and asked her to help me. She said that if she helped me all the time she would not get her own lessons done. However, I asked her if she would help me just a few times and then I would know how to go on by myself. So she did; she taught me and taught me and then I knew. I went home and that night lit the lamp and read some more.

The next day I went to school and the teacher told each of us to stand up and read his lesson. When it came to my turn I stood up and read mine; I knew it perfectly. The teacher was very pleased. He said now I was really trying, because two days before I had cried and everyone had laughed at me and I was embarrassed, and so now I was working hard. But he said a number of the others were stupid because they just thought of playing around and did not work hard, so they would have bad marks and have to haul sand.

When school was over I went home and my mother asked me how I had done.

I told her I had known my lesson and was at the top of the school but the others had to work. The ones who had told my mother about my crying were working too. She said that was fine but she would wait until Irene came and ask her if what I said was really true. When Irene came my mother asked her if I really had known my lesson and been at the top of the school, ahead of all the others who had to work. She said I had simply known my lesson but was not above all the others who knew theirs. So my mother said that was still pretty good and asked Irene if she would stay in our house and help me for our houses were close together—she had not yet married.

So she stayed and taught me and taught me. Finally at nine o'clock that night I was very sleepy and Irene told me to go to sleep and she would learn her lessons. I knew mine pretty well but the next morning I could not remember it. I was just memorizing the words but did not learn the letters of the alphabet and could not really read. She taught me a little more and I remembered.

I went to school again and the teacher called on all of us to read our lessons. When he came to me I read mine all right. When the reading was over the teacher told us to take turns coming up and writing the lessons. There was only one person ahead of me, and my heart was pounding. I kicked Irene and asked her what I should write. She showed me, and I told her that this did not help as I did not know the letters. She asked me if I did not remember when she had guided my hand writing and I said no, all I had learned was the words. She said I was in trouble and there was nothing I could do.

I bowed my head, hoping the teacher would not see me, but he called my name. I looked up and he told me to come up and write my lesson. I went up and held the pencil, but that is all I did. I must have stood there for half an hour. The teacher asked me why I could read but not write. Then he said I must have memorized it from someone and asked me who had been helping me. I looked around and Irene motioned to me not to mention her name. But I said "Irene." She was angry but could not do anything about it because the teacher was looking on. The teacher said that was all right but I must not learn any more from her, but rather learn to read myself.

When school was through I started home but met my mother on the way. I asked her where she was going; she said she was going to a house on the eastern end of the island to fix some shellfish. I said I wanted to go with her but she told me I should go home and eat because I was hungry. I asked her if there was any food and she told me where it was—some breadfruit and a fish. I told her I wanted to go with her because I would not be able to find it; if we went home together afterward I would find it with her. So we went off together. On the way we met some of the boys from the school. They asked my mother where I was going, for the teacher had told me not to play any more but just to study. They said everyone in the school knew how to write except me and I just stood up there holding the pencil and doing nothing. My mother was a little angry at this and told them it could not be helped if I did not know how to write yet, because I was small. That is just what she said.

Then we went on to the house and they asked my mother what she was going

to do. She said she was going to bake some shellfish to eat. But they had just slaughtered a pig and told us to eat with them and take some of the meat home with us. My mother protested but they insisted, and we stayed and ate with them. Then we went home. My mother called my father and told him she had some pork, and he should come and eat the evening meal. We ate and then went to sleep.

The next morning my mother told me to go off and bathe so I would be ready to start learning my lesson. I went off and bathed and wondered what I would do. I did not want to go to school any more because I did not know the letters and could not write. I decided to go off and play inland, and when school was over go back and tell my mother I had been at school. So I went home and when it was time for school I set off but just went inland.

When school was out I went home. My mother asked me if school was over and I said yes. She told me to lie down on the mat and learn my lessons for the next day. So I lay down, just hoping none of the schoolchildren would come by and tell my mother I had not been to school. None of them came, and when it was night we went to sleep. The next morning Irene came by when it was time for school, and asked my mother whether I was sick. She said no, and asked why. Irene said because I had not been to school the day before. My mother said I had but Irene said no, I had not been there and they marked me as absent and sick. Then my mother asked me about it and I told her I had been inland. She asked me why I had done that and not told her—was I not afraid of the ghosts? I told her I had been afraid that if she had known I was staying out of school she would have beaten me. But she said she would not beat me. She asked me if I no longer wanted to go to school; I said no, so she told me I did not have to. So I did not go to school any more.

In her efforts to go to school we see Eleanor trying as she did when she was younger to participate in a group of children older than she, and not succeeding. We may wonder, however, whether it was only their companionship she sought. She lied repeatedly to her mother with the objective of inflating her successes or concealing her failures, which would indicate that a successful performance in this situation was important to her, perhaps because her mother had advised against it, and Eleanor had then to make good her boast. Her situation now differs from that of her younger days in that, as we shall see, there were organized play groups which she could join on a basis of equality; her decision to join the older children in school was therefore not made with the realization that it was either this or social isolation. We may therefore conclude that Eleanor wanted to show herself capable of the activities of children older than she and was willing to hazard the humiliation which she ultimately suffered in the attempt. This humiliation, while scarcely pleasant, was at least softened by her mother's tolerant attitude. Nor did her mother make disciplinary reprisals for Eleanor's many lies; in fact, when her most flagrant deception was revealed her mother's interesting first reaction was to wonder why Eleanor was not scared of the ghosts when she hid inland! This is significant of the generally slight attention which is paid by Trukese parents to children's lies, and

also of the consistently tolerant and supportive role in which Eleanor has portrayed her mother so far, in comparison at least with descriptions others give of their mothers in the life histories. The by-play with Irene is interesting also: Irene, Eleanor's "mother," dutifully helps when requested; but in time of crisis Eleanor does not hesitate to expose her to the teacher. Then Irene appears at the house and innocently inquires whether Eleanor has been sick, thus revealing her in her lie and indirectly causing her to abandon her efforts to stay in school. However deviously, each hit her mark.

One day when I was still about seven we went out to play a game in which two girls see who can jump up, touching both heels to their buttocks, and down and up again the greatest number of times. All the Winisi girls and all the Chorong girls were there, competing against each other. The boys were there, too, to urge the girls from their village on. The Chorong girls lost and the Chorong boys were angry. They started to fight and then the girls began to fight. I fought with a Chorong girl and beat her. Another Chorong girl was the first girl to fight; she was very strong. She beat Irene and two other girls, one of whom is now dead.

Then some men came up and found us fighting, and a little later the chief of Winisi. He asked us why we were fighting and told us we would all go to the calaboose. We told him about the girl who had started the fighting among the girls and had beaten three of them. The men could not believe this, but we told them it was true. Then they took the Chorong girls off to the schoolhouse and I don't know what they said to them; the chief of Winisi told them they should not fight with the girls of his village.

Then we Winisi girls went back with our chief [who was Eleanor's father's "brother"]. He beat two of the girls, because they were children of his sister and he was not embarrassed. He did not beat me because I was small; they were old enough to know better. Then I went home; my face was all scratched up. My mother asked me why my face was scratched and I told her I had been fighting. She asked me why and I told her we had been playing a game and the Chorong girls lost and got angry. The older girls started fighting first and then we little ones fought too. She asked me who had scratched me and I told her. She told me I should not play with them because I had gotten in a fight.

This episode, besides showing the strong village affiliation felt by children, points up clearly the social role played by Eleanor at the age of seven. She is now a member in good standing of a play group many of whose members are older than she. Furthermore, this group is no longer a motley assortment of children, but rather a group of girls, and one sufficiently cohesive to act as a unit. The boys are there too (and are quick to defend the honor of the girls of their respective villages), but they are separate. Eleanor's role has by now been differentiated from that of merely a child to that of a girl; it is perhaps not very feminine, but it attests to the fact that her sex has to be taken into account in her social placement, a thing which was not evident before. On the other hand, although she is a successful



member of her group (she trounced her opponent in the free-for-all), she is not old enough to be responsible for her misdeeds: the chief, who was also her "father" and could therefore have beaten her, did not because she was "small." We should note, incidentally, how the chief takes care of his own: he tells the Chorong girls not that they should not fight, but rather that they should not fight "his" girls.

One morning my mother told me to wait for her in the house because she was going fishing. But I told her I was going along too. She told me I could not because she would not be able to catch anything. She would just spend her time watching me and not be able to look for any fish. But I said I would just play on the beach so she took me along. On the way we saw a land crab on the path and got it; when we got to the beach we built a fire and broiled the crab and I ate it along with a little breadfruit they had brought along for me.

Then my mother and another woman went out fishing. They used nets, surrounding a pile of rocks they had put there a few days before; they threw the rocks outside the net and when the fish were exposed caught them in the net. They caught a great many fish; their baskets were almost full. When they came in to where I was I said I wanted to eat a fish. I asked them to give me a red one and I would broil it on my fire. My mother told me we would eat when we got home but I said I wanted the fish right then, so I broiled it and ate it. But when I was eating it a bone got stuck in my throat and it hurt a lot. I cried and my mother was angry and hit me, telling me it would not have happened if I had not wanted to eat there; I was in too much of a hurry to get my food. Then she picked me up and carried me home, the other woman carrying the fishbaskets and the nets. When we got home my mother fixed some medicine for me, getting my father to bring a drinking nut and emptying the water out into a bowl. I drank it and then went to sleep and when I woke up the pain was gone for the bone had gone on down.

Again Eleanor masters the situation, overriding her mother's objections to joining her fishing and to cooking a fish before they went home. But this time it backfired. Her mother blamed the stuck fishbone on Eleanor's haste (the haste would indicate her mother was already getting impatient) and instead of consoling Eleanor in her misery revealed her annoyance by hitting her, although thereafter she carried her home. Eleanor's mother is by no means always tolerant and can show her irritation over the nuisance of caring for her daughter despite her daughter's obvious distress. On the other hand, she showed her consideration of her daughter's needs by bringing along some breadfruit just for her; we might note that the fact that Eleanor had eaten this but a short time before would indicate that her motivation in wishing to cook her fish and eat it right away was almost certainly not one of physiologically determined hunger.

One day my mother told my father to go to Foup on Tol to get some food because we had no food and were hungry. But he said there were no fish to take; she said there were ten and although that was not enough we were hard up for food and they would have to do. I said I wanted to go along, so I did. [?] I was about seven at the time. I sat in the middle of the canoe and bailed and my father paddled.



He paddled and paddled until we got to the mangrove along the shore of Foup; we had a hard time getting in through the mangrove but finally made it. Then he picked me up and carried me inland. We came to the house of his "brother" and they greeted us and told us to come in. They asked us what we were there for and my father said he wanted to pick some of our breadfruit.

The three men in the house said we should start right away; I said I wanted to go along, too. So a woman in the house and two girls and I went along. The breadfruit trees were right below the top of the big flat rock on Foup and the woman suggested we go up and look at it. We went up and they told me about a rock with a hole in it; if we stuck our finger in it a great rain would come. I went back to my father and asked him if this were true and he said it was. So I went up again; they told me not to do it or we would all be wet from the rain. But I was very anxious to try it, so I stayed behind and when they had gone on a little way I stuck my finger way in the hole. No rain fell and I decided it wasn't true.

But when we had walked around a bit a great black cloud came up; they looked up at it and said we had better get off the rock quickly before it began to rain. They asked me if I had stuck my finger in the hole, and I said no. But I realized it was really true about the hole. We got down and some people below asked us if we had stuck a finger in the hole and we said no. We women went on home but before we got there it began to rain and we were soaked. We built a fire to warm up and after a while the men came in, all cold. They stayed there a while and the men of the house said when the rain let up a little they would carry the breadfruit down to the boat. My father said that was fine because he could not carry it, he was too cold.

So when the rain let up a little they carried it down and we walked down. My father told me to get aboard to try the load; he got on too and the boat almost swamped. So he told the men he did not want to but would have to leave some of the breadfruit behind or we would swamp. So we unloaded some of the breadfruit, the boat rode higher, and it was all right. We paddled home and it was dark by the time we got to the end of the island. When we got opposite our house some people heard the sound of the boat and came out and greeted us. My father asked them to take the breadfruit out and they did. I got out too and ran home to my mother. She asked me if I was hungry but I said I had eaten lots of breadfruit and pineapple and fish on Foup and was not hungry. I was very sleepy and went right to sleep.

I had brought a big crab with me back from Foup and asked my father to bring it in from the canoe but not to eat it—just to save it for me for the morning. But when I was asleep they ate it all. In the morning when I woke up I looked for my crab and my mother told me the cat had eaten it. I said she was lying but she showed me where she had put it on the floor and said the cat had gotten it. So I left and went to talk to another girl. I asked her if she knew where my crab was I had brought back from Foup and she said they had brought two legs to her house; my family had eaten the rest. So I went back to my house, told my mother, and asked her why she had taken it but told me the cat had eaten it. She told me she was sorry, but it was as if I had given them a present, for I had eaten part of it on

Foup but they had not eaten any. I did not say anything more. My mother told me to go and get some sea water and squeeze some lime juice into it and eat my breadfruit with that. So I did but I was not very full because I had no fish to go with the breadfruit.

I asked my mother to tell my father to go out fishing and get some fish because I was hungry. But she said that was not possible because there was a heavy wind and he would be blown away. She went out instead to get land crabs and got a great many. So we roasted these and ate them with our breadfruit and were full.

Although Eleanor was satisfied that she had brought on the rain which so inconvenienced everyone, it is notable that she reveals no sense of self-recrimination or guilt in her account of having brought this trouble upon her companions through her disregard of their warnings. On the other hand, she is quite disgruntled by her mother's taking her crab and lying to her about it (despite the many lies she had told her mother in the recent past). She expects more of others than she is willing to offer herself.

Her mother's status as the real head of the household comes out clearly at the beginning and at the end of this episode: "My mother told my father to go to Foup to get some food . . ." and again "I asked my mother to tell my father to go out fishing. . . ." The woman, as we have noted in the previous chapters, occupies the pivotal position in the household in the vital matter of the supply of food.

Later in the day I went out playing with some of the boys and girls. We were playing running games and in the process of this I ran into a small boy. I had my mouth open and my upper teeth cut his forehead; my teeth bled too. He started to cry and some men, including his father, came running up. His father had a very nasty disposition and was mean to children. We saw him coming up carrying a stick, and everybody fled. My teeth hurt but I ran, too. He came up and asked who had beaten his child. A woman who was sitting there said no one had; he and I had bumped into each other and my teeth had cut him. I ran home and told my mother what had happened. I lay down for a while and then fell asleep. Later my mother woke me up; it was dark and she told me we would fix my sleeping mat and netting and I could go back to sleep again. So we did and I slept again.

When I was about eight my father said he was going out on his canoe to fish with hook and line. I told him I wanted to go along but he told me I should not because if I went along they would not catch any fish. But I went anyway; I did not paddle but just sat in the middle. We went out beyond the reef and my father payed out the line. Pretty soon he had a bite—a great big fish—and started to haul it in. I told him I wanted to haul, too, but he told me if I did it would get away; he told me not even to look at it lest it get away. But I kept on looking at it and he hauled it in; it was a very big pompano. Then they kept on fishing and when they had about six fish I told my father I wanted to go back because I was thirsty. He said that was just what he had expected; I had wanted to go along, but although they had not yet caught many fish I was already thirsty. So we went in and my mother met us on the pier and lifted me out of the boat. We took the fish home and broiled them and we all ate.

It appears that Eleanor's father did not wish her to join him in his fishing not only because of her nuisance value but also because of her sex. Fishing with hook and line from a boat was in the old days an exclusively male occupation, accompanied for more elaborate trips by prior ritual continence and magic; thus he tells her not even to look at the fish lest it get away, an admonition Eleanor characteristically ignored, deriving at the same time satisfaction from the fact that she demonstrated his warning to be groundless. Because the observance of this taboo has for some time been largely overlooked it is probable that this was primarily an excuse for not taking her, a point made more clear by her father's seemingly triumphant remark that her premature thirst was just what he expected. But the important fact is that she did go along and he did terminate the fishing so she could have a drink—if it is indeed a fact. Eleanor recounts with such consistency her ability to prove herself master of her relationship with her parents, and particularly with her father, that one wonders to what degree this somewhat unusual condition obtained in all of these situations. But even if we discount her stories a good deal there must remain a sizable kernel of truth in them. Her position in her family undoubtedly provided her with more opportunities for mastery and recognition of her importance as an individual than was the case with most of her contemporaries. But we must again emphasize the difference in the roles of her mother and of her father: she overrides them both, but her father is perhaps more vociferous in his objections before he gives in. More important, his role is exclusively one of often unwilling companion and occasionally helper. Her mother, on the other hand, often provides in addition to companionship spontaneous attention to Eleanor's physical and sometimes psychological needs and support in times of crisis.

One day about this time we went up inland, a lot of us girls, looking for mangoes. We got to the tree we were looking for but there were no ripe ones below it on the ground. I don't know whether someone had come and taken them or what. One of the girls who was a little bigger than I said she would climb up and get some. So she climbed up and shook the branches and lots of ripe mangoes fell to the ground. We rushed in to pick them up and the girl in the tree called down telling us not to take all her mangoes. I picked up ten of them and put them in my skirt. Then she climbed down and asked me how many I had. I said ten, so she said she would take five and I said all right. Then we went down into the mangrove swamp, where we picked some mangrove fruits to play with, and went on home. When we got home we ate breadfruit and fish.

When I was still a little girl we used to be able to pick our own oranges and coconuts and breadfruit, though we could only climb coconut and breadfruit trees that were not very tall.

One day when I was still about eight I went out playing on the sand spit and in the water with a lot of girls. We were playing around and a couple of older girls dove down together—they held each other in each other's arms and went down and lay on the bottom. They did it first, and stayed down for quite a while; when

they came up everybody praised them. Some others did it and a girl came up to me and said we should do it. So we did, but when we were about half way down I ran out of breath and wanted to come up to the surface. I began to struggle but she would not let me go. I struggled and struggled and we went to the bottom. Finally I kicked her on the leg, got away, and came up to the surface. I cried and cried. My mother came up looking for me and asked who had beaten me this time. They all stayed quiet but said under their breaths to me I had done it again: if I was not going to like things I should not do them. Someone said that I did not really want to come up for air yet but just said I did; however, others who had been watching said I struggled but the other girl would not let me go. Then my mother left and took me with her. She told me I was naughty and absolutely must not go playing in the sea again. I said I would not for every time I went I either cried or swallowed sea water. We went back to our house.

Later in the day my mother wanted to get me some coconuts to drink because there was nothing to eat. We went out to look for a "son" of my father's; we went to his mother's house and asked her where he was. She said he was over at the house of the chief, his "father," pounding breadfruit for him. So we went over there and asked the chief if it would be all right for him to get some coconuts for me to drink and quickly return to his work. The chief said yes and his "son" climbed a tree; he started to pick the nuts, but I went under the tree and he did not see me. A nut fell down and hit me in the small of the back; I ran off and cried. Everybody rushed under the tree and said I had been hit by a nut he had dropped. My mother picked me up and carried me into the chief's house and he massaged me. The pain soon lessened and I got up and walked around. Everybody said I was just fooling because I had been hit by a nut but after a little massage quickly got up and walked.

Meanwhile the young man stayed up in the tree; he was embarrassed to come down for he heard the people say his nut had hit me. My mother went over to the tree and called to him; he answered and she told him to come on down and not be embarrassed because I had walked under the tree myself and he had not seen me and it could not be helped. So he picked nuts for everybody and then came down. My mother gave everybody nuts to drink, as well as me, and then we went home. My mother told me not to walk around any more since if I walked around I would lose the effects of the massage. So I just lay down all the rest of the day. I ate some breadfruit lying down on my mat. When it was night I slept.

Two disasters befell Eleanor in one day; each time she was rescued by her mother, but each time there were also remarks from some onlookers to the effect that perhaps she had not suffered as great harm as she indicated. Eleanor tells us that these observations were not true, but at the same time they detract from the dramatic effect of her tale of woe. It is significant of her self-assurance that she is able to see both sides of the situation and reveal that her mishaps did not make her quite the center of sympathy and attention she might have desired.

One afternoon I went to a house with some girls. There were five of us in the house and no other people; we played around in it. Then three boys came in under-



neath the house, which was quite high off the ground, and told the girls to come and sit down over a small hole in the floor. The girls were much bigger than I, close to adolescence. They each sat down over the hole in turn but I did not know why. Then the boys said they were through with them and wanted someone small. So they told me to come and sit there; I thought there was something there to see so I sat down. But when I looked down I saw that two of them had a stick and they were going to push it, or their fingers, up in my vagina. I cried out and said I did not want to. The girls asked me why and I said it would hurt. They told me it would not but I refused to sit down again. Then they started taking turns again. But meanwhile a woman came up and peered in; she was unmarried. She saw the girls sitting on the hole and cried out that they were having intercourse in the house. People came running up and saw who we were. I went back to my house and my mother asked why I was doing this when I was small and would be sick from it. I told her what they were doing and that I had not been willing to, but she did not believe me. Later that woman came in and told my mother it was true that I had not done it.

This episode, which was quoted in a previous chapter, again shows Eleanor rejecting the sexual advances of older boys. However, if they did indeed have a stick her conclusion that it would hurt was undoubtedly reasonable. As before, her mother tells her that sexual activity will make her sick because she is small, but does not believe Eleanor's denial. This again demonstrates the readiness of parents to believe that their children participate in sexual activities.

One morning my mother told me we were going out to catch rats. I asked her how we would do it and she said we would use nets. She would build a fire and fan the smoke into the hole in the tree or the ground. The rat would suffocate and come out; then I would net him and she would kill him and get him out. I asked if this was really possible; she said it was. So we went off and came to a dry bread-fruit tree with a hole in it. My mother built a fire and started fanning the smoke into the hole. She told me to get the nets ready and I told her I would be frightened of the rat. She told me not to be frightened, just to hold them there. After a while the rat came out and into a net but I got scared and threw the nets away. My mother tried to grab the rat but it bit her finger deeply and got away. I told her that thereafter I would not hold the nets. I would build the fire and she would net the rats. When we came to another tree I fanned the fire and after a while a great fat male rat came out. My mother netted it, killed it, and put it in her basket. We went on hunting rats until we had five. Then my mother said that was enough, we would go home.

I dumped out the bag and counted out two rats, saying they were for me; but my mother said I would just have that big fat one because it would be very luscious. I said I wanted to eat one with my food when we got home and have another in the evening. But she told me I would eat half the big one in the morning and half in the evening, for I could not eat all of such a big one at once. We went home and showed the people the rats. My mother showed them her cut finger and they asked



about it. I told them about being scared and all the rest, and that afterward my mother had netted all the rats while I blew the smoke. Then they spitted the rats on sticks and broiled them. I had mine, my parents had one, and the rest of the people in the house ate the other three.

We stayed around the house and in the evening got down the rest of the rats and ate again. Then we got under the mosquito netting, just the women, as the men were out fishing. They talked a while about their lovers when they were young girls and I wondered what it was all about for I was small and did not yet know about these things. Then I went to sleep. About midnight the men came back; they had caught a great many needlefish. They broiled some; my mother woke me up and told me to come and eat. So I came out and ate and then went back to sleep again. In the morning they laid out all the fish; there were lots and lots of them, perhaps three baskets full, and they gave them to all our relatives.

Although Eleanor does not specify her age we may conclude she is speaking of a time when she was somewhat older than the seven or eight years mentioned above. Previously she joined her parents in their work activities, to play while they worked; now she tells us of actually helping her mother in her work, albeit not very successfully at first. One may surmise she was perhaps about nine at the time and just beginning the indoctrination in women's tasks which would increasingly occupy her time thereafter. Her indoctrination began also in the attitudes of women toward their lovers and affairs as she listened to their conversation while the men were out fishing.

One morning we went out on two sailing canoes, my mother and father and I, Rachel, Thomas, Roger, who was very small at the time, and a number of men. We sailed along and the wind got stronger and stronger; I was in the little cabin but was too scared of being trapped there if we capsized and came out crying. My mother and Rachel were praying. The boat that was with us lost its sail when they were trying to move it over to tack; they tried to haul it back up when they got it out of the water but it was no longer much good and ripped. So they just paddled and paddled. Then they lowered the sail on our boat, too, so we would not lose it and we both paddled in, finally reaching Parem. The Parem people helped and they got the boats up the beach. When we reached there it was almost dark after leaving in the early morning [for a trip of only seven miles]. We went to a house of some "brothers" of Thomas and my father and went in. They brought us women dry clothes and built a fire we sat around.

The next day the chief of Parem told them to slaughter a pig for us to eat; they baked it in an earth oven. It was done that night, but I could not eat for I had been seasick and vomited so long I was sick.

The next morning we set off again for Dublon for the men on board were going to Angaur to work. We got there and spent three days there. Then a launch came, picked up the men, and brought them aboard the ship. We set off on our boats and swung around by the ship. The men recognized the boats and all waved. They cried and we cried, though I did not for I was little and did not know enough

to miss them. One boy cried and cried because his father was on the ship and then climbed the mast and cried up there; but they told him to come down and cry on the boat so he would not fall.

I felt I should be crying, too, so I dipped my fingers in the water and put some water on my cheeks. My mother asked if I had been crying and I said yes, but I was just lying because I was not sorry they were going.

Then they made our canoe fast to the steamer, and some of the people on our boat went aboard. Finally they rang a bell, all the people got back on their boats, they cast them off, and the boats backed away. Then the steamer left. We all waved and my mother told me to wave my scarf; all the people on my boat cried and wailed.

We came back to Romonum; when we landed all the relatives of the men who had left came down and asked when the steamer would leave. We said it had left that day and they cried and wailed, too. Then they lifted the boats up on the beach. I went home and went to sleep.

One day when I was bigger, about thirteen, a Japanese came here with a big seine net. I told my mother we should go out and get some fish. When he spread his net we used to go out to help him and when we were inside the net get some fish for ourselves and hide them under the sand and come and get them later. He did not like the women doing this, except those who would sleep with him. My mother told me she did not want to because she was scared of the Japanese. But I told her we should anyway and that we would be very quiet about it for we had no fish to eat at all.

So we went out and helped him and when we were in the net got about ten fish for ourselves. When the Japanese was going around he saw a woman hiding some fish away. He came up to her and was very angry; he talked to her and then slapped her for quite a while. She was angry and asked him why he just picked on her when all the women were stealing fish. So he told her to show him the fish they had hidden and he would reward her with a lot of fish for herself. So she did, going around from one woman to the next showing him the fish. When he came to where I was she showed him my fish. I said nothing because I was frightened and my mother had fled. But he looked at me and told me I was just a little girl so he would give me the fish I had taken even though I had stolen them. So I took the fish and went home. They asked me about the fish at home and I told them about the Japanese giving them to me because I was small.

As Eleanor approaches adolescence she enters increasingly into the role of her mother's helper in getting the family food; as she tells this story it was actually she who made the suggestion to her mother that they go out to help the Japanese with his net and steal fish. But when the crisis of exposure came Eleanor found herself alone; her mother had fled, leaving her to fend for herself. In view of the supportive role her mother had played previously and the lack of any indication of resentment on Eleanor's part over this abandonment we may conclude that by this time she was expected to take care of herself in this and presumably any other interpersonal situation, difficult or otherwise. She had become a free agent able

to make her way alone. Her status as a child stood her in good stead with the Japanese, however, who not only forgave her but let her keep the fish she had secreted.

One day when I was about twelve or thirteen I went up to do laundry with my mother, Irene, and Rachel [who are sisters, and "sisters" of Eleanor's mother]. When we were at the spring a woman and three of her "sisters" came up. They started talking and then the woman and Irene got into an argument, because while Irene's husband was away the woman's husband [who was a brother of Irene's husband] used to sleep with Irene. They started to fight and all the rest joined in. They paired off, with one left over of the woman's "sisters" helping the others. I decided my family would lose this way so I joined in, scratching up this extra woman with my fingernails which were very sharp.

Then I turned my attention to a woman who was fighting my mother; she was a great fat woman with sores all over her arms and legs. I sailed into her, ripped her clothes off, and then her lavalava, so she was naked. This ended the fight; they all rushed in to surround her for fear people would be attracted by the noise and see her. If I had not taken her clothes off I think she would have beaten my mother, for although she fought sitting down she was very strong.

Then we went home and found Rachel and Irene's three brothers there. I told them about the fight and one of them was furious. He said he was going off to fight their brothers. Two days later Irene and I were walking along when this big woman came by. I looked around and the first thing I knew she and Irene were fighting. She had Irene by the hair banging her face in the sand. I ran up and, coming behind the woman, grabbed her hair and jerked her head back; then I started scratching her face. Irene got up for the woman let go of her. Then I scratched the sores on her arms and legs; she bled profusely and my hands were covered with blood. Then Irene's brother spoke to her—I don't know where he had come from—and asked her what she was doing fighting again and beating up a young woman like Irene and a girl like me. He told her to go away before he beat her.

Then we walked off and left her crying. I felt a little sorry for her, bleeding from all her sores, and went back and told her she had better leave for I thought Irene's brother would beat her. She told me not to speak to her, so I said nothing more and left.

In this episode Eleanor plays an adult role: she does laundry with her older "sisters" and her mother and when a fight among the women develops she enters in to save the day by stripping the woman who was about to beat her mother. Two days later she again defended her "sister" Irene successfully. However, the age she gives of "twelve or thirteen" is probably too low. According to Irene's life history Irene would not yet have been married at this time; Eleanor also tells, as we shall see, of an episode which occurred while she was in school on Udot (which she entered at about fourteen) which again involved Irene, who was not then married. It is more likely Eleanor was sixteen or seventeen at the time of the fight; this error may be related to the tendency we have noted previously for her wish to

demonstrate her ability to function successfully in activities usually expected only of children older than she. The ramifications of kin group responsibilities are nicely shown by the reaction of Irene and Rachel's brother: he was going right off to fight the brothers of the offending women, even though he did not know whether their brothers were yet even aware of the fight having taken place. One gathers, however, that he did not carry out his boast.

One day I went over to Foup with my father, but by then I was old enough to paddle myself. That afternoon it was time to leave but the people said they wanted me to stay for a week and they would bring me back. I wanted to but my father was against it. They talked quite a while, my father being afraid my mother would object when he got home and told her. Finally he said it would be all right, but they should bring me back in only three or four days. We said yes and he left.

That night I slept under one mosquito netting with a young girl about sixteen. About midnight a man came in. I was sleeping by the door and he apparently thought I was the other girl for he nudged me and woke me up. I did not say anything and after a minute he felt me all over, then realized I was not his sweetheart. He asked who I was but I still said nothing. Then the girl woke up and pulled me over, asking me whom I was talking to. I said a man. She said it must be her lover and told me not to say anything. [?] I had not yet slept with a man, nor had I started menstruating.

He came in and lay down with her and they had intercourse. Then they started talking and talked for a couple of hours. I just stayed awake and listened. Finally he said he was going to go over and sleep with me because he thought I liked him. But the girl said he must not because my mother and father would hear about it from me. He said he just wanted to try it. I lay there listening and was worried because I did not even know what he looked like. They argued back and forth for some time; but it was close to dawn and the girl told him to leave so her parents would not see him. He left but said he was coming back the next day.

In the morning we went off to bathe—I had only one dress and one lavalava with me as I had not expected to sleep there. I don't know why he happened to be there, but that man saw us. We bathed; when we were through he threw a pebble at the girl. It missed her and landed in the bushes beyond where we were sitting by the spring. I asked her what it was; she said it was nothing for she did not want me to know. But then he threw another pebble and when I heard this I knew it must be someone. I looked around and saw someone behind a banana plant. We got up to leave and the girl told me to be sure not say anything to the people in the house. I said yes and we went off. But the boy called out, asking us to wait because he wanted to talk to us. The girl said we should wait, although I said we should go on; but she insisted and we waited. He came up and I guess he was embarrassed to talk to us together because he called her to one side and they talked for a while, I don't know what about, and then she came back to me. She asked me if I would mind waiting for a few minutes while she went off in the bush with him. I said all right but not to be long as I was scared of ghosts. She said they were not going far and would be right back. But they were away for a long time and finally



I called them. She came running back and laughed and told me I should not have called because someone would hear and ask where she had been. Then he came up, too, and asked me to be sure not to tell anyone, and I said I would not. Then he said he would come and see us at nine that night and left.

That night a man came in about eight or nine o'clock and nudged the girl; I was awake, as I had not yet gone to sleep just waiting to see what would happen. But it was not her lover; she asked him who he was and he said "I" and she told him to go away as she had a pain in her abdomen. He said he would just sleep with her but not have intercourse if she was sick. But she told him not to stay at all. At this point her lover came in and the first man fled, thinking it was a member of the household. Her lover chased him but did not catch him as it was dark.

Then he came back and was very angry. He asked who the man was and she told him, but she had sent him away telling him she was sick. He said she was lying and that he was going to sleep with his wife from Romonum, meaning me. But she told him not to because I was still small; he said I was plenty big enough. They argued for some time, she feeling sorry for me. That night he was lying between us, the night before having been on the other side of the girl. After a while he rolled over as if in his sleep and one leg lay over me. I just lay there and he whispered to her that he thought I liked him because I did not throw his leg off. Then he put his arm around my shoulders and said he was going to stay with me. But I said no for I was frightened. He laughed and whispered to the girl that I was frightened for I did not know how to make love yet. Then she told him to come on over and he moved over and slept on the outside. When it got to be light we girls did not wake up. Finally about eight o'clock we woke up. The girl went out for a minute and her mother came to me and asked me if a man had come to us but I said no. She said in the old days her daughter used to wake up with the dawn, but now people were up and walking about but she still did not wake up. Then she asked again if a man had come to her daughter, but I did not tell her; I just said there was none. That day they cooked breadfruit for me to take, for they said I was going back. By that time I did not want to leave but I did anyway. I started writing letters to my sister on Foup and later she wrote that she had married her lover.

Eleanor is growing up: she is old enough to paddle, to visit alone on another island (again over her father's objections), and to be an object of apparently half-serious sexual interest to a young man. Her reaction to this is significant: when her friend's lover said he was going to sleep with her she was worried only because she did not know what he looked like! But it was her friend who was most active in discouraging him from trying to seduce her and when it was time for her to go home she no longer wanted to leave. It is obvious that Eleanor was well versed in how to conduct an affair well before she was old enough to have one herself; the fact that her new-found friend and her lover found Eleanor's presence no bar to the expression of their relationship would suggest that most younger girls must learn much of such affairs from first-hand observation before they undertake them themselves. Their only responsibility is to maintain the secrecy with which they are charged; Eleanor fulfilled this requirement, even though it seems clear that the



consequences of the girl's mother finding out would not have been appreciably unfavorable.

About six months after my visit to Foup I started school on Udot. A Trukese teacher came over to Romonum and got sixteen of us boys and girls for the [Japanese] school on Udot. My mother went over with me and we all settled in various villages on Udot. The next day we started school in the morning. Each day we attended school from six in the morning until ten-thirty and then were through for the day.

There was an Udot girl who sat next to me. On the morning of the third day of school the teacher—a Trukese teacher—called a recess and told us to go outside and play. While I was outside the girl opened my book and scrawled in it and then took my pencil and hid it in her desk. We came in when the teacher rang the bell; he told us we were going to learn writing, to get out our pencils. I looked for mine and could not find it. I was distressed to find it gone; I asked the girl where it was. She said she had not seen it; I accused her of stealing it and we got in an argument.

The teacher came over, stood over us, and told us to stand up. He asked us why we were fooling around and not paying attention to school; I told him the girl had stolen my pencil. He asked me if I had seen her do it; I said no, I just thought so. He told me that I had no business accusing her of stealing if I had not seen her do it and hit me behind the ear. I said I had wanted to look in her desk but she would not let me; I asked his permission just to look. He opened the desk and there was the pencil. I said there it was and he asked the girl if it was mine. She said no it was hers so I took it and showed the teacher my name on it. He saw I was right and beat the girl and made her stand up as punishment.

A person going to a different island where he does not have an already established set of kin relationships and is not well known to the people on the island is at a disadvantage. Tales of the tricks played on Romonum children by the Udot students shortly after their arrival are sufficiently frequent in the life histories to lead one to suspect that this was a more or less explicitly recognized pattern, a means perhaps of testing the newcomers to see how they would react. This is a difficult test for, although their parents are commonly with them on the island as Eleanor's mother was, in school they are alone and in an unfamiliar environment. Eleanor had enough presence of mind to emerge victorious, however, and had the satisfaction of seeing her tormentor disciplined and stood up before the class. We should also note that neither here nor later does Eleanor mention being beaten or otherwise punished for failing to perform to the teacher's standards in school. Such beatings are a recurrent theme in the accounts given by most of the other young men and women of their school days on Udot. This lends support to the indications we have already seen (including the quality of this life history) that Eleanor is a person of rather superior intelligence. Although she sometimes overreached herself there is little doubt that her belief that she could participate successfully with those

older than she was well founded. We see this too in her intelligent skepticism and experimentation when people tell her things. She had to try herself putting a finger in the rock on Foup and found that it did indeed rain; similarly, she watched her father bring in his fish and found that he succeeded in spite of her feminine presence.

When school was out the teacher told us the next day was Sunday so there would be no school. We went home. The next day we were looking eagerly for a boat from Romonum as we had no food left. Morning and noon we did not eat; in the afternoon an Udot woman, a very attractive woman, came and threw in a big mango. She told my mother to eat it; my mother thanked her and cut it in two and we each ate a half. The people in the house bought some fish and they ate but they did not give us any. At that my mother suggested we leave and go somewhere where we could get some food. I asked her where, and she suggested a house of a "sister" of hers a little way beyond the house we were in.

So we left and went over to this other house. They were very happy to see us; when we told them of our plight they wanted to know why we had not looked them up at once. My mother told them her husband had said we should go to his "brother" so we had. They said it was a shame we had stayed there three days and were hungry because there was plenty of food in their house. So they fed us; we ate bananas and fish and breadfruit and all that sort of thing. They were very happy to have us with them because there were just two of them, the woman and her husband, and they were lonely. The man had a brother but he lived in another house.

Eleanor and her mother were happy when, having given her father's poor advice and inadequate "brother" a fair trial, they could turn to her mother's "sister" and find both food and a warm welcome. Eleanor again has a chance to show her mother as a more satisfactory provider and parent than her father.

The next morning I got up and ate and went off to school again. All the Udot girls brought food with them—mangoes and coconuts and the like—but I had none. During the recess I asked a girl for a mango but she did not want to give it to me. So we fought and I beat her and she gave me a mango. Then I went to another girl and asked for a coconut. She refused and we fought and I beat her too and took two coconuts. Then I went over to the Romonum girls and they asked me why I was fighting so much; they said I should just ask and if they did not give it to me to forget it. I didn't say anything. We ate the mango and drank the coconuts. Then I went over to the side of a concrete water tank and heard the Udot girls complaining about my roughness. So I stood up and confronted them and asked them what they had said. They were frightened of me and cowered. They said they had not said anything; but I said they had been saying bad things about me. They denied it and I told them what I had heard. At that point a "brother" of mine came up and asked why I was making so much trouble. I said they were saying bad things about me. He said why shouldn't they; I had been bad. Then he took me by the hand and led me away and we went back into school.

When school was over I started to leave but that girl I had taken the mango from had been thinking about our being "sisters." So she called me and asked me

to wait, which I did. She came up and asked me if we could please be "sisters." I said yes and she said the next day she would bring me two or three mangoes. I said yes and went off home.

When I got home I told my mother about it and she asked me why I had not just asked for things and if they refused dropped it. She was very angry and used a lot of bad language to me. The next day when I started off for school I met the girl, my "sister," waiting a little way from the house for she had been embarrassed to come in. She had three mangoes to give me. I went back and called my mother and told her the girl I was "sister" with was here and she came out and walked along with us. The girl gave her the mangoes and my mother thanked her and said she was sorry she had nothing to give in return. The girl said it could not be helped and we went on to school.

Eleanor in carrying the battle to the enemy was being unconventional; both her "brother" and her mother reprimanded her sharply. She was also presumably courting disaster by attacking the Udot girls on their own island; but instead of disaster she won a "sister" and a niche in the school community. The reason for the girl's offering to be a "sister" to Eleanor is not clear but we may hazard the guess that Eleanor so confounded her schoolmates by her direct and aggressive approach to the problem with which she was faced that she appeared to them a person one would do well to be allied with in the years to come. The mastery she was able to attain over her parents was not confined to home. When she entered a battle she won, whether it was with the girls of Chorong or of Udot.

That day the teacher told us we were going off to cut copra. So we all went up on the high peak on Udot. After we had gone up quite a way it got very steep and the teacher told us smaller girls to wait there while he and the bigger children went on up to throw down the coconuts to us. So they went on up and after a while began throwing the coconuts down. But they were just fooling around; some of the coconuts almost hit us and we cried out. While they were doing this they dislodged a great big rock; it bounded down the mountain toward us. We screamed and they yelled from above for we all thought it was going to kill us. We hid behind the trunks of trees but it bounced off to one side and missed us. Then they got down to work and sent down a lot of nuts. We started cutting the meat out and finally it was all done; we each took a bag and went down to school where we were dismissed for the day.

I went home and spent the rest of the day at home; the next day we again went to school. Some rain fell and we were all sent out to put the copra away so it would not get wet. Some boys thought the copra would not all go in the boxes they had for it but it did.

When school was out we went home. When I got home I found my mother was sick. She was very sick and told me to massage her for she was afraid she would die, so far away from Romonum. Her head hurt terribly, and down her side. I told her I would go and ask the Trukese teacher if he would let me out of school to take her home but she asked what boat we would use. I said I would just go and

try. So I went back to school and told the teacher my mother was sick and I wanted to take her home to Romonum because I did not know how to massage her. I said if she went home there would be people to take care of her.

He said he would go home with me and see if she was really sick, and if so he would get us a boat. He went with me and when we were near the house he heard her crying out with pain and went back to the school to get some medicine. He brought it and she took it but it did not help much so he got four schoolboys, older ones, and they carried her to a boat and paddled us over here.

When we came in over the reef my mother was crying out with pain, and when we got in everybody rushed up to see for they thought she was practically dead. They carried her up to the house and massaged her and massaged her and gave her medicine, and the next day she was better. In three days she was well.

But when a letter came from school telling me to hurry back she answered it saying she was almost dead, for she did not want to go back. Later a second letter came, and again she said she was very sick. Finally when two weeks had gone by the teacher himself came over. He asked me how my mother was and then went on up to the house. I told my mother to lie down quickly and she let down the mosquito netting and climbed in under. The teacher came in and asked her how she was and she said she was a little better. So he said he was going to take me back to school, and she said all right. When he went out I told my mother she would have to stay there until he left but to be sure and come over in a day or two. She did not know what boat she would use but I told her to look for one and be sure and get over.

Typically, Eleanor's mother's distress over her illness was made acute by the fear that she would die "so far away from Romonum." When she had recovered it was she, rather than Eleanor, who lied to the teacher so that she would not have to return to Udot. If we may believe her account Eleanor was able to make a successful adaptation to almost any situation in which she found herself throughout her childhood and adolescence. She became anxious, however, when faced with the prospect of staying on Udot without her mother.

So I went over with the teacher. I went back to the house and they told me we should eat if I had brought some fish. I had ten salted and ten broiled fish and we ate. When it was night we went to sleep, but I was all alone under the netting and was very scared of the ghosts.

The next day I went to school again and when I came back I lay down on my mat, missing my mother and my father so much I cried. The woman heard me and came over and asked me what the matter was. I dried my eyes and told her nothing. She said she thought I was homesick but I denied it. Then she suggested we go off to bathe. So we left and on the way at a high place on the path I looked out and saw Romonum. I exclaimed and she asked me how I knew it was Romonum; I told her because it was small and one end was bigger than the other; I also pointed out Falabeguets. She laughed and then we went on and bathed. On the way back I again commented on our island and she laughed again and told me not to keep looking at it or I would be homesick again.

When we got back to the house I decided I wanted to flash a mirror over here. I got out my mirror and went back to that place on the path and flashed the mirror. After a while they answered from the western end of the island—I was sure from our house. I was very homesick then until the woman broke into my thoughts by calling me. I went back and they asked what I had been doing; I said "nothing" for I was covering up and hid the mirror. They said I was just looking at the island again and the man was angry at me, telling me to forget it or I would never be through being homesick. I just stayed in the house the rest of the day.

The next day I went to school, and when it was through I went back to the house and the man said he would divine to see if anyone was coming over that day from Romonum. It came out on the first one, so he said he thought someone would arrive right away perhaps with my mother along. He was hardly through speaking when a man came in saying some people had to go out and get fish for the Romonum people who were coming. We went down and met them; my mother called me over to her and we were very happy. She asked me why I was so thin, if I had been homesick. I said no, and she asked if they were feeding me well. I said even more than before.

Then we went up to the house and the man laughed when my mother came in; he told her all about my homesickness, my flashing the mirror, which my mother had seen and guessed was me, and about the divination.

Then my mother said we should eat for she had brought along an enormous octopus, so big we had to bake it. I told her I wanted to take it to the teacher as a gift but she said she had brought along a chicken for that as we were indebted to the teacher for having let me take her home and getting us the boat. I took the chicken over; the teacher asked me what it was for and I told him I just wanted to give it to him. So he thanked me and that was that.

Eleanor was very unhappy during her three days on Udot without her mother. This is the first time she has admitted herself unable to cope with a situation since her accounts of her early childhood. She was obviously dependent on her mother and much of her success appears to have stemmed from the constant support she received from this source.

I went to school every day after that for three months and then the teacher told us we would have a three-week vacation. I went home and we told the people in our house on Udot we wanted to go back to our island. They said that was fine. We got a paddling canoe from an Udot man and set out, my mother and I, my father's "sister," who was over there with her daughter, Natalie, although Natalie was on another boat, and two boys, one of whom is dead now. When we were about half way over Natalie's mother told my mother to keep still lest she tip the boat over; she was just teasing because my mother was very fat then. They all laughed. Then a big wave came; my mother swung over, joking, and the boat went over and we all spilled out. Natalie's mother came up laughing but my mother's leg was caught in the boat and she could not come up. We saw she was not with us and one of the boys quickly dove down and freed her; Natalie's mother laughed till she was weak. My mother laughed a little but she was afraid of sharks. They



told us to swim away from the boat while they bailed it out but my mother just wanted to lie on the outrigger float because she was afraid of sharks. They insisted, but she said if she swam the sharks would see the white bottoms of her feet; she was scared. Finally she swam away and they righted the boat and bailed it. We all got aboard and then my mother tried it. She could not make it and fell back in. Natalie's mother laughed again. Then she tried again, and got up, but the boat went over again. Again they bailed it out and we got up, but again when my mother got up the boat went over and Natalie's mother laughed and laughed. Then another boat came over, for there were a lot of boats carrying girls back from school, and they asked why we had gone over. Natalie's mother quickly told them my mother had been naughty and fooling around and we had tipped over; and she laughed some more. So they bailed the boat out and told my mother to get up first because she was so heavy. She tried, but the boat was too high because it was empty and she could not make it. So the men held it down a little and she got up, and then we all did and came on over here. But Natalie's mother could hardly paddle all the way over she laughed so much.

When we got to Romonum we went home, but we had no clothes to wear because everything was wet. I wore a dress of Irene's and my mother a dress of Rachel's. Then we went out and bathed.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Eleanor's account of this episode is her mention of the fact that her mother was very fat; plumpness is in the Trukese view an aspect of beauty. Yet when they arrived on Romonum her mother put on a dress of her "sister" Rachel, a very small and slight woman now, who tells us in her life history that she has always been very thin. As Natalie's mother is a mere wisp of a woman and the other occupants of the canoe were children, Eleanor's mother was undoubtedly the largest person aboard whether she was fat or not. One wonders, then, to what degree Eleanor has perhaps slanted her description of the episode to give a rather idealized picture of her mother.

Then my mother told Irene and Rachel to go out and fish; they did and caught a lot while we just stayed home. We stayed home all the time we were here. When it was close to time to go they went out fishing, caught a lot of fish, and we salted them down. My father went out and fished too, with a line, and got a lot more. We salted these down and had almost a whole can full. They also went out to the barrier reef and caught a lot of octopus and shellfish. My mother asked me when we were supposed to be back and I said the twenty-fifth; it was the twenty-fourth so we got everything ready and the next day went over. My father's "sister" did not go with us on the boat as my father went along. She went on a Romonum boat. We went over and when we got there went up to the house. My father told me to take some fish over to the man whose boat we had used, in appreciation, and I did. He was very angry and used bad language for he said that we had used his boat and damaged the bottom.

I went back to my father and told him and he said he would go over himself. I went with him and the man, who was a chief, asked him if I had told him of his

anger. My father said yes but that the Udot people who had used the boat before we did had broken it; it was broken when we got it. He sent someone to call these people and they said they had broken it. So he apologized; we went home and my father told the people in our house of the conversation.

We just stayed around the house that day; the next day I did not want to go back to school and told the girls to tell the teacher I was sick, for after the long vacation I did not like the idea of school. I stayed home. Then I heard the school bell ring and knew they had started—the house was right near the school. I went outside for I heard a lot of children's voices and I saw them all playing games—racing, hopping, and baseball—and I rather wished I had not said I was sick. When school was out I asked the girls if the teacher had been angry but they said no, he had just written my name down.

So I decided to go back to school the next morning. Early in the morning I asked my mother if I could have twenty sen. She asked me what for and I told her candy. She gave it to me but instead I bought a ball. I went to school and all the girls were happy because they had been playing baseball with a hunk of wood. So we played that day and after school I went home. The next morning my mother asked me where the candy was and I told her I had bought a ball instead. She was angry and told me I could not take the ball to school any more for baseball was just for boys. I cried and finally she gave in and let me take it. We played ball before school and during a recess started again. But when we were playing a boy came up who was a little crazy. He said he wanted to get in our game but we would not let him. So he took my ball away from a girl, took out his knife, and cut it all up. I cried but I could not say anything because I was afraid of him. Then he took his knife and chased us all and we ran; he did not care whether he really stabbed us or not because he was crazy.

I went home and told my parents and they told me it could not be helped because he was crazy. I asked them if I could have another twenty sen to buy another ball but they told me there was no point; if I wanted to buy candy or cookies it would be all right because I would eat, but there was no reason for me to have a ball and play baseball.

Here we see the contrast between Eleanor's children's (school) society in which the girls play baseball and her mother's attempt to make her conform to her feminine role which does not include this activity. Her mother finally permitted Eleanor to keep her ball (after she cried, a child's device) but would not contribute more money to buy another after the crazy boy cut the first one up.

After that I went to school every day until it was close to Christmas and we had another vacation. My father said we would come back here; we looked for a boat and came back. Before we left we bought a lot of yardage for dresses. When we got here all the people thought it was wonderful and wanted some of their own. We gave it to the people in the storekeeper's household because they had the only sewing machine; his mother made clothes for us.

Two days later some other people went over to get some goods too but when

they got to Udot the Udot people had bought out all the good cloth; all that was left was pretty poor.

My dress was finally finished and my mother brought it home. It was very long, reaching down to my ankles. I did not like it and refused to wear it. But my mother did not know how to sew and was embarrassed to take it back. I told her to take some money along and take it back. Finally she did, they shortened it, and it was a little better.

The night before Christmas we had a service at midnight; when that was over we slept. The next day everybody read his lessons in church. The storekeeper's wife was first and was very good. Most of the people were very good and a few were not. Finally my turn came; I got up and saw all the people and then I could not see the writing on the paper any more. I just stood there and stood there; finally Irene, who knew my lesson too, shaped it with her lips. I remembered then, started off, and got it right. When I sat down the women on either side of me kidded me about it; I told them just to wait till they got up. One of them got up and read hers perfectly. Then the other got up, started, then could not remember, and stopped. She started again, corrected herself, and stopped again. Finally someone helped her and she got started and went on through. I felt better, for she could no longer laugh at me. When she sat down we laughed together about it.

When this was over we went home and had our Christmas meal. Then we went to sleep but when I had been asleep a little while I woke up for our two dogs were barking and jumping around outside my netting and tumbled into it. I woke my mother up and we realized they were after a man who had started coming to sleep with Irene. He told my mother not to make any more noise so the men would not wake up. She beat the dogs and they ran out of the house; then she told him to go ahead and sleep with Irene, which he did.

The next day I teased Irene but my mother told me not to lest people hear about it. Irene hated me for this and left the house. My mother told me it was my fault; she wanted to stay in our house but was afraid I would say more about it. [This man later became Irene's first husband.]

We have previously noted the undercurrent of hostility which characterized the relationship between Eleanor and her "sister" Irene. Here it appears again in Eleanor's teasing her "sister" about her lover in a fashion which one gathers was dangerously public and which resulted in Irene's leaving their house. We may compare this with the scrupulous secrecy Eleanor maintained concerning the affair of her "sister" on Tol.

We stayed here till New Year's. At midnight we heard the conch blowing and people started beating on cans. My mother asked me if I wanted to join them and I did, so we went out. We went over to Chorong and then up inland; when it was dawn we were still beating cans and blowing the conch. Then we went to sleep and slept on into the day. Then we woke up, ate, and went back to sleep again. Later people came around to talk about it; some said they were frightened by being awakened by the noise while others had just stayed awake. I said I was frightened but had joined them. They wanted to know if other women had been with the

noisemakers and I said lots. They wanted to know about the people who ripped some iron off the storekeeper's house but I said he just laughed, he was not angry.

The next day all the men, including my father, went fishing on the barrier reef and salted down the fish. The day after they came back we went to Udot. Irene went with us, although she did not go to school—she was too old for school by then. The day after we got to Udot, I, Irene, and Natalie went to church at Tunnuk. Irene and I were kneeling down together when a young woman came in who was very beautiful—the most beautiful on Udot. She came in right by me and stepped on my dress. I looked up and so did Irene; she looked down and kicked me. I was angry and pulled the shawl off her hair. There were a lot of flowers in it, too, so it got all messed up. She pulled my hair, too, but it did not matter because there was nothing in it. Then her mother came up behind me and ripped my dress down the back; I just clutched it over my breast.

Then the people pulled us apart and the preacher came up and asked why we were fighting in the middle of the service. His wife said we were fighting because that young woman was very bad and had stepped on my dress and kicked me. But the preacher said we were both bad because I should have waited until after church was over. He said that we had both sinned and told us we could not attend the service that day. We went on home; the man in our house told us not to go back to Tunnuk for they would all gang up and beat us up.

The next day I went to school and the Trukese teacher knew about the fight. He had told the Japanese teacher who was furious at someone beating up a school-girl; he had the young woman called up. But when she arrived and was so beautiful he forgot her sins and engaged her as a housegirl. We all concluded that he wanted to marry her and later when Irene and I peered in through an opening in his cook-house we saw them together. He was startled when he saw us looking in. About a month later he was relieved and went back to Japan, while she stayed on Udot.

First with the Japanese fisherman who let the women who slept with him have fish and now with the Japanese schoolteacher Eleanor has seen that the women who let foreigners sleep with them stand to profit by it. She put this lesson into effect herself during the war, although she mentions it in her life history only in response to a question.

A while later they started making a swimming pool, taking water in a ditch from a waterfall. It was a big pool when it was finished, made of cement. They had all the able-bodied people from Udot and from here working on it every day; the Romonum people came over before dawn and went back in the evening. We schoolchildren worked on it too; we had three hours of school in the morning and then went out and worked.

When it was done they had a big swimming meet. They had a team from each of the six villages of Udot, plus Romonum. Natalie was on the Romonum team and was very fast but the rest were slow and came in last for they had not practiced every day as the Udot people had.

After the bigger people raced the Udot schoolchildren raced the Tol schoolchildren. They just threw us in the water and we did our best to swim. When I had



swum a little way, hardly knowing how, another girl who did not know how to swim and was almost drowning clutched me and tried to stay up holding on to me. Nobody did anything about it at first, not realizing what was the matter, but then she cried out and they got her. Meanwhile I had sunk down below the surface and came up at the edge of the pool. Natalie was in this race too and was very fast and won. They held her hand up to show she had won. Then my father rushed over to me, held my hand up, and in the process fell in himself; everybody laughed and laughed. Afterward when we got home I asked him why he had done this and he said he was trying to pull me out. I told him he was not strong enough to do this and should not have tried it. After the races they danced and nearly had a fight over who had lost and why. The priest was furious at the whole thing because the people did not wear anything above the waist while they were swimming and he would not let anybody who participated take Communion for a long time afterward.

For the first time Eleanor mentions her father taking a truly supportive role; but he not only did not succeed, he became a laughing-stock and no one realized what he was trying to do. To complete the picture of his ineffectiveness Eleanor tells us she told him he was not strong enough to pull her out of the water even if he had not fallen in.

One Sunday a while after this my mother told me to go out and pick some oranges from a tree near the house; it did not belong to the man of the house but rather to the chief. I went out, climbed up, and picked a few; I was really just stealing. But I could not get very many so I went back to the house, got a picking stick, and came back. I was picking away and had a lot on the ground when a woman came along. She saw the stick up in the air and asked who it was. I fled before she saw me, carrying only a few of the oranges and leaving the rest. I ran back to the house and told my mother. In a minute the woman came up apparently thinking one of us had stolen the oranges. She came in and asked who had picked the oranges. My mother said with apologies that it was I; I had wanted to eat them and had picked them. She said it was fine; they had lots of orange trees and this one was just growing wild: any time we wanted oranges just to pick them.

So Irene and I went back out and picked a lot. I told her to climb up but she said it was better if just I did because I was small, while she was older. So I went up and picked and picked; while I was up there a young man came and talked a lot to her—I don't know where he came from—he apparently was trying to start a love affair with her but she did not like him so that was that. He left and we went on home.

We should note that while Eleanor's mother *told* her to pick the oranges, when confronted with the presumably enraged owner of the tree she made it appear that Eleanor had done so on her own initiative, thereby deflecting the anger she thought the woman was going to express from herself. This is reminiscent of the time she abandoned Eleanor to face the wrath of the Japanese fisherman, although here it involved an apparently deliberate lie. Eleanor cannot have failed to realize that even her supposedly loving mother was not entirely to be trusted.



One afternoon a boy, the son of the couple we lived with, suggested we go out fishing for octopus with torches that night. So we went out; there were lots and lots of octopus and we soon had half a basket full. While we were fishing a young man came up; he went to school with me. I guess he wanted to start a love affair with me. He asked if I had caught anything and I said no, though there was a basket half full. The boy from our house said I had said that because I did not like the young man. The young man said he was sorry but he saw all the octopus and knew we had made a catch. I laughed at him and said they were not ours. He said again he was sorry but he knew better. At this we left him and the boy suggested we throw away our remaining torch and go on home. So we went home, the woman of the house wrapped the octopus up, five in a package in breadfruit leaves, and roasted them. Her husband got the heads of the little ones because he had no teeth and they were easy to eat.

Eleanor reports the first serious advances of a young man. We do not know why she rejected him—because she did not want to have an affair, or because she did not like him—but in any event it is apparent that she thought little of the episode one way or the other for she simply mentions it and then proceeds to talk about the octopus.

Then we ate and went to sleep under our nettings. The next morning I ate octopus again and went to school. When school was out I came home, and so on like this every day until the three years of school were up.

The last Christmas before I was through with school we came back for the vacation, and the day after we got here a typhoon came up. The wind was very strong and all the big breadfruit and coconut trees and most of the houses blew over. We all fled into the church for that did not blow over. My mother started praying, and told me to pray, too, but I did not know the prayer for trouble; I only knew the "Our Father." So she taught me and I prayed, too. We looked out and the waves were coming inland all the way to the taro swamp and we were very scared. My mother said we were going to die and we should put on all our clothes so we would be well dressed; we would make our own shrouds. My father told her this was nonsense, she was just scaring me.

When night fell the wind had calmed a bit and by morning it was just a heavy wind. We went up inland, my mother and I, to look at our breadfruit trees; all but the little ones had blown over. I discovered that the water in the holes where the stumps had been was wonderful to bathe in and we bathed in several. We collected the breadfruit that had fallen off the trees that had blown over and my father cooked and pounded it; we helped him. The next day it was very calm and the men all went out fishing so we had lots to eat for Christmas.

After New Years I went back to school, bringing a lot of fish, and the man of the house fed all his family with them. I stayed on in school till the last day when the teacher gave us all presents. He gave me a shirt and some shorts and other things I don't remember and I brought them to the man of the house. A while before he had told me he was going to cut copra from a plot of his land and give me the money for it. He was very fond of me and told me time and again to be sure and come back and see him when school was over and I assured him I would.

The next day a boat came to get us; it lay outside the reef and we swam out to it as they had not yet made a pier on Udot. It was night when we got back and I was tired. I just went and bathed in the swamp because I was too lazy to go over to the spring. Then we ate and I went to sleep. By then I was quite big.

About a month after I came back from school a Dublon man sent a note to me through a female relative of his. His name was Sidney. I read it but I did not answer. Later she brought me another note from him. Again I did not answer. I had not yet seen him but he said in his letter he had seen me. Then one afternoon they called everyone to a meeting. He was there and I finally had a look at him. The meeting went on and on until it was dark. He told his relative to tell me to wait for him when the meeting was over as he wanted to talk to me. So when it broke up I waited. He came up to me and asked me if he could come to me that night. I told him to wait a while. Then I started to walk off and he told me to wait. I told him I would have to think about it and then we would talk about it again. But he said there would not be another chance, for every time I went out of the house someone was with me. I said I would see that we worked it out and left.

The next day another letter came and I rather liked it. But I did not answer. That night I heard him walking outside the house; he was playing a harmonica. I heard him and thought if he came in I would let him sleep with me. He went away, and then came back again and came in. He took hold of my hair and shook it; I asked him who he was, he said "I," and asked if he could stay with me. I said yes and he came in and we slept. In the early morning hours I had to wake him because he was snoring and I was afraid he would wake everybody up. Then I told him to leave.

In this, her first affair, Eleanor shows that she has learned her lesson well. She liked Sidney from the outset but only let him sleep with her after he had written yet another letter and finally ventured into the house himself. When she had shown herself thoroughly the master of the situation she let him come.

The next night he came again and again we slept together. The third night we had intercourse. That first time was very bad; it hurt a lot and I cried. I think it was the first time he had had intercourse, too, because he did it very roughly: he did not know how. But that is how I started having a lover. I was about seventeen or eighteen at the time. After the first night we had intercourse he came only two more times because I was married to Richard. I did not want to marry him but my father wanted me to because Richard had given him sixty yen.

I came home one night and my mother called, "Come and let's eat!" I came in and Richard was there. I wondered why he was eating with us. I sat down and my mother told me to call him to eat, so I said, "Come and let's eat!" He was very happy at that because he thought I knew he wanted to marry me, but I did not. After we had eaten my mother called me outside. I went out with her and she told me that I was to marry Richard. She asked me if I wanted to and I said no. But she said I had called him to eat and that was that. I asked her why she had told me to when I did not know what was involved and she said my father was very anxious to have me marry on account of the money.

That night I went under the netting, and my father told Richard to get in with me. He slept on one side and I on the other. About midnight, he started to move over, but I kicked him away. The next morning he complained to my father that I did not like him. My father talked long and hard to me, telling me he did not want to give up the money.

The next night we again slept together. I fell asleep and he started to have intercourse with me; I woke up in the middle and kicked him off. He was very angry and said he would die because I had kicked his penis.

The following night I did my best to stay awake but finally fell asleep. He did not and again had intercourse with me while I slept, but this time I did not wake up until it was over. I was furious but he said nothing because he was through. He was very quick. In the morning he told my mother he thought I had a lover because I was not a virgin, for I did not feel pain from intercourse.

We were married quite a while. When we had been married about three years Richard saw me and Sidney together by a benjo. He was very angry and beat me and we separated.

I married Sidney and was married to him about a year when Arthur started sending me love letters. Then one night when Sidney was away on Dublon a relative of his, Stephen, came in and found Arthur sleeping with me. He did not know who it was, but when Sidney came back Stephen told him. Arthur had scratched my cheek and I his neck, and after asking around they decided he was the one. Sidney beat me and left, later taking up with another woman on Dublon.

So Arthur and I were married. We had been married a while when he got angry at Richard bringing food for my first son, who was Richard's child; Arthur thought he was bringing food for me and was angry and beat me and we separated.

Richard had talked long and hard to the priest, and when he came over here he told us we should be reunited because we had been married before the priest originally. So we were reunited and have been married since. [According to another account the storekeeper and Paul, half-brothers of Richard, also applied a lot of pressure.]

All the intimations which Eleanor may have had that she could not trust her parents were realized in this final deceit in which her father for sixty yen trapped her into marriage with an older and crippled man she did not like. Her mother, too, was a party to it and in fact the instrument of her undoing although she told Eleanor it was her father's idea. This must have had an appreciable influence on Eleanor's attitude toward men. It is impossible for us to tell whether her generally neutral to negative attitude toward her father was developed over the years, as would appear from her life history, or whether an actually fairly warm relationship was colored by this treachery so that her account of him is now slanted in this direction. Very possibly both factors are at work.

The degree to which Eleanor was upset and embittered by this betrayal and marriage is shown by the abrupt change in the tenor of her story. She covers the several years which have elapsed since that time in a few brief factual statements,

centered about her several marriages. She mentions her first son only as the indirect cause of her separation from Arthur and does not refer to her younger son at all. It is interesting that a few months after the birth of this last baby she was quite ill for several days, shaking and murmuring, unable to speak or to recognize anyone.

Although she had only once before run out of things to say (at the conclusion of her telling of her visit with her "sister" on Tol), at this point she stated she remembered nothing more, indicating that she had no desire to discuss the years which followed her marriage to Richard. After this she answered several direct questions including a series concerning her present status which concluded all the life histories, and her story was at an end.

[?] I was not married to any Japanese although at various times when I was married to my three husbands I had three Japanese as lovers. [?] My second son was born while I was married to Arthur but I had intercourse more with a Japanese than with Arthur so I think he is the Japanese' son.

[Present status?] On the days when I am not angry with Richard I am happy, but most of the time we are angry at each other. [?] I like some of the people, and dislike some. Similarly, some people like me and some don't. I think some women dislike me because their husbands sleep with me. [?] I don't know about the future; I want one thing one day and another another.

Eleanor reveals that her seemingly stable marriage is not a very joyous one and that it disturbs her. She indicates that she finds her compensations in the expression of her own choice in partners in adultery over whose social consequences she is apparently not concerned.

As we have already noted, four years later she was still married to Richard. His services were in great demand as a carpenter with the inception of a program of boat conversion sponsored by the administration and Eleanor followed him as he took up residence on Moen and elsewhere in connection with this work. Both of them were very unhappy over the death of their older son in the spring of 1951; he died unexpectedly in the hospital on Moen of complications resulting from a severe infestation of intestinal parasites. Neither of them was with him at the time; Richard's successful efforts to get his body over to Romonum for burial, lasting through a very stormy night, verged upon the heroic.

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DATA

THUS far we have been concerned with the life experience of an "average" Trukese; more exactly, we have described the life led by the people of the island of Romonum in the years 1947 and 1948. In two important respects we have presented an artificial picture. In the first place no one in any society is precisely "average." During their lifetimes the members of a given society are faced with a succession of problems which are more or less common to all of them; the solutions which each may devise for these problems will probably be rewarded or punished in a manner which is again more or less consistent with the values shared by all of them. But important variations will exist in the succession in which these problems arise, the variety of past experience upon which each person will have to draw in seeking his particular solution, his innate capacity to synthesize this experience to provide effective guidance in a new (to him) situation, and the circumstances under which each problem presents itself. A person may be surrounded by many or few people who consider his welfare important; the degree to which his relationship with each of these important people is satisfactory for him is also highly relevant. In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to indicate the range of types of experience possible in the situations described. These possibilities, however, will be realized in different combinations for each individual Trukese, resulting in an infinite number of potential total life experiences for each person who lives out his allotted span within the environment we have defined. This does not mean, however, that our efforts to determine an "average" experience are in vain for, while recognizing the vast number of combinations possible, we are at the same time safe in assuming that each will share enough of the "average" to stamp his total life trajectory as distinctively "Trukese." We have thus defined the matrix within which each individual may be examined.

Secondly, we must recognize that the Trukese culture is and has been changing with increasing rapidity in recent years. For this reason we cannot assume that the adult we observed in 1947 had the same sort of experiences in the past that the child or adolescent we observed at that time was having. For example, the older men reached their adolescence at the time the lineage men's houses were still flourishing and did not suffer the dislocation which is now the fate of a young man when he can no longer live at home and has no other culturally prescribed abode to turn to. Even the adolescents of today suffered the anxiety, privation, and hardship of the war years, an experience not being shared by children now. Again, we have made reference to these differences repeatedly in the preceding pages, but only



in the context of each situation under discussion. We must therefore remember that just as there are individual variations in experience which result from essentially chance factors there are equally important differences determined by historical change. When we note that old people have a different outlook on life than younger ones we should bear in mind that this is compounded both of the physiological effects of senility, with the social dependency which results therefrom, and of a life experience which differs significantly from that of the younger adults with whom they live. It will in most cases be impossible to state precisely which of these two factors is of primary importance in determining a given aspect of personality; this must therefore be viewed as a major weakness in a study of this sort, a weakness for which there is no ready-made solution. On the other hand, this deficiency is not nearly as crucial when we are dealing with a society such as that found on Truk, where the basic way of life of the people retains its identity and vitality to the present, as it is when we are attempting to study the psychological attributes of the living carriers of a "broken" culture as a clue to the nature of the people who actually lived a life we can no longer observe with any degree of completeness. As we have seen, it is in the two crucial areas of social organization and of subsistence economy that the least change has taken place in the Trukese culture.

Ideally, we should be able in large measure to control both the idiosyncratic and the historical factors through the use of individual life histories. With a full and consistent account of the actual events experienced by each of a number of persons within the society it should be possible to compare the experience of one with that of another, and the personality of one with that of the other, and thus factor out the effects of historical and chance differences in life experience. Actually, the data available from this source are woefully inadequate for this purpose and it is questionable whether any autobiographical material would ever be completely satisfactory in this regard. We shall return later in this chapter to a consideration of the adequacy of the life histories for this and other purposes.

### THE SAMPLE

The data upon which the analysis of Trukese development and personality which follows is based were derived from the intensive study of twenty-three persons resident at the time of our study on Romonum; most but not all of them were born on Romonum and had lived practically all of their lives there. Most of them, again, were of "pure" Trukese ancestry. The twelve men range in age from thirteen to fifty-six according to island records, and the eleven women from fourteen to fifty.

It was desired that the sample of persons selected reflect the widest possible range in personality type from among those persons whose psychological adjustment was adequate to their functioning as fully participating members of the community. It is obvious that an anthropologist newly arrived would not be competent to make such a selection, nor would this be desirable on theoretical grounds. The

device was therefore hit upon of making a very simple popularity poll. Five men and five women were selected by lot from a list of all adolescents and adults on the island. Each of these was asked to rate all the other persons on the island on a five-point scale of like and dislike: "like very much," "like somewhat," neutral or "don't know," "dislike somewhat," and "dislike very much." Each of the ten interviewed was told simply that the survey was being made to determine the subjects for intensive study and that the results would be confidential. No one refused to answer and all of them expressed some differential opinions about different people. All of them tended to give their own relatives higher ratings, but not necessarily the highest. Some favored persons of opposite sex to themselves, and others, persons of the same sex. Most of them gave more favorable than unfavorable opinions. There is little question that they tended to give high ratings to people they felt were in the good graces of the anthropologists—such as Andy, who actually had to assist at some of the interviews, Paul, the island constable, Charles, the school-teacher, and Roger, the health aide. It is thus obvious that as a true measure of personal popularity the ratings had very little validity. This, however, was not the objective of the poll. It was simply felt that if a person was consistently said to be liked or disliked there was something distinctive about him which set him apart from his fellows, and that this "something" would in most cases be a reflection of a significant difference in personality. In these terms the high ratings given the officials mentioned above, for whatever reason, are not without validity for it is clear that in this society a person who fills a public office is in some degree unusual. On the other hand, this fact was not at all obvious at the time the survey was made and an assumption of this order would not have been justified at that time.

With the ratings completed, the men and women of the island were ranked separately from highest to lowest. The six most "liked" and the six most "disliked" of each sex were set apart, and three were selected by chance out of each such group for intensive study; there were thus six persons of each sex in our sample who were putatively "unusual." Of those remaining in the middle range five of each sex were again selected by chance for inclusion in the sample, making a total of eleven men and eleven women. Although Andy fell into the group of six most "liked" men his name did not appear among those chosen by lot. It was, however, felt that his assistance would be required in interviewing a number of the older people and he was therefore included originally for control purposes. His help was actually seldom needed and his case is sufficiently interesting to warrant its inclusion on an equal basis with the others; our series of men thus totals twelve in number. Although there is a wide variation in the fullness of the data derived from the twenty-three persons interviewed, it was not necessary to eliminate anyone on the basis of lack of rapport as all of them made at least some effort to perform as requested and most appeared to be cooperating to the best of their varying abilities.

The efforts here described to eliminate subjective factors on the part of the anthropologist in selecting the sample for study must not be assumed to imply that the resulting series will provide data amenable to statistical treatment. The numbers are far too small and, as will be seen, very little of the information derived is of an order which can be meaningfully quantified. Although a larger sample would, of course, be desirable and would have been obtained had time permitted, its value would have lain primarily in the wider range of cases available for individual study rather than in making possible statistical treatment of the little information suitable for the purpose. Nor have the persons falling at the extremes of "like" or "dislike" been placed in separate categories for study. Their status in this regard was not made known to Dr. Sarason at any time during his analysis of the projective material; the records were presented to him in the order used here, separated by sex and ranging from young to old. So many uncontrollable factors obviously entered into the expressed judgments of those interviewed in making the popularity survey that we must be satisfied with the belief that through this device we obtained a wider range in personality types than would have been possible were the subjects for study selected by chance alone. We are thus better equipped to explore the different sorts of personality which may be found functioning successfully within this one cultural and social framework. To proceed further, however, and seek for significantly different group characteristics between the extreme and middle range groups or between the "liked" and "disliked" groups would not be justified, for we know very little of the basis for the differential ratings given by each person interviewed. Were we to find significant differences between these subgroups we would know more of the criteria used in determining "likes" and "dislikes" but would have added little or nothing to our knowledge of the functional effectiveness of different types of individuals in the Trukese society. This society does not grade its members in these terms and our subgroups must be looked upon as entirely artificial categories, suitable only for the minimal purpose to which they have been put. Mention is made in each case of the group to which the subject belongs; this is merely for the record and must not be taken as having any wider significance. Each case is considered upon its own merits. As we shall see, such generalizations as it is possible to make are based upon those characteristics shared by most or all of the persons studied, and do not involve any assumption that those in the middle range are more "typical" or "average" than those at the extremes. Such an assumption would probably have some basis in fact but could only be tested upon the completion of the analysis, at which time it would be of only academic interest; its verification would furthermore have no predictive value for another study undertaken in another society.

#### THE TESTS

Each of the twenty-three subjects was given the Kohs Block Test, the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests, and asked to recount his life history, in

the order named. The subjects were called upon not in any particular sequence except that in general the older people, less used to dealing with foreigners, were left to the end to take advantage of the increasing linguistic efficiency gained through experience with the younger subjects.

The Kohs Block Designs, normally administered as part of the Arthur Point Scale battery, were selected for use on Truk with the hope that this test which requires no explicit verbalization might provide some measure of intelligence comparable to American standards. The test consists in arranging a number of identical colored blocks in patterns to conform to a series of increasingly difficult designs printed on small cards; the designs are geometric and linear and thus conformed in general to the types of design found in published works on Trukese material culture prior to leaving for the field. Unfortunately, it soon became evident that performance on this test correlated fairly closely with the amount of schooling to which each subject had been exposed. As the ability to see the content of photographs and other pictures appeared also to be a function of experience gained in school, it was concluded that the indigenous training of the Trukese leaves them poorly prepared to discern the field and ground relationships upon which successful performance in this test rests. Scoring of the test results along conventional lines, which would give data comparable to those for which the test was standardized in the United States, would in the case of the Trukese present a picture of doubtful significance. For this reason although the test was administered to all subjects in the interests of conformity no attempt will be made here to present an analysis of the results.

The Rorschach (ink-blot) Test was administered in the conventional manner utilizing the standard cards, with the exception that the inquiry, normally undertaken at the conclusion of a complete performance on all ten cards, was introduced after each card. It was felt the subjects would have difficulty in remembering their responses for the necessary period of time and that a large number of them would therefore be withdrawn in the inquiry if this did not take place immediately after the responses were made. As the same procedure was followed with all subjects there was no opportunity to test this assumption which may or may not have been justified.

The entire series of tests was introduced to each person with a statement that it was part of an attempt to obtain an understanding of how the Trukese lived and thought, and that the Rorschach was simply a part of this program. It was said to be "like a game," and the making of ink-blots was explained. In some cases it was felt advisable to make an actual sample blot (with blue ink); what the subject saw in the sample blot is noted at the beginning of each such record in the Appendix. All questions by the examiner are noted in the records. Tracings of the blots were requested where this appeared advisable and practicable; these are shown, as well as the locations of untraced responses, on the location diagrams.

The Rorschach records were interpreted by Dr. Sarason. His commentary on



the responses to each card is incorporated in the records, pointing up the significant features of the performance and inquiry. The complete analysis of each protocol appears in the appropriate place in the chapters on the individual cases. During Sarason's initial review of the records I was present to supply information on the individual's attitude in the test situation and particularly on the adequacy of his responses. Thus if the person had said he saw a canoe ornament, for example, it was my responsibility to judge whether the resemblance of the blot as seen was sufficiently close to the appearance of such an ornament in actuality, a judgment which Sarason, not having been to Truk, was not competent to make. I did not, however, offer any other information on the individuals or the Trukese culture until Sarason's analysis of the Rorschachs and Thematics was completed.

The Thematic Apperception Test had no special introduction other than an explanation of the procedure to be followed. The pictures used were a series of ink line drawings especially prepared for use in Micronesia by Dr. William E. Henry. Although the entire series numbered eighteen pictures (and one blank card), after the first few subjects had taken the test it became apparent that there were too many cards and the subjects, who found the work wearing at best, were becoming too tired by the end of the test. Five cards were therefore arbitrarily eliminated and only the remaining thirteen presented to subsequent subjects. Those cards were selected for elimination which appeared to elicit the least productive responses from those who tried them. In a few cases the number of cards was further reduced. The difficulty experienced by all subjects with this test made it appear inadvisable to confront them with the challenge of the final blank card and this was not used. Most subjects required considerable guidance on the first few cards before they were able to produce adequately full stories in response to the pictures; further care was required with a few to prevent the wholesale introduction of folktales under the guise of original productions. None of them appeared to have any appreciable difficulty in perceiving the content of the uniformly simple pictures.

#### LIFE HISTORIES

The request for the life history was made with a reminder that all data supplied would be kept confidential. The subject was asked to tell everything and anything he could remember, starting with his first recollections. With the exception of questions for clarification no direction was supplied as long as the individual continued to talk spontaneously. When he blocked, suggestions were made of new subjects to discuss or subjects formerly mentioned to be expanded upon. There was wide variation in the amount and fullness of material which was supplied spontaneously, some subjects reminiscing for hours without prompting and others doing little but supplying answers to a series of direct questions. Each life history was concluded with questions as to the subject's attitude toward his present status, his hopes for



the future, and the like. In addition, any current or past dreams which the subject could remember were recorded and questions asked as to the interpretation of various portions of these dreams. Few were able to offer more than two or three rather brief accounts of their dreams; their interpretations were in traditional terms, usually with an apology for the subject's inadequate knowledge in this regard.

The life histories as well as the tests were transcribed directly into English with no attempt to record the original Trukese text. As far as possible, however, the phrasing of the original was preserved in the running translation. The Thematics and life histories were written directly on a typewriter, the subject being asked to pause after every few sentences while they were written down. Neither the typewriter nor the pauses appeared to discomfit the subjects in any way.

In almost all cases it is clear that the life history data are the least adequate for our purposes of any of those collected. Practically all of the test records, while perhaps not always as rich as we might wish, provide a fairly adequate basis for defining the present personality of the subject when analysed with sufficient care. Frequently the life histories are able to confirm in striking fashion certain of the conclusions drawn from the projective tests. When we turn, however, to the subject's early recollections for an explanation of why he developed in this manner we are more often than not disappointed. In large degree this is due to the fact that the early formative years of infancy and childhood are not remembered and many of the patterns of adulthood are already evident in the first episodes remembered by the subject. The fact that these habitual ways of reacting persisted from childhood onward is interesting but does not tell us why they were established in the first place. Thus we may find a man who shows as an adult a high degree of hostility toward women and in turning to his life history observe that his early accounts of his relations with his mother, for example, were ones of strife and aggression; from this we are safe in concluding from psychological theory that he identifies the women of his later life with his mother and adopts the same attitudes toward them. But we do not and cannot know what particular early experiences of this individual led to the more extreme expression of hostility toward his mother at the outset than that shown by his fellows. Indirect or secondary evidence may in some cases resolve this dilemma but more often than not our questions must remain unanswered.

In addition to the inherent lack of data for the early years of the individual's life which results simply from the fact that he does not remember his experiences during this period, the life histories suffer from the inability of the Trukese to introspect about their own feelings and reactions to events in which they have taken part. Their accounts therefore tend to consist in a series of flat statements about happenings and perfunctory and conventional expressions of their reactions to them, neither of which can be expected to reveal much of their individual personalities. It is also clear that in some cases their accounts are simply not true, although where

we can determine the actual facts the knowledge of the direction in which they have altered the truth can be quite revealing. Thus while Roger tells us of his tribulations when he was forced to make his way alone while attending the Japanese school on Udot, his foster mother Rachel describes in endless detail *her* trials and sacrifices in remaining on Udot to care and provide for Roger during this same period. In this case it was possible to determine that Rachel did in fact remain with Roger during the first half of his three years on Udot and that thereafter he was alone although in the company of other Romonum children and their relatives. We shall discuss the significance of the incorrect reporting of each in considering their individual cases. The discrepancy in this and other cases, as well as the suppression and slanting of information found in some life histories where independent sources of information are available, must lead us to take all of the statements of fact made in these autobiographies with a grain of salt. This does not, however, mean that they are valueless. It simply requires us to remember that in every case we are not necessarily dealing with verifiable fact but rather with what the individual is able and willing to remember and recount to someone outside of his own society.

#### INTERPRETIVE PROCEDURE

BY SEYMOUR B. SARASON

#### TEST ADMINISTRATION

Before the field work was undertaken conferences between Dr. Gladwin and myself were devoted largely to problems concerned with the Rorschach, the Thematic Apperception Test presenting no particular difficulties. The aims of these conferences were twofold: (a) to insure that Gladwin could competently administer the Rorschach to "Westerners" and had a familiarity with the rationale of the test, and (b) to come to some agreement about how the test should be administered to the Trukese. It very early became apparent to us—especially to me since I am rather sure that it was apparent to Gladwin before the conferences—that the second aim could not be achieved. Neither of us knew the culture and we had no idea what problems would arise in the field. We were in complete agreement about adhering to one principle: it was essential that whatever changes in test administration would be required should not result in the differential treatment of the cases to be studied. Whatever was done should be done in the same way for all individuals and everything said by the examiner and the subject should be taken down verbatim. In addition, in the case of the Rorschach, Gladwin was to make every effort to get the individual to delineate his response via tracing paper. One reason for this procedure is that when a tracing is obtained one has a permanent record of the response, and an evaluation of it at a later date is not very much affected by an examiner's own creative phantasy and selective memory. When I am asked to evaluate a record given by someone else I frequently have a great deal of

difficulty distinguishing between what the examiner thinks the subject saw and what the subject in fact did see. Tracings reduce, though they do not eliminate, these sources of error. Another reason for the insistence on tracings was the expectation that so-called primitive people might have considerable difficulty verbalizing and that tracings might reduce the need for questioning by the examiner.

The protocols which Gladwin obtained are as complete and consistently administered as one could have wished for. I had no more difficulty interpreting these protocols than those obtained from individuals in our own culture. For reasons to be discussed below I may have had less difficulty. Granted that Gladwin questioned the subject far more than one ordinarily does, that most Rorschachers do not conduct the inquiry after each card, that more than the usual amount of prodding took place in the performance, and that he tended to ask leading questions—despite these “unorthodoxies” the fact that they do not appear to have been applied in a markedly selective fashion and that we have a rather complete record of the examiner’s and subject’s verbal behavior at least gives one a basis for evaluating the effects of the procedure. Because of such information the fact that one individual “clams up” under persistent interrogation while another proceeds unintimidated is of significance for understanding the differences between the two individuals.

All this should not be taken to mean that no procedural errors of omission or commission were made. For example, some individuals were not shown a sample blot and we do not know what the effect of this might have been in these cases. Some individuals do appear to have been questioned more than others on the Rorschach and we are uncertain of its effect. Not all of the cases were exposed to the same TAT pictures and this makes comparisons difficult. Other examples could be picked out, but I can only express the opinion that while these “errors” introduced uncertainty about individual interpretations, they did not affect much the conclusions contained in the general summary of each test. (The word error has been put in quotes to connote my awareness and appreciation of the fact that the collecting of test data from primitive peoples is beset by so many problems that it is a small wonder to me that the protocols were as “workable with” as they were.) For the sake of emphasis and clarity I would like to say that any lack of congruence between Gladwin’s material and my general summaries cannot be attributed to the data but to my interpretations of them. That I do not feel as sure of the validity of the individual interpretations is a function of several factors which will be discussed later in this chapter.

#### VALIDITY OF PROJECTIVE TESTS

Before taking up the interpretation procedures something should be said about the validity of the projective tests used. A valid test is one whose findings are highly congruent with a previously determined, independent, external criterion. Ideally, such a test in the hands of similarly trained people should not only give similar

results (reliability) but should predict the external criterion very well. In these respects, the tests used in this study are not proven instruments. There are studies which indicate that there are psychologists who by use of these tests, given by others, and having no other information to go on, have been able to describe the organization and dynamics of a person's behavior in a remarkably accurate way. In most, if not all, of these studies one does not know in what relation the conclusions stand to the different kinds of data or scoring given and obtained by the tests. In other words, we do not know whether the psychologist is right for reasons he gives. For example, Rorschachers spend a great deal of time and presumably attach great significance to how a response is scored. But in the studies referred to above it has not been demonstrated that the valid conclusions obtained are a function of the scoring. In the more significant of these studies there is reason to believe that many of the conclusions are based on shrewd and legitimate deductions from the manner in which the individual verbalizes, the content of his responses, his incidental, attitude-revealing (and unscorable) comments, his selective ease or difficulty of responding—in short, the conclusions are to an unknown degree a function of what may be called the non-formal aspects of his responses. Perhaps the best way of putting it would be to say that many more aspects of the data are used or serve as a basis for the conclusions that are explicitly acknowledged.

We know that not all Rorschach responses or TAT stories are given equal weight in the interpretation of a protocol. We know that some protocols are more revealing than others. But we are not at all clear as to why some psychologists can make so many more valid conclusions from a protocol than other psychologists. At the present time, the validity of an interpretation is to an unknown degree a function of the "psychology of the psychologist." Why these individual differences should exist is as yet an unstudied problem in psychology. Undoubtedly the same problem exists in anthropology. Some field workers "see" more than others and are better able to deduce covert from overt manifestations of behavior. Some field workers religiously describe the different aspects of a culture without ever integrating or understanding the common features running through the data. Perhaps the best example in psychology of the point I am trying to make is in the practice of psychotherapy. There is no doubt that therapists differ in their ability to understand the significance of the presenting symptoms, the situations in which they might have arisen, their seriousness and amenability to treatment. Therapists obviously differ in their ability to help others. But what accounts for these differences is something we know hardly anything about. There are opinions but no facts. The same situation obtains in the case of interpretations based on projective techniques.

In the past few years more and more experimental studies have appeared which have demonstrated that certain isolated and previously unsubstantiated assumptions underlying interpretations of projective tests have validity. But they have



also demonstrated that other assumptions are either untenable or unproved. However, systematic studies of the nature and validity of the integrating interpreting process have not appeared.

What has been said up to this point strongly indicates that the anthropologist who employs projective techniques in his study is in a somewhat precarious position, especially if he intends to use the test interpretations as a validating criterion for his own observations and conclusions. If the results are congruent, then he has no particular problem. If the results are not congruent, however, then several annoying questions arise: Is the psychologist correct and the anthropologist wrong? Would other psychologists working independently have obtained more congruent results? Is it that the test data or the psychologist's interpretive processes and assumptions are invalid for the purposes employed?

### TEST INTERPRETATION

With the foregoing as a background, we might now turn to a description of how the tests were interpreted. One of the major things I wanted to accomplish was to give as complete a picture as possible of how I interpreted a protocol. I felt this was important for the following reasons: (a) I wanted to make clear in what relation my conclusions stood to the various aspects of the protocol, (b) I wanted ultimately to be able to ascertain where I was wrong or right and if possible why, and (c) by making the procedure "public" I was giving other psychologists an opportunity to criticize not only the conclusions but the steps by which these conclusions were arrived at. For reasons of time it was possible to attempt this only with the Rorschach. The following was done:

1. I read the twenty-three protocols several times in order to familiarize myself with them. Gladwin had already prepared such data as initial and total reaction times, the frequency with which each card was rejected, and the responses which were most frequently given to each card.

2. I then interpreted each record, response by response, in the presence of Gladwin who wrote down what I said. His presence was necessary for several reasons: (a) when one is interpreting a record he has not administered, it is unusual not to have questions arise which only the administrator can answer—in the case of non-Western records more than the usual quota of questions should be expected; (b) since the Trukese referred to animals, plants, etc., with which I was not familiar, Gladwin was the logical person to judge whether a response to a given blot area was a "good fit"; (c) I wanted to state the interpretations so that they conveyed to another person, with knowledge of the Rorschach, what aspects of the responses I was using, Gladwin's function being to ask questions ("that's not clear," "it's vague," etc.) which would force me to be specific about the referents of my own statements.

3. After the twenty-three protocols had been done in the above manner I



went over them by myself once again and put my comments on each card into the form in which they are found in the Appendix. Following this, I wrote the general summary.

4. The TAT records were done in the usual clinical manner. It was not possible to do the TAT as the Rorschachs had been done because the latter took such a long time and was, frankly, such a wearing process that we had to dispense with the procedure for the TAT. I did not see the TAT records until I had given Gladwin the final Rorschach write-ups and general summary.

The critical reader will justifiably ask at this point about the possibility that my interpretations, particularly of the Rorschach, were influenced or contaminated in some way by Gladwin's presence and knowledge of the culture. All I can say to this is that before we began we discussed and were aware of the above possibility but had agreed that lack of congruence between our data was as important a finding for methodology as positive results. Investigators have the understandable tendency to publish only positive findings—so that one tends only to learn about the times a procedure worked but not when it failed. Our bias was not completely in the direction of congruence of findings. I say "not completely" because, although we agreed that negative findings would be methodologically important, we would be deceiving ourselves and the reader if we said we did not hope for positive findings. But I think we had less of such a bias than is usual.

The only information I ever requested of Gladwin was (a) whether an individual was unduly upset by the testing or appeared markedly evasive—I *never asked for or received information about an individual's behavior outside the testing situation*, and questions concerning test behavior were asked in only a few cases; (b) whether ghosts, as I had already concluded, were malevolent spirits; and (c) whether the Trukese habit (in the tests) of responding in the form of a question was a form of "talking aloud" or was directed to the examiner in a dependent way—the answer received was that it was not directed to the examiner. I would like to emphasize that Gladwin's function was not to discuss my statements but to insure that the relation between my conclusions and the data were clear.

The reader is undoubtedly aware at this point that the Trukese are much concerned about food. One would expect that if contamination of my interpretations by subtle communication from Gladwin had taken place that it would have included something about the food anxiety. Yet on the Rorschach, which was completely done before I even saw the TAT protocols, there is no mention of a food concern. Concerning the possibilities of contamination I suppose all that can be said is that we were acutely aware of the possibilities and consciously strove to avoid such influences.

I must state that I am not particularly satisfied with the attempt to make "public" the interpretive process. As I read over the Rorschach interpretations I

am aware that more went on inside my head than I was able to get down on paper. This is the first time I have attempted such a procedure and I am now convinced that speaking aloud one's thoughts requires not only self-discipline but a good deal of practice. I should point out that without a knowledge of the Rorschach one is not likely to understand very much about the basis of the interpretations. The basic assumptions underlying the use of projective techniques have not been stated and to have done so, including the supporting and oft-times conflicting evidence, would have required a separate book.<sup>1</sup> However, that there is nothing "special" about Rorschach responses is indicated by my belief that the theoretical problems posed by the Rorschach are no different from those involved in understanding the meanings of the verbal responses that occur when two people interact—such as in a psychotherapeutic situation.

Earlier I indicated that I felt more certain of the validity of the general summaries based on the two tests than of the individual interpretations. This is probably more true for the Rorschach than the TAT. In the general summary for the Rorschach an attempt was made to describe those psychological characteristics which were most frequently manifest in the protocols. It should be borne in mind that these characteristics were not present to the same degree or in the same way in all individuals; also, not all individuals showed all these characteristics. In fact, one must say that a conclusion concerning any one of these characteristics in any one individual is of dubious validity for at least one good reason: for any one Rorschach record the number of instances considered as the basis for a conclusion is necessarily small. By "necessarily" reference is made to the fact that the Trukese gave sparse records. A conclusion based on a large number of observations is more likely to be valid than one based on few observations. Although this is an obvious limitation when one is working with the single case, it loses some, though by no means all, of its importance when one bases conclusions on twenty-three cases. For example, one might deduce in the case of individual A that he has a strong need to achieve, but the evidence is slight and the conclusion is not given with anything resembling confidence. Now, however, if for individuals A through Z the same situation obtains, one would feel more sure of the general conclusion than of the specific one in the specific case. Of course, if the interpreter approaches each case with an explicit or implicit bias, then he is likely to see in each case what he wants to see. In such a case he may feel more sure of the general conclusion than of the specific one, but he would be wrong on both scores.

The above statements are intended to convey an expectation on the part of the writer that the conclusions contained in the general summary will have a greater degree of validity than the conclusions given for any one individual. It is per-

<sup>1</sup> In a forthcoming book (*The Clinical Interaction. With Special Reference to the Rorschach*, to be published by Harper and Brothers in 1954) these problems have been discussed in some detail.

fectly possible for the writer to be wrong when he says a particular Trukese female inhibits the display of aggression, and yet be correct when he concludes that the display of any strong feeling is difficult for the Trukese. Another factor contributing to the unreliability of the individual record is the fact that there were some differences in the administration of the test, the amount of unreliability thereby introduced being an unknown factor. While I feel that inconsistencies in administration introduced a degree of unreliability, I do not believe it was great.

## TRUKES PERSONALITY: DESCRIPTION

IN the first ten chapters we discussed the cultural, social, historical, and ecological factors relevant to the development of Trukese men and women and described their contemporary way of life. In the pages which follow are presented descriptions of those psychological attributes common to and characteristic of most, if not all, Trukese who are native to Romonum (and hence probably to any island on Truk) derived from Dr. Sarason's analysis of the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test records.

We are, therefore, focusing upon the problem of personality and development on Truk data derived by anthropological and by psychological techniques. Our first task then will be to determine the degree to which these two orders of data are congruent. If we assume that the psychologically derived data present a true picture of Trukese personality (in those aspects with which they deal), we would expect to find the psychological characteristics there defined also reflected in the overt behavior of the people as this is delineated through the use of anthropological techniques in the preceding chapters. Insofar as we find the personality characteristics reflected in behavior we may consider the psychological analysis to be valid; contradictions, however, for which there is no ready explanation must lead us to suspect the adequacy of both the anthropological and psychological data in the area under consideration.

A finding of congruence between these two orders of data immediately poses a question of method: If everything discoverable from the analysis of the projective tests is to be found reflected in and hence presumably deducible from the ethnographic data, why should the test results provide the starting point for the consideration of our problem? Would it not be more straightforward to derive the description of personality directly from the descriptions of behavior, and relegate the more or less secondary evidence of the projective tests to the status of a check on the conclusions we have drawn? A good case could be made for either procedure. It is, however, the thesis of this study that the priority given here to the data from the projective tests in the delineation of personality will result in a better balanced and probably more complete inventory of significant psychological characteristics than would the reverse. If performance in a projective test is viewed as a sample of the ability and technique an individual will bring to any problem-solving situation, we may look upon the test as a partial reflection of his approach to his day-to-day life problems, which is, after all, the information we seek. If we further recognize that the situation of the test provides the individual with a set of problems

which are essentially new to him, we may expect to discover from his performance on the test the degree to which his training and his innate capacities are adequate to permit him to deal with tasks and situations for which he has not been fully prepared thus far in his life experience, or, in other words, his adaptability. Because the members of even the most stable society are constantly faced with new problems and combinations of problems as they progress through the age levels of their society, their ability to deal with novel situations is in large degree a measure of their potential adequacy within their social environment. There are thus good theoretical grounds for assuming that the personality characteristics delineated by the projective techniques are in fact among those most crucial to successful functioning in the society, and that we may therefore derive from these tests important indications of the degree to which the society prepares its members adequately for the problems with which it confronts them.

Furthermore the fact that all the characteristics so defined may be found reflected in the overt behavior of the people does not necessarily mean that one would be able to ascertain which of them was more (or less) crucial to the adequate adaptation of the individual to his environment—assuming one were forced to proceed with only the data derived from the recording of overt behavior and from statements by the people concerning this behavior. It is even probable that in some cases important aspects of personality might be overlooked entirely in this process. This could result from a failure simply to recognize that a problem exists in a given area of functioning within the society, or from an unintentional bias of the anthropologist derived from his subjective impression of the people which could lead him to assume certain things to be or not to be problems which did not actually coincide with the attitude of the people in these situations.

This last point provides a further argument in favor of the procedure here adopted: the relative objectivity of the psychologist in approaching the projective test data. While he may miss some points through his lack of familiarity with the culture, he does not start with any preconceived notions of what the people are like and can thus be expected to place in more reliable perspective the information he discovers.

An example may be adduced from this study in support of these points. An anthropologist or any other foreigner in contact with the Trukese is immediately impressed with the degree to which the men are dominant in the society; one shortly becomes convinced that the women are subservient, insecure, and afraid to express themselves in the presence of their lords and masters. Granted there are occasional episodes which may give one pause in regard to this stereotype, but they are overwhelmed by the weight of the contrary, though superficial, evidence. After four years of uninterrupted association with the Trukese this impression was still brought back from the field. It was only after the analysis of the Rorschach records revealed the women to show appreciably less overall anxiety and insecurity when faced with



novel and difficult situations that a careful examination of the data which might bear on this point was felt necessary. This examination revealed quite clearly that in really difficult situations the women do indeed act more adequately than the men. For example, it is only the men who, faced with rejection by their relatives, can find no solution outside of suicide; on the other hand, in the dilemma created by the arrangement of an undesirable marriage by the parents in our cases it was only the girl who was able to launch an effective protest. Similarly, it was in seeking for the explanation of the greater psychological security of women that the importance of the stable, and indeed pivotal, position of the woman, as against the man, in the household from adolescence onward became apparent. This also served to put in proper perspective the more secure role of the woman in sexual liaisons. Other instances could be cited in which the preliminary Rorschach analysis provided the key to an understanding of the significance of overt behavior as recorded; in each case the evidence was there but it is questionable whether the significance of the relationships which existed within the data, and which are pointed out in the preceding chapters, would have been appreciated had this external source of evaluation been lacking.

In this analysis, then, we shall use the description of Trukese personality based on the projective tests as a starting point, and seek its verification, modification, and amplification in a comparison between it and the ethnographic data. With this datum line established, we shall turn in the next chapter to our central task: the attempt to account for the personality as defined in dynamic or developmental terms. In other words, we shall attempt to answer the question of what it is in the common life experience of the Trukese which produces in them the characteristic constellation of personality traits we have discovered.

## THE RORSCHACH RECORDS

BY SEYMOUR B. SARASON

### CONCRETENESS AND RIGIDITY IN THINKING

Concreteness of thinking is found in almost all of the cases. By concreteness is meant the inability to respond to a stimulus in more than one way—to be unable to assume, so to speak, that a stimulus may have various significances or meanings. One could describe the Trukese approach by the formula: if it is  $x$  it cannot be  $y$ . If a blot, or part of a blot, has been called a bat, then that area cannot be called anything else. A concrete response is not in itself a "poor" way of responding—everyone at some time or other responds in this way—but when it becomes a characteristic way of responding its limiting effect on the individual becomes apparent. What we are saying here about the Trukese is that they are rigid: they have great difficulty changing their mental set. In novel, problem-solving, or conflictful situations concreteness and inflexibility of response make for inadequacy. In such

situations the Trukese would not show up to advantage. They would have much difficulty adapting their responses to the external requirements of the situation and would tend to invoke previously learned responses, however inadequate these might be. They would have difficulty conceiving of alternative ways of handling such situations. Concreteness and rigidity impoverish the response repertory of an individual. As long as the world of the Trukese individual is organized along what are for him familiar and conventional lines, then his limitations in this regard would not be particularly evident. But it should become apparent when he is up against a novel situation. Inventiveness or originality, in the sense of the creation of something (object or behavior pattern) which differs from what has been present before, are not Trukese characteristics.

#### DELAY OF RESPONSE

As we might surmise, the Trukese not only respond concretely and rigidly to novel, problem-solving, or conflictful situations, but they tend to delay whatever response they do make. They are not characteristically impulsive in the sense that they give quick, immediate, or unreflective overt expression to their internal reactions. When they are not sure of themselves their prepotent response tendency is to avoid responding. When, however, situations require some kind of response, or they interpret them as requiring one, they will be able to do so only after overcoming reluctance and self-doubt. Delaying or avoiding response can serve a useful or constructive purpose if it gives the individual time to consider alternative possibilities. But this is not the case with the Trukese. In the Trukese, the delay or avoidance of response is a result of the difficulties caused by a concrete and rigid approach to novel, conflictful, or problem-solving situations. The delay of response is a reflection of indecisiveness and inadequacy in such situations, characteristics which interfere with rather than facilitate an adequate solution. It is not that they are impersonally or objectively weighing different ways of responding—though this tendency is present—but that they are primarily becoming aware of themselves and their personal dilemma rather than the external situation.

Thus, in essence, the prepotent response to novel or difficult situations is to avoid responding, but when and if they do respond in such a situation it will be in a rather inadequate way. By inadequate is meant the following: (a) they respond, but evasively and ambiguously; (b) their ability to examine the appropriateness of their response is markedly reduced, and (c) they adopt a markedly passive role in relation to the situation, which robs them of initiative and independence in thinking. They become dependent and submissive rather than active and aggressive.

#### STRONG INHIBITORY TENDENCIES

At this point the question arises of how and to what extent the Trukese express overtly their feelings and emotions. The evidence from the Rorschach indicates that

there is a discrepancy between the Trukese' internal feelings and thoughts and their manifestation in overt behavior. What the Trukese individual thinks and feels is not likely to reach overt expression in a spontaneous or direct manner. This would be especially true in the expression of strong feeling, particularly aggressive or hostile feeling. One might almost say of the Trukese that one of their rules of behavior is that what is strongly felt should not be expressed.

If we bear in mind that in the face of novel, conflictful, or problem-solving situations the Trukese tend to react passively and dependently rather than aggressively or actively, and add to this their strong inhibitory tendencies, our conclusion would be that the Trukese outward passivity is a kind of learned defense against strong aggressive tendencies. In fact, one might say that perhaps one of the most crucial problems which faces the Trukese is that of the expression of aggression.

When we say that an individual is spontaneous or direct we usually mean that he gives overt expression to thoughts and feelings without subjecting them to a prolonged process of self-reflection. The spontaneous individual lets us know, through words and action, what he thinks and feels. In this sense the Trukese are definitely not spontaneous. Not only do the Trukese have difficulty expressing strong or aggressive feeling but they appear to be in general a nonspontaneous people. We would expect it to be very difficult for an outsider to determine what the internal attitudes of a Trukese are.

Postulating that the outward passivity of the Trukese is a learned defense against strong aggressive feeling raises the following related questions: How successful a defense is passivity? When and how would aggression be expected to be displayed? It would be foolhardy to attempt to answer the first question solely on the basis of Rorschach data. If, in fact, the passivity-aggression conflict is central in the Trukese culture, one would expect the culture to be so organized as to reduce the number of times when this conflict becomes exacerbated. It is plausible to assume that characteristic or conventional overt behavior is that which the society rewards, while covert behavior is that which is or has been punished.

In answer to the second question (when and how would aggression be expected to be displayed?) one could anticipate that there would be times when the culture permits a display of aggression. However, there are certain conclusions derived from the Rorschach which permit some elaboration of these questions. The first is that the inhibition of strong feeling is something which the Trukese consciously experience: one is dealing more with a suppressive than a repressive mechanism. The second is that in the face of strong feeling or conflict the control which the Trukese can exercise is on the inadequate side. The third conclusion is that in situations when avoidance of response is not possible the Trukese respond vaguely and diffusely. The significance of these conclusions is that they indicate that unconventional display of aggression does actually take place, but that when it does it is likely to be either furtive and disguised, or diffuse but strong. In other words,

the rewards for overt, passive, conventional behavior are not sufficient to hold in check strong aggressive feeling, and when such feeling is displayed it will be either indirect or, in one way or another, extreme. Conversely, one might say that Trukese culture does not provide sufficient outlets for aggression to permit the strength of the conflict to be kept at a fairly low or moderate intensity.

If the amount or nature of permitted outward aggressiveness were indeed adequate, one would not expect the Trukese to show such a strong need to inhibit it. However, the fact that there are times when a culture permits the display of suppressed aggression does not of itself mean that the aggression has been "drained off" more than for a short time. Whether there is more than a momentary effect depends on whether or not the factors engendering aggressive feeling can again become operative shortly after the permitted display and then continue in force as before. In the case of the Trukese it appears that the relief that may be experienced through any particular permitted outlet of aggression is not sufficiently reinforced by what follows the display to provide other than temporary gratification. In other words, the aggressive act does not alter the total situation sufficiently to reduce at all permanently the forces which generated the aggressive feeling in the first place.

Two points which deserve emphasis in this section are: (a) among the Trukese the display of aggression is the exception rather than the rule; and (b) insofar as display of aggression is concerned, the Trukese have not found anything which may be called a happy medium between passivity and an outburst.

#### SUPERFICIAL INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

There is little evidence from the Rorschach that the Trukese can engage in deep, satisfying interpersonal relations. By "deep," is meant what we would call a sustained friendly or love relationship: the capacity to identify with and adjust to the needs of another person, deriving thereby a feeling of gratification even though personal inconvenience or sacrifice may at times be involved. To engage in such a relationship requires a degree of spontaneity and a kind of sensitive but objective awareness of external stimuli which the Trukese possess only minimally. The inability to give expression to internal and private feelings, strong inhibitory tendencies, and a tendency to respond in a shallow and perhaps tangential way—these characteristics preclude establishment of what we would call a sustained friendly or love relationship. The Trukese respond in terms of what is expected of them—though these expectations may differ from individual to individual—and not in terms of personal feeling.

These conclusions are derived directly from the Rorschach protocols. There are also certain deductions which seem permissible from these conclusions. One of these would be that interpersonal relations are not likely to be sources of emotional satisfaction for the Trukese. Superficial interpersonal relations can be satisfying to the degree that satisfaction is achieved from conventional and conforming behavior.



But when individuals in a society have strong internal and suppressed conflictful feelings, it is difficult to see how superficial interpersonal relations can be satisfying. In fact, one might hypothesize that such relations not only do not relieve conflict but indeed may heighten it.

### SEXUAL CONFLICTS

On the basis of the Rorschach protocols one can say that in Trukese culture sexual expression and adjustment are beset with serious problems. The most cautious way of putting one aspect of the problem is to say that sexuality is of unusual interest and concern to the Trukese. It is an area in which they apparently have strong anxieties and conflictful attitudes. This conclusion, of course, probably does not distinguish the Trukese from individuals in many other societies. What is meant by these statements is that sexual expression and adjustment probably represent a more central and conflictful problem to the Trukese than they do to individuals in many other societies. Although this conclusion is derived from certain Rorschach data, it could also be deduced independently from previous statements of Trukese characteristics based on other aspects of the Rorschach protocols: strong inhibitory tendencies, conflict about aggression, and shallow interpersonal relations are not happy foundations on which to build satisfactory sexual behavior. It should perhaps be made clear here that terms like "sexual" or "sexuality" not only refer to sexual intercourse but to the attitudes toward sexuality as well. When it is said that the Trukese have a marked sexual problem, it does not necessarily mean that adequacy in sexual intercourse is poor. It means that in their thinking about sexuality, their preparatory behavior toward it, and in their reaction to the sexual act, the Trukese experience undue conflict.

It is impossible to elaborate further on Trukese sexuality without first discussing an important finding from the Rorschach: there appear to be some marked differences in psychological characteristics between men and women. The Trukese women, in contrast to the men, are more aggressive, less well controlled, and more emotionally labile or volatile. They respond in a more personal-emotional way to more situations than do the men. Strong feeling comes to the surface more quickly in the Trukese women and, because of a relative lack of control, they are able to express it more readily in overt behavior than do the men. This should not be taken to mean that the women are uninhibited. They show the same strong inhibitory tendencies as the men but their control over or suppression of emotions is not so firm. One might put it this way: if one could imagine a situation which was equally conflictful to a Trukese man and woman, one would expect the woman to show earlier than the man overt signs of her reaction to that situation. This should be taken as a statement of statistical probability to which exceptions would be expected.

These sex differences appear to be intimately related to differences in attitudes



toward sexuality, without implying any causal connection either way. The men show greater inhibition and conflict about sexuality, they appear to have stronger feelings of inadequacy associated with it, and to attach a greater importance to sexual adequacy as a reflection of personal adequacy than do the women. The Rorschach data do not allow one to be more specific than this and, of course, they do not tell us why these differences should emerge. But it is possible to deduce from or speculate about these differences in order to see what the implications might be.

The first point of discussion concerns the question why the men attach such importance to sexual adequacy as a reflection of personal adequacy. Put even more concretely: the men seem to overevaluate the penis as a criterion of adequacy. To a rather unusual degree the Trukese men (in the Rorschach) point out the penis; occasionally they describe the penis so that it appears disproportionately large, and sometimes it is pointed out when there is little justification in the blot for doing so. Surprisingly enough, to the card (VI) where the penis is frequently given the majority of the men not only do not give such content, but are unable to respond at all. Furthermore, those men who are able to respond to Card VI are, with one exception (Tony), over forty years of age and are therefore presumed to be less active sexually. Why should the Trukese men be so concerned about their sexuality? Possibly this may in some way be related to the fact that women are more aggressive and in some way or other sexually threatening to them. It may also be that men judge one another on the basis of sexual prowess and that failure in this respect is very wounding to the Trukese male. Since Trukese men have great difficulty in displaying aggression, and since the male would be expected to be sexually aggressive, the Trukese male most probably experiences conflict and feelings of inadequacy. If the other things that have been said about the Trukese have validity, we would have to assume that it would be very difficult for them to verbalize their feelings about their sexuality to a foreigner, thus increasing the difficulty of obtaining adequate ethnographic data on sexual behavior and attitudes. Nor would it be surprising if the greater difficulty were with the men rather than the women.

#### AGE DIFFERENCES

Because of the limited size of the sample it is extremely difficult to draw conclusions about age differences. From the Rorschach data there is one suggested conclusion: that with increase in age there appears to be a weakening of the pervasiveness of inhibitory tendencies. This appears to be more true for the males: those over forty seem to talk more freely, reveal more of themselves, although still in an indirect manner, and faintly resemble our own stereotype of the old man who is prone to respond with irrelevant stories and reminiscences.

#### INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

What is perhaps the most striking thing about the Trukese Rorschachs is that despite the common characteristics among the records the individual differences

are rather clear. For example, although indications of concrete thinking are present in practically every record, there are marked individual differences in the degree to which it is displayed. What is perhaps interesting in this respect is that those who show the least degree of concrete thinking are also those who show less inhibition and more of the ability to use their capacities in a constructive manner.

Although there are indications of strong inhibitory tendencies in almost all of the records, the range is from a relatively "free" Andy to a highly constricted Mike; from the relatively aggressive Susan to the more inhibited Ida. Another kind of contrast is between a childlike, superficial Nancy to a bright, relatively mature, Eleanor or Sarah. In regard to sexuality the range is also great.

The range of individual differences is such as to negate any idea that "primitive" cultures produce people who are monotonously alike. It may be, of course, that the large range in behavior is a function of the method of selection of cases by the anthropologist. Despite this, the fact still remains that Trukese culture produces a variety of personalities. The individuals may appear as variations on a few themes but these variations represent differences which make a difference.

It is something akin to an occupational disease among clinical psychologists to describe their patients in such a way as to make the discerning reader wonder how these patients have been able to keep alive. It is apparent from what has been said thus far that this writer suffers from the same disease. As an attempt at self-cure, therefore, some brief comments follow concerning those factors which tend to further or facilitate the adjustment of the Trukese to his culture. In a real sense these factors are not new, but represent a shift in emphasis of statements which have already been made. For example, it was said earlier that in the face of novel, conflictful, or problem-solving situations the Trukese tend either to avoid responding or to respond in a vague, inadequate kind of way. When one remembers that the concreteness of the Trukese interferes with problem-solving or the adoption of a conceptual approach, then their avoidance tendencies can, in a sense, be interpreted as a reaction which has a reality basis. If everything that has been said about the Trukese were true with the exception that they were impulsive and aggressive rather than inhibited and passive, the Trukese would probably be in a constant state of heightened emotionality, unable to solve the problems created by their impulsiveness. Although the strong inhibiting tendencies constrict the individual, they undoubtedly make for an overtly somewhat peaceful existence. The Trukese have internalized controls which do not make them completely dependent on other persons for the regulation of their lives. To possess these internalized controls makes for a more peaceful existence with others than when one is dependent on others for the control of one's own drives. By "internalized controls" is not meant that the Trukese adult is necessarily guilt-ridden and because of it inhibits certain drives. The inhibitory tendencies appear to be a highly overlearned type of response which the culture strongly reinforces. Although it is conceivable that guilt feelings

may have been important at an early age in the learning of such tendencies, in the adult stage they do not appear to be necessary for them to operate.

### THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST RECORDS

BY SEYMOUR B. SARASON

#### CONFLICT BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

One of the most striking features of these protocols is that stories about sexual relationships are given far more frequently and clearly by the men than by the women. In fact, in general the male protocols contain more significant material in terms of the individual and the culture than is found in the stories of the women. But what is perhaps most significant for an understanding of the society is that such differences should emerge in this particular test. The data suggest that for the women these pictures engendered sexual associations which resulted in evasiveness, blocking, concreteness of response, and rather frequently in the inhibition of response. Sexual associations were also engendered in the men but in the main they did not avoid communicating them in some form. At least two hypotheses might be advanced to explain these differences: (a) women are more inhibited sexually—have stronger sexual conflicts—than do the men; and (b) there are more cultural taboos against women talking about sexual matters than against men. The second hypothesis, it should be pointed out, does not necessarily mean that the women have strong sexual conflict.

In regard to the second hypothesis, we note that there are occasional allusions and direct references in some of the protocols to the "badness" of nudity, especially when the story figure is past early childhood. Attitudes toward nudity are expressed in several ways: (a) it is simply in poor taste; (b) it is a reflection of the stupidity of the parents; (c) it is old-fashioned ("the old days") and a sign of derogated primitivism. There is also a hint in several instances that the display of the nude body between members of the opposite sex is frowned upon—a conclusion which can be independently deduced from the attitudes described above. It was to those pictures containing nude figures that the women had their greatest difficulty in responding. When this is taken together with the fact that more women than men appeared evasive and blocked, one might conclude that the women are less able to talk of such matters than men. Since the difficulty of the women with the pictures was selective and they were being tested by a foreign male, it may well be that the performance of the women was more affected by situational factors. This suggests the possibility that their performance is not as good a sample of their general behavior as in the case of the men.

The first hypothesis (women have stronger sexual conflicts than the men) is certainly not borne out in the stories of the men. The Trukese male views women as sexually undependable and preoccupied, rejecting, subtly and indirectly domi-

neering and assertive, sexually provoking and aggressive, but withal highly desirable if they meet whatever the Trukese criteria of beauty might be. In terms of attitudes toward sexual adequacy men appear to be more plagued than the women by feelings of inadequacy, insecurity, and rejection. The Trukese male feels dependent upon women, strives hard to win and maintain their attention, is submissive toward them, and is unable or unwilling to express toward them his deep feelings of hostility and resentment. He is beset by feelings of jealousy but directs his anger more to the competing male than to the faithless woman. It is as if he blames the "other man" rather than the woman. The fact that the Trukese male views the female as one who is sexually preoccupied but in constant danger of the predatory male strongly suggests at least that it is the male who is sexually preoccupied. It is as if the Trukese male knows his tendencies too well to trust his "brother." It is as if he projects feelings onto his brothers which he himself harbors. But the fact that the men are in fair agreement about what women are like suggests that the women are by no means sexually timid or inhibited.

The picture that emerges from this is of a society in which sexual activity plays a central role. In the case of the male the chief motivation for his strong sexual drive appears to be the need to prove himself as a masculine figure. To conquer women sexually is to be assertive and has the effect of reducing the strength of feelings of inadequacy, satisfying strong dependency needs, and lessening the unpleasant effects of anticipations of rejection. However, because women are undependable, rejecting, and subtly domineering, the effect of sexual activity as a reducer of tension and conflict is probably only temporary. It appears that both men and women view or approach sexual activity in a rather self-centered (narcissistic) way in which the pleasures that might accrue to the partner are somewhat incidental.

It was said above that women are subtly aggressive toward, and assertive over, men. More from the stories of the men than of the women can one conclude that the latter take advantage of the former's needs for masculine status and (unconscious) dependency strivings to dominate the relationship. It is the Trukese male who devotes much thought and effort to trying to figure out how he can maintain the woman's attention. He gives her material things as a sort of bribe. But the stronger his dependency needs become the more the hostility comes to the fore. Another factor which seems to put the woman in a somewhat strategic position with men is her relation to work and the obtaining of food. As will be seen later, anxiety about an adequate food supply pervades Trukese culture. From the stories in this series it appears that women are or can be of help to a man in obtaining food. There is also evidence that one of the ways a man wins the favor of a woman is by food offerings and unless he can maintain for her an adequate supply the relationship is somewhat shaky. One likely hypothesis is that men resent having to assume the major burden for maintaining the food supply and would prefer to be able to be more dependent on women in this respect. If women can be an added source of



food supply then it puts them in what one might call a bargaining position—assuming, as has been mentioned above, that Trukese women are not characterized by a generalized submissiveness and passivity to men.

Besides being sexually aggressive and provoking, there is some slight evidence for saying additionally that Trukese women may even be exhibitionistic, that is, they may be likely to display their bodies as a means of sexual attraction. It is fairly clear in the stories that dancing serves a sexual purpose, with both men and women participating. But over and beyond this form of bodily activity the women appear to be more exhibitionistic than the men.

It is apparent from what has been said thus far that the nature of the Trukese attitudes toward self and others makes for unstable and superficial relations. The only type of relationship which appears to result in some degree of mutual satisfaction is that between young "brothers." There is no evidence in the stories that women experience such close relations with each other. In fact, not only is there no evidence that in childhood girls have such relationships but there are indications that they experience more and earlier restrictions than do the boys. What appears to be the case is that girls have a narrower range of activities and are in a subservient role to the boys. But there is evidence that girls resent these restrictions and such resentment is probably in some way related to the later man-woman difficulties.

#### PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

The word which best describes the attitude and behavior of Trukese parents toward their children is inconsistency. At one time they appear to be kindly and supportive and at other times punishing and rejecting. The evidence strongly suggests that the punishing-rejecting attitude is perhaps stronger. Parents are seen as strong, fear-arousing punitive people toward whom direct display of hostility is best not manifested. But there appears to be a difference between mothers and fathers in their attitudes and responsibilities toward children. It seems that it is the father who is more supportive, less rejecting, and more sensitive to the needs of children. It is he who appears more concerned with the food supply of the children and many details of their care. The mother is seen as a hostile, rejecting person who does not serve as a stable and consistent form of stimulation. She does not appear as interested in maintaining "the family" as the father. The same factors which make the Trukese men view women as undependable sexual partners also seem to be at the basis of the women's relative lack of maternalism: interest in other men, rebelliousness against restrictions, and aggressiveness. In fact, if one were to know nothing about Trukese parent-child relations and assumed that the conclusions stated in the previous section on conflicts between men and women were largely correct, one would almost certainly deduce that such conflicts would markedly and adversely affect the nature of parent-child relations. Given an insecure, jealous, dependent man who doubts his own masculinity and a self-centered, highly



sexed, and rejecting woman, one would have to predict that children of such a relationship would not have the opportunity to identify with stable, supportive parental figures. In such a relationship children are not likely to have a self-picture characterized by self-confidence and self-acceptance. When one adds to this the possibility either that Trukese children experience more than one person as a father figure, or that the family unit goes through "personnel" changes, instances of both of which occur repeatedly in the stories—such likely possibilities would only make it more difficult for the child to have a positive identification with an adult.

From the stories it appears that the earliest form of frustration which children experience concerns adequacy of food supply. This does not necessarily mean that children do not get enough food, but more likely that it is irregularly given to them, with at times long intervals occurring between food offerings. Whatever the true conditions may be, one may conclude that Trukese children experience a severe oral frustration. Since such a frustration occurs when the child is basically dependent, emotionally and materially, upon parents, the strength of the dependency needs increases and makes it extremely difficult and dangerous for the child to express resentment and hostility toward the sources of frustration. The hostility is there but the means for its expression are underdeveloped. Overt submissiveness is the strongly rewarded mode of adjustment.

If the above conclusions are valid then one would expect the Trukese to have little difficulty in "taking" and "receiving" from others but to have great difficulty in "giving" of themselves to others, emotionally and materially. It is as if others are regarded by the individual primarily as the means to his own ends. One would also expect that the Trukese not only would like to receive, but may also take from others via stealing, an indirect form of hostility which occurs in the stories of many of the individuals. One would not expect them to be directly aggressive.

A brief elaboration can be made of the children's food anxiety. It appears that the young child experiences both hunger and over-satiation. There are probably more than a few times when a period of hunger is followed by what one might call gorging. The next effect is that when the child becomes a little hungry he very soon becomes extremely hungry and food intake is associated with an extremely strong hunger drive. One would also expect that the child would generally feel very hungry. To the child, food=security=love.

In the light of the discussion in this and the previous section, a question may now be raised: what factors account for the psychological differences between men and women? It has already been stated that women experience restrictions earlier in their lives than do men. The hypothesis can now be added that the boy in the family is always in a more favored position than the girl. But this writer is not impressed with these answers to the question raised—the answers are not based on evidence as clear or compelling as one would like. Although one might also point out that parents view children as a means for security in later life, it is not clear

whether there is a differential view in this respect toward boy and girl. All that might be said is that the nature of the differences and conflicts between adult men and women are of such a magnitude as to suggest that the origins of the differences should be found in the differential treatment of, attitudes toward, and expectations from boys and girls.

#### FOOD ANXIETY

At all stages of his life the Trukese individual is concerned with the problem of adequate food supply. The major ramifications and possible origins of this anxiety have already been pointed out but there are other aspects which deserve mention. One of these is the fact that Trukese spirits or ghosts appear for the most part to be man-eating. If one accepts the assumption current in psychological theory that supernatural figures represent both the wish and the defense against the wish, then the fact that ghosts are man-eating indicates the aggressive-sadistic component underlying Trukese eating and the anxiety connected with this component. The nature of these figures adds plausibility to a previous conclusion that the earliest frustration experienced by the Trukese is an oral one in which the resentment (sadistic tendencies) experienced gives way to a dependent, passive compliance. But what deserves emphasis is that extremely strong hostility is consciously experienced, suppressed but in part repressed, and then only indirectly or symbolically expressed. Truk does not seem to be a society in which outlets for aggression are readily available.

The folk-tale related by Charles to picture No. 8 of the lion vomiting gold is a particularly good example of how the major Trukese psychological characteristics are related: aloneness, hunger feelings, greedy incorporative tendencies, fear of retribution, compliance, and submission. It is important to note in this tale how "to be eaten" is a punishment for wanting too much. But one cannot overlook the evidence in the stories of Trukese eating orgies which indicates that under certain (and probably sanctioned) circumstances they allow themselves to want and to eat too much. They appear to be too concerned in this area to be able to control themselves.

It has already been pointed out that there is a relationship between food, security, and love. In the stories of Roger and Charles a rather striking example of this is suggested. Both men tell a story in which an experience of oral frustration is followed by the desire for sexual relations. It is as if eating and sex both serve the function of reducing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. Frustration in either area serves to heighten the drive in the other area of activity. One might say that eating and sex symbolically represent the attempt to establish a sort of relationship with parents or their substitutes which has never been experienced but is desperately wished for. Such strivings would be expected to show a hostile-dependent pattern in which the hostility is less easily or more indirectly expressed than dependency.

## SEPARATION ANXIETY

By separation anxiety is meant the tendency to experience markedly unpleasant or unhappy feelings when one is, or is likely to be, separated from a close figure or group. It is the tendency to experience to an unusual degree under these conditions a feeling of loss and isolation, and to react fearfully. In the stories of many individuals in this series this separation anxiety is present. Even if indications for such an anxiety were absent from the records, the possibility of its existence might have been deduced from all that has been said so far. Children who are dependent emotionally and materially on others, and whose dependency needs are relatively ungratified, are more likely to experience anxiety at the prospect or experience of rejection and separation than children who have not learned to associate separation with ungratified bodily and psychological needs. This would be especially true when passive-submissive tendencies have been strongly reinforced, robbing the individual of initiative, assertion, and independent action.

From the stories it appears that this separation anxiety is present throughout the life of the individual and is, as one would expect, intimately related to food anxiety. For example, being old and alone signifies an inadequate food supply, dependency on others, and the fear of being cut off from others. In regard to this point one might state the following hypothesis suggested by the stories: one of the major responsibilities of children is to take care of parents, and the aged person without children is in a most precarious situation. When one considers the Trukese concern for food, their difficulty in "giving," and their smoldering resentment toward parents, it would be surprising if there were not marked conflicts between generations in which the younger generation experiences ambivalent tendencies: to conform or to rebel. The evidence suggests that overtly the conformity wins but the conflict remains.

## A "LAZY" CULTURE

The writer is not particularly happy with the word "lazy." However, by use of the word reference is made to the fact that the Trukese do not appear to be an industrious, personally ambitious, foresightful, deliberative people. They do not appear to have many interests aside from food and sex and there is some evidence that even in food-getting their activity lacks adequate planning. In general, they seem to prefer what to the Westerner would be a lazy, passive existence. They are not a "problem-solving" people. It is surprising how in so many of their stories people are "relaxing," "playing," "eating," "strolling," "bathing," etc.

## SUPPRESSION OF HOSTILE FEELING

The reader who has studied the protocols may have been surprised at the oft-repeated conclusion that the Trukese are not an overtly aggressive people. The

records of the men especially mention more than a few bloodthirsty and hostile figures. The justification for this conclusion is as follows:

1. The majority of stories concern passive or "lazy" activities, which are described in such a way as to strongly suggest that they are a preferred form of activity.
2. Many of the story figures who might be termed hostile *feel* angry or mad—they do not *act* aggressively.
3. Male figures in the stories are more frequently submissive to women than they are assertive.
4. There appear to be two objects toward whom aggression can be directed: children and, in the case of the men, males who are competing or interfering with a heterosexual relationship. Even in some of these stories (man vs. man) the male figure feels hostile but does not act accordingly.

It is on the basis of such considerations that the conclusion is drawn that the Trukese have difficulty in giving overt and direct expression to their hostility.

#### EVALUATION OF THE TEST RESULTS

The conclusions derived from Dr. Sarason's analysis of the results of both the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests may conveniently be grouped under the following headings which will be used in the discussion to follow:

1. Inconsistency in child care and feeding.
2. Conformity and the suppression of strong feeling.
3. Sexual conflicts.

We shall under each heading examine his conclusions in the light of the description of the overt behavior of the Trukese contained in the earlier chapters of this study.

#### INCONSISTENCY IN CHILD CARE AND FEEDING

An exhaustive comparison of Sarason's conclusions on this subject (based primarily on the TAT) with the ethnographic data is scarcely necessary. A large portion of his section on parent-child relationships could almost be taken as a summary of the corresponding data presented in Chapters 3 and 4. It will in general suffice to point out more specifically the character of interpersonal relations which produce the effects he describes.

The inconsistent vacillation between support and kindness, and punishment and rejection, we have described previously in terms of the adults tending to view children as "playthings," in which it is the wishes of the parents rather than those of the children which are the determinants of adult behavior in this context. This is of course consistent with the self-centeredness of the Trukese noted by Sarason. An important point implied by the test analysis in regard to this inconsistency is that, because it results from attention to the adults' rather than the children's needs, the variation in parental reaction bears no logical relation to the actual acts of the



children. In other words, it is not a matter of an approved type of behavior being strongly rewarded at one time and only slightly rewarded at another, or a similar inconsistency in the punishment of disapproved behavior, but rather of one and the same act being at one time rewarded and at another punished.

That the father appears more supportive and less rejecting in the TAT stories is probably a result of the fact that the father, rather than being inherently "better" than the mother, simply appears so in the stories because, as we have seen, he has less to do with early care of the child. The child is more dependent on his mother (and her substitutes) for the gratification of his physical and emotional needs, and thus feels the frustration he suffers at her hands more acutely. He expects and demands less from his father, and is therefore on fewer occasions disappointed by and embittered toward him.

The inconsistent feeding of children, with resultant oral frustration and anxieties about food, is amply documented in the ethnographic account and, as we have seen, begins with the earliest days of infancy. The equation of food and eating with security and love receives added reinforcement from the use of the withdrawal of food in childhood as a sanction against disapproved behavior (particularly staying away from home), and the feeding of children as a means of signifying the resolution of a crisis in parent-child relationships (as when the child has run away after a beating). The parents in these situations are in effect saying, "When you are bad we do not love you, and you cannot eat; when we want to show we love you, we feed you."

There is little evidence from the ethnography that girls are subject to earlier restrictions than boys, as Sarason concluded. We may only note that while both boys and girls begin in late childhood to learn adult tasks, the woman's tasks a girl would learn are such that she would probably have to stay rather closer to home than would a boy in learning a man's work. There is no evidence that girls before puberty are expected to be more restrained than boys; such a conclusion would not be inconsistent with what we know of the society, but the observational evidence to support it is simply lacking. Nor do we have any indication that girls are subservient to boys; in late childhood this would be conceivable, but again the observational data are lacking. The failure we have noted of adults to recognize small children as individual persons with their own needs and identities, however, would lead us to believe that in early childhood at least boys are not favored over girls. Although they are identified linguistically as "boys" and "girls," behaviorally they are simply "children," undifferentiated as regards sex, and only slightly differentiated on the basis of individual personality. The problem of role differentiation in early childhood raised by the test results is further elaborated in the next chapter and need not be examined more fully here.

On the other hand Sarason's observation that there are many parental substitutes (lineage mates of the parents) and changes in family "personnel" (through



divorce and changes in residence) is fully supported by the ethnography, and further documents his conclusion that Trukese children do not have an opportunity to identify with any stable and consistent adult figure.

#### CONFORMITY AND THE SUPPRESSION OF STRONG FEELING

The need felt by the Trukese for conformity to established modes of behavior and the avoidance of any situations in which they might be felt to be acting "on their own" and hence perhaps in opposition to their relatives is again made clear in the ethnographic record. Because this conclusion was drawn primarily from the Rorschach protocols, the social context of this conformity is not evident in the test results. As we have seen in the previous chapters, conforming behavior is focused primarily upon the relations with the all-important lineage members (who are in a very real sense largely substitute parents) and the almost equally crucial in-laws.

It was not concluded from the tests that the desire for conformity would increase with the onset of old age, although we found from the ethnography and particularly the life history evidence that this increase was striking. Two reasons are evident for this discrepancy: first, while the TAT stories showed the increase in dependency and fear of being cut off from others which appears in old age, the fact that the tests did not show conformity to be focused essentially upon the members of the important kin groups prevented a recognition of conformity as the logical means whereby these dependency anxieties could be relieved. In other words, it was possible from the tests to make the equation of increasing food anxiety with increasing dependency (on kinsmen), but evidence for the further equation of dependency with conformity (to the wishes of kinsmen) was lacking. Secondly, it was concluded from the Rorschach protocols (although with hesitation due to the small size of the sample) that there was a tendency for older people, and particularly older men, to be *less* inhibited than younger adults. This runs directly counter to what we have found and would further militate against a conclusion such as we have outlined on the basis of the projective tests alone. The explanation for this paradox appears to lie in the high degree of anxiety which the sexual aspects of the Rorschach cards produced in the Trukese men in particular. This anxiety, as Sarason noted, was appreciably reduced in older men who were presumably less active sexually. The reduction in this source of anxiety *in the test situation* left the older men feeling more free and less "on guard" and thus permitted them more freedom to express what reactions they might have to the situation. If this hypothesis is correct, we may dismiss the conclusion from the Rorschach that old men are less inhibited as an artifact of other aspects of the test situation, and accept the rather conclusive evidence from the other sources that older people are in general more careful, inhibited, and conforming than younger ones.

It was concluded from the projective tests that aggression, while often felt, seldom reaches direct expression, but rather finds its most frequent outlet in dis-

guised and indirect forms. This of course coincides with our observation of the high incidence of gossip and fear of sorcery, the latter being a classic mechanism of anonymous aggression. It was also noted from the tests that because the contemplation of an aggressive act leads to personal anxiety, such acts are consciously suppressed and, when the pressure of hostility becomes sufficiently great to break through this suppression, the aggressive reaction would be expected to be relatively uncontrolled and diffuse. Our evidence supports this conclusion, but with one important modification. That aggression is suppressed insofar as possible we have seen. When it is expressed in actual action, however, it is not always diffuse, although to some extent uncontrolled. The fighting described in the previous chapters, while generally fairly violent, is in no sense random. When the Trukese is goaded into a fighting mood he is both purposeful and efficient. The fact that he would rather avoid a fight, however, is shown by the relative infrequency of such events and particularly by the enthusiasm with which the calaboose was embraced as a mechanism whereby a man's tarnished honor could be retrieved without recourse to direct reprisals. It is significant also in this regard that the Trukese, when they are drunk and hence presumably less likely to feel anxiety of any sort, wind up frequently in very serious and bloody fights. We may say, then, that when a Trukese reaches a point such that his hostile feelings override his anxiety he is uncontrolled, in the sense that he fights violently but his response is neither inadequate nor diffuse.

However, a response which could best be called diffuse does result in situations which are characterized by high hostility and high anxiety, but in which it is apparently impossible to express the aggression felt in a direct manner. Such conditions obtain primarily in the event of strong rejection and censure or discipline by members of the family group. As we have seen, at the adult level fighting is possible between close relatives, although in the cases recorded the precipitating cause appeared to be an argument or accusation rather than more direct rejection. In any event, whatever the cause, there are instances in which the individual concerned appears to feel unable to make an actual hostile act toward the other person, and it is under these conditions that suicide or attempted suicide takes place. For children, the corresponding behavior is to run away, and, as we have seen, when adults run away (especially in the event that parents refuse to recognize their desires for marriage) there is an explicit assumption that they are concurrently intending suicide, thus showing even more clearly that these two types of behavior may be considered comparable. In both cases, the behavior is diffuse: the children do not run away anywhere, they just run away; in regard to suicide, the description which appears in Chapter 8 of Andy's attempted suicide shows clearly the diffuseness of his reaction—picking up an iron bar, then a stick, beating the house (a completely ineffectual move), and finally running up the tree. But more important than the diffuseness of these reactions—and here we go beyond the tests results—this

behavior is damaging to the individual concerned: it is essentially masochistic. That this is true of suicide is obvious; if we recollect that separation from the charmed circle of family and kinsmen produces strong anxiety in itself, and that being away, often at night, from dwellings invites the attacks of ghosts, as well as insects and rain, we realize that running away is itself anything but pleasurable. In this class of behavior, then, we see that aggression strongly felt but impossible of direct expression is in effect turned upon the self, and, ironically, the hostile and rejecting threat made by the relative is translated into actual separation and personal harm by the masochistic reaction of the thwarted and desperate individual. It is conjectural whether Sarason, had he been poised to look for it, could have found direct evidence in the projective test records which would have permitted him to predict this type of behavior. It could, however, have been predicted from the hypothesis already formulated on the basis of other direct evidence, for it is a basic premise of psychological theory that aggression strongly felt but impossible or difficult of direct expression tends to be deflected inward upon the self. It is in fact remarkable not that the Trukese exhibit this type of behavior, but that they exhibit it so comparatively infrequently.

The conclusion that the Trukese are not in general capable of deep, personally satisfying interpersonal relations is perhaps not adequately documented in the ethnographic account. The reason is not that it is not true, but rather that this characteristic, while so pervasive that one soon comes to take it for granted, does not come into sharp focus in any number of concrete situations. One striking manifestation was mentioned: the "devaluation" of the emotional ties of the lovers' relationship when this leads to marriage. The inability to appreciate the feelings and needs of others is also manifest in the (to us) callous way in which the Trukese can derive amusement from teasing those who through immaturity or incapacity are in a helpless position. But the failure to discuss and document this aspect of Trukese behavior in the ethnography must be viewed as a good example of the lack of perspective of the anthropologist who, having become more or less immersed in the society he studies, fails to make explicit some of its most obvious (to him) features.

Sarason correctly noted that the "brother" relationship shows the greatest possibility of being mutually satisfying to its participants of any of those discussed. He further confirmed the belief, expressed here and in the report of Ann Fischer, that "sister" relationships were inferior in this regard to those between "brothers."

The separation anxiety reflected in the tests we have also discussed in the ethnographic chapters in regard to the feeling of persons away from their own islands, although this was particularly noted in reference to the great anxiety occasioned by the possibility of dying away from one's own island, or being away from home on the occasion of a relative's death. It is probable that this accentuation of separation anxiety in the face of death was not noted in the tests for the following reason: If we may accept the formulation of death as a threat to the integrity and

solidarity of the kin group, it would be expected that this would be the occasion for the strongest expression and reaffirmation of group loyalties; that this is indeed the case is seen in the large proportion of lineage members who do in fact participate in funerals and mourning. To be unable to participate in this expression of group solidarity would, then, be likely to produce appreciable anxiety in the individual, and in practice does. This line of reasoning, however, requires that one be aware of the importance of the kin group in the security system of the individual Trukese—a line of reasoning which could therefore not have been pursued to its conclusion on the basis of the projective tests alone, where, as we have noted, the importance of the kin group is not evident. Undoubtedly related to anxiety over separation from the kin group is the anxiety the individual feels when he finds himself actually alone, an anxiety which, as we have seen, the Trukese express as a fear of ghosts. Being actually alone is the end point on a continuum of social isolation and even if temporary produces a maximum of what we have referred to as separation anxiety. When one is separated from the kin group isolation is only relative; when one is alone it is complete. It is therefore not surprising that the Trukese are seldom seen alone.

The concreteness and rigidity or inflexibility of Trukese thinking is the final aspect of Sarason's analysis we should consider under this heading. He found it very clearly and directly expressed in the Rorschach protocols; it is obviously closely related to the need the Trukese feel for conformity and the suppression of strong feeling, needs which are best satisfied by having a "safe" way of responding in every situation: if one knows a "right" answer, one gives it, and all will be well. A Trukese thus seeks to have available one "right" answer to every problem, and a situation requiring choice and initiative is, in requiring a departure from this learned way of "safe" response, to be expected to produce anxiety and inadequacy of response. We have discussed this search for the "right" answer to everything in the chapter "The Trukese Adult," and found it reflected among other ways in conservatism in technology and a reluctance to put oneself in a position of responsibility. This concreteness is also evident in the Trukese language. It is not sufficient to say how many of a given object one is mentioning: one must also specify the class of objects to which they belong, i.e., whether they are long, round, wrapped up, in bunches, or whatever. Possessives are similarly classified, so that one cannot say simply "my canoe," but must say "my-vehicle canoe"; "my shirt" becomes "my-upper-garment shirt," and so on. In other words, if we mention an object, we must further define the class of objects to which it belongs, thus eliminating any possible ambiguity. Furthermore, we must locate the object relative to the speaker or his listener: we cannot speak of a person or thing without noting that we are speaking of a definite object or of the general case, and if definite whether it is near the speaker, near the speaker and the addressed, or removed from both. And if we refer to the motion of an object or person, we must specify the direction of motion: "up," "down," "upwind," "downwind," "inward," "outward," and the like.



## SEXUAL CONFLICTS

That sex and sexual adequacy are central problems for the Trukese is immediately apparent both from the projective test data and from the ethnographic account. That men are concerned with the adequacy of their actual sexual performance and of their genitals is also evident from both; the concern of women with these matters is not as clear in Sarason's analysis, however, as it is in the ethnographic record. He in fact finds little direct evidence of anxiety on the part of women concerning their genital adequacy. It would appear that in large part this may be considered an artifact of his isolation from relevant information about the culture at the time the analysis was made. He correctly noted that a large penis was considered by the Trukese (as by Americans) to be a desirable feature in sexual intercourse; his conclusion that the men were anxious on this score received its strongest support from the fact that seven of the twelve men (all but one below forty and hence presumably active sexually) found themselves unable to respond to Card VI of the Rorschach, a card often taken to represent the erect penis. He was, however, unaware of the fact that there is also a standard of genital adequacy among Trukese women: having a vagina full of "little things"—the clitoris, labia minora, and another unidentified projection. He therefore was unable to see the significance of evidence almost as compelling in regard to anxiety of women over the adequacy of *their* genitals: five out of the eleven women rejected card X, which consists in a large number of small multicolored blots scattered about a small open space in the middle. All of these women were ones whom Sarason had determined from other evidence to be concerned in some fashion with sex to a greater degree than the others. Cards III and IX were next most frequently rejected by women; Card IX is commonly hard to cope with simply because the field and ground relationships are poorly delineated, but card III is, next to X, the one most notable for the presence of discontinuous small blots, again arranged about a central blank space. We must therefore conclude that had Sarason been aware of the Trukese female sexual symbol, as he was of the male symbol which coincides with our own, he would probably have reached a conclusion which would have been more compatible with the ethnographic evidence of anxiety over female genital adequacy.

If, then, we conclude that the men have to prove to themselves (and to others) their masculinity, we must also conclude that women have to prove their femininity. This puts the entire sexual relation between men and women in a rather different light, and brings us closer to the picture of sex relations derived from the ethnography in which *both* partners seek mastery of the situation. This is, as we have seen, to be presumed to be largely a function of the fact that the partner in a liaison is, by definition of the incest taboo, a person with whom one can afford to be uninhibited and not "careful," an order of information not available to Sarason. Such a conclusion is not, however, compatible with Sarason's observation that while the men tend to see the women as provoking but domineering people, the



reverse is not true. But this information was derived primarily from the TAT stories in which, as Sarason noted, the women found considerable difficulty in expressing anything significant about relations between the sexes. There is little doubt that this was in large part due to the fact that the examiner with whom they were faced was a man. One may conjecture that had the examiner in all cases been a woman, the situation might have in some degree been reversed. This must be taken only as a guess but it does at least suggest that the picture we derive from the tests of feminine sexual aggressiveness may be unduly one-sided. Sarason's conclusion that the men approach the sexual situation with greater anxiety than the women does, however, appear to be true; this point will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

There remains to be considered the conclusion, stemming primarily from the Rorschach, that women are also in general less anxious and inhibited than men. This point was discussed in the opening pages of this chapter where it was noted that on examination evidence was found in the ethnographic record which clearly supports Sarason's conclusion. Further documentation for this point at the test level was found in the TAT stories which reflected the ability of women to use both food and sex as a means to secure dominance over men. While this is supported on both counts by the ethnographic evidence, we should add that in all probability a more adequate set of TAT stories from the women would reveal that they in turn feel the men are using sex as a means to dominate *them*. Sarason did not attempt any more precise formulation of the cause for the greater psychological security of women than the reference to food and sex on the TAT we have just noted, and in fact on the Rorschach explicitly decried any assumption of a causal relationship between sex and the lesser degree of inhibition in women. We see, however, from the ethnography that food is of great importance in this regard; the control of food supplies provides the most crucial support for the pivotal position of the woman in the household and thus is the primary means whereby her social, and hence psychological, security is implemented in adulthood. This point was discussed at length in Chapters 5, 7, and 8; the structuring of relationships within the household is, however, an order of information too specific to be expected to appear in projective test records and hence was not available to Sarason when he made his analysis.

#### CONCLUSION

Having reviewed in some detail the correspondence between the ethnographic data and Sarason's analysis of the projective tests, we may consider briefly our findings. In no case of major importance did we find a discrepancy impossible to resolve in favor of one or the other order of evidence. In most cases, these discrepancies could be traced to the fact that Sarason was unaware at the time he interpreted the test protocols of certain facts about the culture essential to a proper realization of the factors involved in the responses. From this we may conclude,

at least in regard to this study, that a "blind" analysis of projective tests, taken alone, does not necessarily provide an adequate or complete picture of the personalities of persons of a culture other than our own.

On the other hand, this does not in any way imply that the use of such tests is without value to the anthropologist, nor that interpretation done in this fashion is not valid. The essential validity of the interpretation is to be found in the high degree of correspondence realized between the two orders of data, a correspondence which should not be obscured by the fact that in the preceding pages it was obviously necessary to devote more discussion to the discrepancies than to the congruities. For the anthropologist studying the relations between personality and culture, the value of the use of these tests lies in the perspective and the definition of relevant problems they give him, as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter. At this point we must add that the results obtained from the tests must be examined, as they have been examined here, to determine the points at which they are or are not supported by the ethnographic evidence. But if the discrepancies which appear can be satisfactorily resolved, the end-product is a far stronger and better balanced description of the important aspects of the personalities of the people under study than would have been obtainable by either technique taken alone. The fact that conclusions based on the projective tests were found "wrong" more often than those based on the analysis of the ethnographic data can be assumed to be almost entirely due to the preliminary results of Sarason's review of the Rorschach records having been available at the time the ethnographic chapters were written. It was therefore possible in writing the ethnography to look for the things which might otherwise have gone unnoticed had not the evidence for them been uncovered by the tests; in addition to the greater security of women mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the points whose importance was first recognized as a consequence of seeing the Rorschach results included the inhibition of strong emotionality, concreteness in thinking, and some indication of the basis for sexual anxieties. Sarason, on the other hand, did not have a reciprocal advantage, and hence failed to see things which would have been obvious had he had available the ethnographic data.

## TRUKESE PERSONALITY: DEVELOPMENT

It is our purpose in this chapter to examine the ethnographic record of Trukese life experience from the viewpoint of its psychological implications with the objective of determining as far as possible the time and manner in which those aspects of personality we have defined as distinctively Trukese become established. Our basic concepts will be those derived from the somewhat amorphous body of hypotheses known as "psychological theory"; these concepts have been derived, tested, and used primarily in the field of psychotherapy in Europe and America. Although much modified and elaborated in the succeeding years, they stem in large part ultimately from the pioneering work of Sigmund Freud. An analysis such as that to be undertaken here is somewhat hazardous: we are using theoretical concepts for which conclusive verification is not available and applying them to the members of a society for which they were not originally designed. The degree to which they "fit" in this different context is of course a test of their inherent validity; on the other hand, the fact that an explanation in terms of these hypotheses is plausible does not necessarily mean that it is correct. It is for this reason that we shall examine in a later chapter ("Twelve Trukese Men"), on the basis of not always adequate evidence, the degree to which our formulations in the general case can have adequate predictive value for the individual case.

With these reservations, we may proceed to our analysis. For this purpose it will be convenient to divide the discussion of life experience and personality development into two periods, before and after puberty.

### INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

In the absence of any but the simplest techniques in midwifery, childbirth is often prolonged and the infant may enter upon his life only after a lengthy ordeal. Any subsequent effects this may have, however, must remain conjectural, although it is difficult to imagine any which would be favorable. On the other hand, the lack of forcible means of extraction, the failure to make any attempt to stimulate breathing or revive an unconscious baby, the decreased resistance to infection of a weakened baby under unsanitary conditions, and the disposal of deformed babies as "ghosts"—all these combine to militate against the survival of any congenitally deformed or severely traumatized infants. Whatever ill effects may accrue to a serious trauma are thus reduced in their impact upon the society at large by the workings of natural and social selection. In spite of this selection, however, it appears that

many if not most Trukese experience some fairly serious illness in infancy or early childhood. While this entails discomfort and more or less temporary incapacity, often just when the child is trying to make a place for himself in the society, it also results in an increase in the consistency and solicitousness of attention he receives from his parents. It is not possible to formulate more precisely the long-range effect of these common childhood illnesses.

The most striking and psychologically important aspect of the care of younger children, and one which is apparent in the first few days of life, is its inconsistency, particularly when viewed from the standpoint of the child. This inconsistency applies to all aspects of child care, but is most crucial in regard to feeding and the response to the child's emotional needs.

#### FEEDING

Particularly in respect to feeding, a distinction must be made between inconsistency and inadequacy. There is no evidence that Trukese children are inadequately fed, in the sense that they do not get enough to eat; from the nutritional standpoint the food they receive is at least as good as that consumed by adults. But they do not necessarily get it when they want it or receive as much at a given time as they would like. This inconsistency begins with the earliest days of nursing and becomes increasingly marked until the child is weaned. The baby may be given the breast as soon as he cries, or not for some time; he may be permitted to suck until he is full, but more often is not or is interrupted several times; if he loses the nipple, his mother may not notice for some time and therefore not help him regain it; he may be given the breast he has already emptied and have to struggle for what little milk remains while the mother's other breast remains untouched because she did not bother to note which he had sucked last. Although the mother is apparently at no period really careful in her feeding procedures, she is at least available and not otherwise occupied for the first few weeks; thereafter she is apt to be out of the house for increasing periods of time or, if home, distracted by other activities or interests and hence not immediately attentive to the needs of her child.

Within a few months breast feeding is supplemented by solid foods, at first premasticated and later softened in water; the infant is soon eating, in small quantities at least, practically everything eaten by an adult. It is likely that the irregular nursing habits of the mothers result in a fairly early reduction in their milk supply which makes such supplementary feeding mandatory. This process reaches its climax in weaning which occurs between the ages of one and two, usually either as a result of the eruption of the baby's first teeth and his consequent biting of the breast or the birth of another sibling. That the child is not usually weaned voluntarily is evident from the fact that most mothers have to apply some repellent substance (breadfruit sap or pepper or both) to their nipples to prevent him from continuing to nurse. On the other hand, this separation does not usually take place before the

end of the first year at the earliest and is furthermore but the culmination of a long series of frustrations associated with the breast. Its effect on the child is therefore not as dramatic as might otherwise be the case.

This does not mean that weaning is unimportant. There can be little doubt that the infant's frustrating experience in attempting to adjust to his mother's inconsistent nursing performance creates anxieties in him which would make him overevaluate this activity. On the other hand, when the breast is finally forbidden him this is not an abrupt and treacherous removal of what had previously been a reliable and always available source of gratification. It is rather a type of experience he has already learned to expect and, while not pleasant, does not suddenly throw his attitude toward his environment into a new perspective. Nor do we have to assume that it is immediately apparent to the child that the separation from the breast is final; the blow may be softened by the realization of its finality growing over a period of days instead of becoming apparent within a few hours when the next "regular" feeding is due. Thus, while we would expect to find marked anxieties in regard to nursing and food in general, there is no reason to suppose that weaning would of itself be a major crisis. This conclusion conforms quite closely to the overt behavior observed and accounts for what is at first glance a paradox of children with obviously high food anxieties not responding very forcibly to being weaned. The very consistency of Trukese parents' inconsistency lends to the children's early experience a continuity of frustration which minimizes the effects of any particular deprivation.

Actually, our conclusion that food anxiety exists at this time must be considered in some measure inferential, for children are usually weaned before they can talk competently; however, the fact that all the necessary conditions of frustration are present and that this anxiety appears overtly shortly thereafter would appear to justify such an assumption. In practically all the life histories wherein any real attempt was made by the informant to get back to the recollections of early childhood (of which Eleanor's is an example), episodes concerning food and difficulties in getting fed are among the first to be mentioned. This indicates not only that this concern appears early in the life experience but that such episodes arouse sufficiently great anxiety to be remembered over a number of years, despite the fact that this anxiety does not have a "realistic" basis in the sense that the infant is actually undernourished. It is also notable that the frustrations associated with a baby's feeding do not appear to create a strong need for compensatory oral activity; thumbsucking is to be observed but it is only of moderate degree while at the same time it is not actively discouraged by adults.

Were difficulties in regard to eating confined to infancy, with no other food frustrations thereafter, it is very possible that little of this anxiety would remain by adulthood. However, it is reinforced throughout most of childhood. Not only does the availability of food remain as before, although in lesser degree, at the



whim of the parents (particularly the mother, who is the crucial figure in the allocation of household food supplies, mediating between her parents and her husband), but the withholding of food begins to be a deliberate act, a sanction employed to enforce obedience and particularly to keep the child from staying too long away from home. It is also used in a positive fashion to signify the resolution of a difficult situation in family affairs: when the child, desperate after a beating, runs away and finally returns or is discovered, or suffers some other serious mishap, particularly at the hands of a parent, the eating which follows signifies to him (and his parents) that all is forgiven. As we noted in Eleanor's life history this offering of food does not necessarily coincide with expectations of physiologically determined hunger; it is essentially a symbolic act and must be presumed to be recognized at least implicitly as such by both parents and child. The parents, of course, also share this anxiety and overevaluation of food, for they have been brought up in the same fashion; their constant talk of food, the little interchanges offering food or contending that there is no food when a relative or passerby stops to talk, must be noted by the child. Although there is practically never a genuine shortage of food on the island there may not be any in the house at the moment; the husband returning from the garden asks his wife, "Is there any food?" She replies in an often almost despairing tone, "There is none." To a small child naïve in these matters this in itself may pose quite a threat: even his parents are without food so he has no hope of any for himself. They usually succeed in finding some at the house of a relative or go out and get something themselves, but it will be a while before the child comes to realize that food usually appears even though it has been announced that there is none. This is further accentuated by the cultural definition of eating as being satisfactory only if there are both starch and protein foods available; children soon learn this and will join their parents in hunger rather than eat the breadfruit or manioc which is available, convinced that by itself this food will stick in their throats and, if swallowed, will not leave them satisfied.

The only time that one can imagine a Trukese completely without concern over food is in the presence of a large supply, already prepared, when his belly is so full he can eat no more. This idyllic situation can often be realized for children as well as adults, although only during the feasts which are possible in the abundance of the breadfruit season; it is probably no coincidence that breadfruit is the symbolic food par excellence. It is always breadfruit that is mentioned in the life histories as the food being eaten when the child returns to his repentant parents (although there is sometimes room to question whether the episode occurred during the breadfruit season), and it was breadfruit for which the Trukese youths yearned when their ships were lying in the harbor at Guam and they were eating Navy meals of fresh frozen Stateside vegetables and the like.

The feasts themselves are not infrequently the result of food fights in which one lineage (or formerly village) pits its productive capacity against that of an-

other, preparing more than enough food for all. This reflects a somewhat aggressive side to eating, which probably finds its earliest expression for the child in the withholding of food by his parents in retaliation for his staying away from home. It is not surprising that something as important to the Trukese as food should become a means for the expression of hostility. Although they can seldom bring themselves to a flat refusal of food when it is requested, or when a person arrives while the family is eating, there is a clear implication of rejection in telling a person (with elaborate apologies) that there is really no food in the house (although both are aware that there doubtless is). To be more direct than this in refusing would be overstepping the bounds of good taste and inviting real trouble, something the Trukese will avoid whenever possible, as we shall have occasion to discuss later. Ghosts, however, do not show this delicacy and translate the aggressive symbolism of eating into a directly hostile, if supernatural, act: they "eat" their victims when they attack them. It is almost as if they do what the Trukese would like to do but cannot.

Even in this "land of plenty," then, getting enough food when one wants it takes on the aspect of a problem to the Trukese practically from birth. The effects of the simple frustrations of infancy become more complex although no less important when he comes to discover his elders using food both as a means of expressing hostility and inflicting punishment and as a symbol of solidarity and forgiveness, both among themselves and toward the child. It is small wonder that he enters upon his adult life with a preoccupation in regard to food and eating which will remain with him until his death.

#### OTHER BODILY NEEDS

In contrast to food, however, the infant finds the fulfillment and expression of his other bodily needs beset with no problems. He sleeps when he wants, urinates and defecates when he wants, and can play with any object which comes to hand, or even his own genitals when he is small, without any protest from his parents. As he grows a little older and can move about, he again is not limited in his travels except by his own ability and volition. When he can walk, and later begins to talk, he can join any group of adults or children he wishes; there is no effort made to limit his social participation. When he is old enough to understand, he is expected to go out of the house and later to the benjo to defecate, and to be modest about his urination. Because there is no early emphasis on the control of elimination and he is asked to observe the social norms at a time when he is able to do so readily, toilet training never becomes a problem either for parents or for children. His freedom to explore places, activities, and objects permits him to develop complete assurance in his own physical capacities—his coordination, balance, and strength. The Trukese assume that all adults will have these attributes in adequate measure and there is no evidence that these expectations are not realized except in the case of persons injured by accident or disease. Although there is no deliberate attempt to

limit his social participation in any situation he may discover, as we shall see, a limitation is actually effected.

#### SEXUAL ATTITUDES

The one activity which is actively inhibited by parents in early childhood, but only slightly in infancy, is that of sex. Deliberate masturbation is frowned upon almost as soon as the child can be expected to respond with any real awareness of parental disapproval, although their efforts at suppression do not go beyond mild pats and somewhat angry sounding remarks. When the child can talk, however, he is reprovved for even casual fingering of his genitals, although this behavior is still observed in children up to three or four years in age and does not evoke a violent reaction from any adults present—they just tell him crossly to stop. The basis for this prohibition in early childhood appears to be primarily one of modesty in the sense that no sexual activity should be public whether indulged in by children or adults, but in addition even at this tender age some feeling probably exists on the part of adults that brother should not see sister (or sister brother) doing anything which would emphasize the genitals to this degree. Also, as we shall be discussing shortly, heterosexual activity at least is believed to make children sick and in some measure this belief is doubtless generalized to infantile masturbation. We may be fairly sure that the prohibition does not reflect disapproval of masturbation as such for this activity is permitted adults with only the restrictions of modesty which apply, for example, to urination, provided the people nearby are of the same sex. No quantitative data are available on the relative frequency of genital play in boys and in girls; the sheer accessibility of a boy's penis, however, would increase the likelihood of his manipulating it in a casual fashion and thus expose him to more frequent censure. He might in this way develop greater anxieties regarding sexual activity than a girl even as a very young child, although it would be unwarranted to place any reliance on this obviously conjectural conclusion.

With the restriction of genital manipulation of early childhood there is also an increasing emphasis on the wearing of clothes, an encumbrance most children resist for some time. That the attempt to keep clothes on the child is at first more or less a gesture is seen in the fact that boys often wear little shirts which reach only to their navels and yet are apparently clothed sufficiently to satisfy the demands of propriety. As the clothing of children as well as adults is patterned essentially along European lines, the dresses which girls begin to wear at this time are longer and therefore in practice more modest than the boys' shirts when trousers are omitted. Girls do not, however, wear a lavalava underneath until they are considerably older, so that they are not yet forced to the concern over specifically genital modesty which characterizes adults.

Although children at any time are apt to be aware of and observe sexual activities in the house at night, hear sexual liaisons openly discussed, and later may

actually lend a helping hand in acting as go-betweens for lovers, it appears that for several years they undertake little or no heterosexual experimentation of their own. Masturbation would of course be expected to be driven "underground" by parental censure, and we can make no estimate of the degree to which it is practised. However, even among children such self-stimulation evokes ridicule and since a child is seldom alone we are probably safe in saying that sexual activity is at a low level during the middle years of childhood—a lower level than it will again attain until real old age. During the two or three years which precede puberty, however, and possibly before, heterosexual activity of a limited sort does begin in spite of parental warnings. This probably results from the increasing contact of older children with young adolescents who, although considered mature sexually, are embracing this activity only tentatively. While such behavior even in late childhood continues to be disapproved it appears that parents actually expect their children to disregard their admonitions when the opportunity presents itself, a point well illustrated in Eleanor's life history.

The character of the admonitions themselves are of importance for there is good evidence from our own society that it is the manner in which childhood sexuality is forbidden, rather than the simple fact that it is not permitted, which has the greatest determining effect on adult performance and anxiety in this area. In our society sex is often explained to the child (frequently when he has been caught experimenting and punished) as "dirty," or he is told it will make him sick, or even crazy. He gains the impression that sex is inherently bad and dangerous. The Trukese, on the other hand, also tell their children sexual activity will make them sick, but only *because they are still too young for it*. They thus do not get the impression that sex is inherently bad and, as adults, in spite of the overevaluation and anxiety attached to sexual activity from other sources, show no signs of real impotence or frigidity. An example from our society of this type of restriction might be the driving of automobiles: we do not let our children drive because they are too small, but we do not tell them it is an essentially wicked activity; when they grow old enough to drive they learn to do so without any difficulty and, whether they are actually good drivers or not, are seldom troubled by any real anxiety over their competence on this score, in spite of the great economic, social, and functional importance of driving a car.

Although it appears fairly certain that actual sexual intercourse takes place shortly before physiological puberty, at least in girls, we have already noted that several years prior to this time most children undertake at least some heterosexual experimentation, usually consisting in the boy putting his finger in and manipulating the girl's genitals. If girls ever manipulate boys' genitals, or in fact pay any attention to the penis in these situations, we have no evidence for it. This is in keeping with the impression one gets that at the adult level the female genitals are in several respects intrinsically of more importance and interest than are the male genitals.



Thus it is always the men who are trying to get a peek at the women's genitals as they bathe or fish, rather than the reverse, and the women are correspondingly far more careful to conceal them from men and often from other women. Similarly, even allowing for the fact that most of our information on sexual matters was derived from male informants, there appeared to be appreciably more interest in, comment on, and knowledge of the genital attributes of the various women on Romonum than of the men. Certainly the detailed genital anatomy of men never becomes the subject of public display and rivalry in any manner comparable to the genital showdown which culminated women's arguments in the recent past. While the genital adequacy of all persons, men and women alike, is of importance to themselves and to their sexual partners, the point we are trying to make here is that there is an essentially cultural emphasis which is stronger in regard to female than male genitals; in contrast to our own society, it is for the Trukese the vagina rather than the penis which is the primary symbol of sexuality.

We have anticipated here the discussion of one aspect of adult sexual attitudes in order to indicate the significance of the fact that the sexuality of late childhood, with its emphasis on the girl's rather than the boy's genitals, already shows an appreciation of what is apparently a basic cultural orientation of the Trukese toward a high valuation of the female sexual organs. This immediately raises a question as to the attitudes which obtain among smaller children who we may be quite certain have noted from an early age the difference between the sexes and have found some explanation which is presumably adequate to satisfy their curiosity for the present. The nature of this explanation is unfortunately a question which we are not prepared to answer; such information is frequently very difficult to obtain even in our own society. However, in the absence of contradictory evidence, it would be reasonable to assume that in a society in which sexual matters are as freely discussed and sexual behavior is as relatively open as on Truk, even small children would be aware of adult attitudes toward male and female genitals and be able and likely to use this information in weaving their own explanations of the differences they observe. If this is true, and little children as well as adults do in fact value the vagina more than the penis on Truk, this would have implications of some importance for another concept of psychological theory, "penis envy."

This concept, predicated upon studies of children as well as adults in our own society, involves the hypothesis that little children, seeing the difference between themselves and children of opposite sex, conclude that the boys have something important (the penis) which the girls do not, and that girls therefore feel somehow deprived and physically inferior—their genitals, rather than being the logical counterpart of the boys' penes, are simply lacking this vital projection. The realization of this difference and the child's interpretation of its significance is felt to have important ramifications in the child's attitude toward his or her parents and in his or her evaluation of the self, as well as having much to do with the determina-



tion of the basic roles to be played by each sex in the society. There can be little doubt that insofar as this is a valid concept in our society, it is closely related to the culturally determined evaluation of the penis as the primary sexual symbol, and also to a commonly preferential treatment of boys over girls in keeping with the putatively superior role for which they are being prepared as adults.

The question of preferential treatment of boys or girls in early childhood on Truk is another for which we have no conclusive answer. It would appear that they are treated virtually equally until the age of perhaps six, but this cannot be proven. In questions of this order differences in behavior are usually fairly readily detected and documented; identities are far more difficult to demonstrate. Certainly if there is differential treatment and expectation of boys and girls, it is not pronounced. Nor is it in keeping with the attitude we shall be discussing shortly that children are more or less social nonentities; no small child is normally singled out for much individual attention or treated as a significant person and little is expected one way or the other of such children. They play together with children of opposite or the same sex without distinction; it is only at six or seven that the child joins play groups structured along sex lines. Small children, insofar as they are clothed, usually dress differently (unless they are wearing a hand-me-down undershirt, and even this is more commonly reserved for boys), but there is no evidence that one sex is forced to wear clothes and be modest earlier than the other. The observational evidence, while necessarily negative (similarity being the absence of difference), would certainly lead us to believe that there are no differences; Sarason's conclusion from the projective tests, however, that girls are subject to restriction earlier than boys and that they resent this preferential treatment of boys is in opposition to this belief. Although Sarason's conclusion was only stated tentatively, it requires us to leave the question open but with the recognition that if there is differential treatment and expectation of boys and girls, the difference is slight and not readily detectable.

If, however, small children do, as we have good reason to believe, tend to look upon the vagina as more valuable than the penis, and have little or no reason to look upon the role of a boy as inherently superior, it is more than probable that penis envy does not exist among the Trukese, and might even have its analogue in this society in what might be called "vagina envy." Were we to accept the validity and reality of this admittedly speculative hypothesis, it would do much to explain the degree to which women in the superficially male-dominated society of Truk are able to translate their somewhat more secure social and economic position into markedly greater psychological security than that enjoyed by men. If males integrate their gradually developing understanding of the social environment in which they find themselves as children and later adults about an assumption made early in their lives that they are in one vital respect biologically inferior to women, no amount of bluster, apparent self-reliance, and wife-beating will be able to obliterate

the fact that in a society where sexuality is important, they as men are inferior to women. This formulation has the further implication that not only the overt roles of men and women may be reversed in different societies, with consequent differences in attitude and personality of the two sexes, but that even their anatomical differences may be capitalized upon to support such a reversal, or, as on Truk, actually negate at the psychological level the effects of male dominance at the level of overt behavior. It is obvious that this hypothesis would require further and specific investigation in the field before it could be accepted with any assurance; it is discussed here only as an intriguing possibility, and as an example of the sort of thing a study of personality in non-European societies can elucidate. It unfortunately also exemplifies the sort of crucial evidence for which the need is apparent only after the anthropologist has left the field and begun the analysis of his material.

#### THE CHILD'S SOCIAL ROLE

Having discussed the development of the child from the standpoint of the fulfillment and elaboration of his essentially biological needs, we may now turn to a discussion of his social environment and the development of his role within the gradually expanding framework of action which this provides. In large degree this parallels and is of course related to what we have already discussed: as in the case of the satisfaction of his bodily needs, the child's social role is characterized by almost complete lack of restriction in a number of types of activity, while in certain crucial areas a great deal of inconsistency is experienced which leaves him confused and unable to determine what to expect next.

Inconsistency in the social treatment of infants is apparent almost as early as it is in nursing; because nursing represents the small baby's most imperative orientation toward his environment one might even say that the social effects of the unreliability of the mother in this regard are as important as its effects in creating anxieties about food. In any event, within a few weeks the baby begins to be picked up with increasing frequency; although he is not likely to be awakened for this purpose, the times when he is or is not picked up bear little relation to his mood of the moment. If he cries enough his mother will pick him up and nurse him sporadically, or she or some other woman will bounce him around a little, but usually with little enthusiasm. On the other hand, one of the parents or some other adult, if they feel inclined, may take the child and indulge in several minutes of extremely warm fondling, kissing (or really mouthing) of the child, including the genitals of boys, and in general give the child a maximum of warm, affectionate attention and tactile stimulation. Needless to say the child enjoys this, but if he is put down and cries for more attention he is apt to be left strictly alone and ignored, the adults having become interested in some other activity. Thus on the positive side, infants receive on occasion very warm treatment; on the negative side, there is little that they can do to elicit this sort of attention. The infant is

essentially the plaything of adults and receives attention when they wish to give it, not when he wants it. However, there is virtually no attempt to discipline the small infant and even when he can crawl about the worst he may expect is a mild rebuke for unduly overt masturbation; he does not, then, experience any real pain or physical punishment unless he brings it on himself by crawling off the porch and falling or otherwise slightly injuring himself. The fact that he is sometimes in the care of older siblings may result in his suffering minor mishaps at their hands through their inexperience or lack of attention. However, no Trukese was observed to have any detectable anxiety about heights, falling, or the like; this would suggest that any such accidents are of no permanent consequence. The fact that there are a fairly large number of other people who take care of and give attention to the infant in addition to his own parents must be in some degree confusing to him; however, there is little doubt that in infancy practically all Trukese babies have more contact with their own parents (assuming the father is not away on a trip or the like) than they do with any other adults, so there should at least be no question in their minds as to the identity of their own mothers and fathers.

As we observed in regard to inconsistency in nursing, so we should also surmise that the inconsistency of the child's social environment during infancy, if not carried beyond this period, would lose much of its effect through lack of reinforcement of its anxiety-producing aspects. However, we find that social inconsistency does not diminish when the child learns to walk and then to talk but rather increases both in severity and in scope. When he can toddle about he is permitted free range provided he does not go completely out of sight. He of course falls down on occasion and may be picked up, but on the other hand he may be completely ignored and left to scream in rage and pain in the dust. If his mother or whoever is tending him is preoccupied but thinks he may have really injured himself, she may rush up, see that he is not actually hurt, and leave again without any attempt to console him. The child cannot predict, either from the nature of his mishap or of his response to it, whether he will be fussed over and comforted or simply ignored; this is almost entirely a function of the parent's momentary inclination and preoccupation.

With the acquisition of speech, the child is of course able to communicate his needs more directly to those responsible for fulfilling them. Again, however, he may be told to wait a while, ignored, or immediately tended to, depending on the parent's will. Furthermore, he is now subject to deceit, shame, fright, and teasing. Any of these may be used by parents or other adults, or by older children, either for their sport, to quiet the child if he is crying, or as a means of discipline. As soon as he can talk, as we have noted, the child is disciplined for manipulating his genitals; when he is a little more proficient in speech he may be disciplined for the use of bad language (whether he realizes it is bad or not). An example of the latter may be mentioned here to illustrate the point. Andy's younger brother at the

age of about six was playing with a group of American children about his age, including my own. In the manner of American children they were deciding who was going to marry whom when they grew up and Andy's brother announced he was going to marry my daughter, slightly older than he. Because Andy and I were "brothers," he was my daughter's "father" and his proposed marriage was thus "incestuous." He was immediately removed by Andy and others, taken to a back room, roundly berated, and beaten so that he was in tears most of the rest of the afternoon. It must have been clear to all concerned that he was just adapting to the American pattern of the moment and had given no thought to the implications of the obviously artificial relationship between Andy and myself. But his elders elected to construe it in this light and he had no recourse. Examples of the deceit and teasing to which the child may be subjected throughout his childhood have been given in the ethnographic description and appear also in Eleanor's life history. These examples are mentioned here because it is difficult without reference to them to convey adequately the complete lack of recognition of the child's viewpoint demonstrated in these contexts by the adults or others who are in command of the situation. Even discipline for anything but flagrant misdeeds depends more on whether the parent has the time to bother with the child than on the nature of the act itself, and may also be a function of the particular aspect of the act the adult chooses to notice, as in the example above. To add to the child's anxiety, he may be threatened, particularly if he is crying, with an attack by ghosts or by a passing foreigner, as when we were on Romonum.

To say that this sort of inconsistent and often hostile treatment makes the child anxious and insecure is to state the obvious. It makes his entire social environment both threatening and unpredictable. More than this, however, it robs him of the opportunity to develop any techniques adequate to deal with even the people upon whom he is most dependent. He cannot discover any type of response which in a given situation will necessarily produce a favorable result—nor indeed one which will consistently produce even an unfavorable result, with the exception of direct aggression, a point to which we will return. Being submissive, doing what he is told (and he is told very little), and keeping out of the way are about the only means he can find to avoid trouble and even these will only reduce, not eliminate, his difficulties.

#### PARENTAL FIGURES

Another result, related to the inability of the child to discover means for dealing with his social environment, is his inability to form any adequate picture of his relationship with his parents or even what his parents are really like. They react one way at one time and another at another. It is generally to be assumed that a child in our society patterns his behavior on that of his parents, particularly the one of the same sex as he, and on what he understands his parents expect of him. This image, a blend of his idea of his parent and of his parents' expectations, he inter-



nalizes as a guide to be used by generalization in relations with other people at home, and later away from home. It is difficult to see how a Trukese child would ever be able to form such an image with any degree of completeness. Few Trukese parents appear to feel the need to treat their children with any degree of consistency even from their own viewpoint, much less from that of the child. American parents in general feel that a child should be rewarded for a certain act today simply because he was rewarded for the same act yesterday and if he cannot be rewarded he should be told why he cannot be; this is completely foreign to a Trukese parent. The Trukese feel that a child is a child and no more; he does not partake, in their view, of some of the attributes of a youthful adult—he does not understand so why bother to tell him? Because the parents do not make any direct attempt to tell the child what to do, and do not provide him with a consistent example of what he should do or of what they expect him to do, he cannot form in his mind any stable image of them or of what is in general appropriate behavior in a given situation. He is thus robbed not only of the specific techniques for dealing with given people but also of any overall guide upon which to model his behavior. He is turned out to wander with his playmates, and keep out of trouble as best he can.

Although the attempts of the child to identify with a stable parental figure can thus at best be only partially successful, there is reason to expect that in this effort a girl would have some advantage over a boy. It should be remembered, as we discussed in the last chapter, that the greater responsibility of the mother for the care and particularly feeding of her children results in her becoming in their eyes a more important and more powerful figure than their father. True, she is beaten and otherwise subservient to her husband and thus apparently occupies an inferior status in the household to the naïve observer, but in terms of what the child wants—food and support—it is she who is most commonly in the position to offer what satisfaction may be available for these wishes. The child's effectiveness in dealing with his environment, then, depends most crucially upon the degree to which the mother can be understood and means for eliciting her help learned. It is in this regard that her daughter may have some advantage over a son for they are both, after all, women. This is not to imply that there is between them any mystical bond of femininity, but rather that the girl simply sees in her mother a person created in her own image whom she will ultimately grow up to resemble, and whose role the girl can therefore better understand and identify with. Furthermore, if we accept the hypothesis put forward previously in this chapter, the fact that the girl realizes that she, as well as her all-important mother, has a more desirable vagina instead of a penis cannot but facilitate her identification with her mother and increase her sense of importance and her self-assurance.<sup>1</sup> The reverse of this is probably also

<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted that in terms of anatomical similarity the genitals of a small girl resemble more closely in relative size and conformation those of a woman than does a boy's penis that of a man. Thus even in identifying with the parent of the same sex the development differences in genital anatomy tend to favor the girl over the boy.



true: the mother sees in her daughter another potential woman and thus at least at times would be likely to be somewhat more sympathetic and understanding of her problems than she would be toward a boy. Thus, although a girl even of four or five is not expected to play a social role of any consequence, the mere fact of her anatomical identity with her mother probably gives her a measure of social identity which, however subtle and difficult to detect, would appreciably enhance her psychological adjustment to the insecurity of childhood.

The fact that many people may substitute for the parents in the care of the child (although they generally may not inflict physical punishment on him) undoubtedly further contributes to the difficulty the child has in forming an adequate picture of his parents and their expectations of him. What few techniques he may have learned to use in dealing with his own parents will not necessarily be effective with their substitutes. On the other hand, the fact that parental responsibilities are spread over a fairly large number of people increases the chances that the child will find some among them to whom he can turn with the expectation of more consistently rewarding response or at least of some sort of predictable behavior. Even if he is disappointed in this, the resentment he feels toward his parents will be somewhat diffused.

There is little doubt that the Trukese child must resent the many disappointments, punishments, and painful experiences he suffers at the hands both of his parents and of others. With this resentment he feels hostility mingled with anxious dependency upon those who threaten him. He cannot yet fend for himself and must be dependent, yet there is no one upon whom he can depend who does not also frustrate and hurt him for no reason which he can determine or predict. If he resolves this conflict in open aggression and tries to strike his tormentor, whether adult or older child, he may either be beaten or, particularly by an older child, further tormented. His rage becomes a joke and he is goaded into a helpless frenzy. In either case he discovers that an attack provides no solution to his problems and he has to give up this technique. It is actually very rare to see a Trukese child strike a person appreciably older than he.

#### BROTHERS AND THE KIN GROUP

As the child ranges farther from home and attaches himself increasingly to the fringes of groups of older children, he finds that fighting for what he wants may also have unpleasant consequences here. If he beats a smaller boy it more often than not turns out that the smaller boy has an older brother, closely or distantly related as the case may be, who will rush to his aid or mete out retribution as appropriate. Despite this, such brief fights are fairly common and having a brother available is of vital importance, for no matter how big a given child may be, if he attacks someone his victim is likely to have a still bigger brother. Particularly in later years when they join play groups divided on sex lines sisters may help each other out,

but if an older brother is available to either a boy or girl it is his primary responsibility to come to the rescue if they are attacked. It is probably in this context that the child first comes to recognize the importance of his kin and, because strife is frequent, he has ample opportunity to learn this lesson well. At the same time, he learns that he must not himself offend his brother or he may find him not available or willing the next time he gets into trouble. He must therefore not only not fight with his brother but must not even say or do anything which might alienate him. It is thus that he comes, at a remarkably early age, to recognize that he must be careful in how he treats his brothers and by later extension all his other kinsmen. Fighting or any other directly aggressive act may have unpleasant consequences, but any aggression directed toward his brother can be disastrous, for without him he is lost.

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that the brother, in coming to his aid, is offering to the child the first reliable, consistent support he has been able to expect from anyone. If he is in really serious trouble, of course, the child can rely upon the help of his parents, but a children's fight, however disastrous it might appear to the child, would not necessarily call forth the intervention of his parents, and if they did come they might either rescue him or beat him for fighting and causing trouble. His brother, on the other hand, will help him right or wrong, although he may be annoyed at having to do so and tell the child or his parents later that he is getting into too much trouble all the time. It is not surprising, then, that the Trukese attach as much importance as they do to the brother relationship.

However, there are several factors in the childhood situation which might otherwise lead us to predict that there would be an appreciable degree of hostility between brothers as well as between other siblings. Among these we would include the fact that weaning, which climaxes the frustrations of nursing, often takes place as a result of the birth of a younger sibling of whom the older is therefore bound to be jealous. This jealousy can be expected to be increased when the new baby lies beside his mother in the house, seemingly making her almost entirely unavailable to her other children. And before he is much older the elder sibling is likely to find himself charged with the duty of staying with his younger rival when he would far prefer to be out playing with his friends. All of these factors may be expected to derive increased effect in creating hostility between the siblings by virtue of the insecurity each feels in his own relationship with his parents. Kardiner,<sup>2</sup> in discussing a comparable situation among the Alorese, felt that this hostility would be

<sup>2</sup> In Cora DuBois, *The People of Alor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), pp. 179-180. This book is one of the few reports published to date of a study in which field work was undertaken with the specific and primary objective of gathering data on the development of personality in a culture basically different from our own—in this case on an island in eastern Indonesia. The psychological analysis was done by Abram Kardiner, while some Rorschach records (interpreted by Emil Oberholzer) were used only as a check on results.

"dulled" because the various siblings did not expect much from their parents and would therefore find little incentive to rivalry. There seems to be little basis for this view in regard to the Trukese. The child, as noted above, cannot fend for himself and is therefore dependent upon his parents for his food, shelter, and social placement; they are not by any means ideal from the child's standpoint and he has great difficulty in learning how to deal with them, but without them he would be helpless. Even if he felt secure in the support of his parents he would probably, as most children in any society do, resent his temporary banishment at the birth of a younger sibling; how much greater, then, will be his anxiety, distress, and therefore hostility when his already insecure relationship is further weakened in this situation. We must therefore conclude that for the Trukese there exist conditions which, other things being equal, would be expected to produce strong sibling rivalry and hostility.

That this hostility does not reach overt expression, and that the brother relationship is in fact probably the most consistently rewarding of any in the society even for adult men, is a tribute to the importance of the consistent support which brother gives to brother from the days of early childhood onward. That the hostility remains, however, is shown rather nicely in some of the TAT stories: brothers help each other out in many stories and almost always act as brothers should, but it is not uncommon that brothers also suffer unfortunate accidents and die. The surviving brother is of course desolate but his brother is nonetheless thoroughly and finally dead. Thus even in fantasy the Trukese cannot speak of deliberately killing a brother, but they can picture a situation in which accident or someone else brings about his death. The hostility is well suppressed, but it remains. However, the conflict which this might engender is in large degree avoided by the fact that as the child grows to manhood he selects for his companions more distantly related brothers or creates artificial relationships of this order. These men are not the ones with whom there was rivalry in childhood for the attention and support of their parents, but otherwise they fulfill the same reliable and supportive role. This potential conflict also receives implicit recognition in the cultural ban on speaking lightly and particularly obscenely to or in the presence of one's own or closely related older brother. Such remarks might touch off a spark of hostility and precipitate consequences highly disruptive for the family as a whole; they are therefore best reserved for more distantly related or artificial brothers who were not raised in the same household.

The brother relationship is, then, one of potentially great hostility; this hostility is, however, strongly suppressed in the interests of maintaining satisfactory relations with the one person who is most crucial in providing protection against the otherwise generally hostile environment of the play group and the one person who has shown himself reliable and consistent in his supportive behavior. It is clear that set against the background of strife and unpredictability which otherwise must characterize the child's view of his world, his brother stands out as a light

in the darkness. To say anything that would offend or in any way alienate this one stable figure would be for the child deliberately to leave himself defenseless. It is therefore only to be expected that he would try to act toward his brother in a manner calculated as carefully as possible to be pleasing and inoffensive; any deviations from this behavior would immediately pose the threat of being cut off to fend for himself, and create very strong anxiety and even fear. He is therefore in his contacts with his brother self-controlled—he inhibits any strong and particularly aggressive feeling he may have. This lends to the relationship a large measure of superficiality as the price of reliability; the child dares not reveal his real feelings lest the hostility which is part of them also appear. In practice, of course, most children have more than one brother, including not only their own brothers but others fairly closely related who also feel the obligation to protect him, provided he is appropriately inoffensive to them and does not get into too many difficulties. The artificial brother relationships come later but are in effect only extensions of this pattern. The fact that the child has several brothers<sup>3</sup> does not, however, mean that he can afford to alienate all but one of them for in any given situation only one of the several may be available; he has therefore to extend his restraint to all of them. That this is the genesis and model of behavior which he later comes to extend to the gradually expanding group of kinsmen he recognizes as he grows up seems almost certain. The brother relationship, for boy and man, remains the focus of all his kin relationships, and it is from this that he learns to generalize his behavior to others.

In childhood, the same may be said of girls, although their sisters as well as their brothers may often come to their aid, particularly when they are a little older. With adolescence and maturity, however, the brother-sister relationship comes under a taboo which formalizes relations among even distantly related brothers and sisters and thus obscures the significance at the adult level of this originally important relationship. The girl at puberty finds security in her place in the household and thus does not have to seek only from her sisters the dependency and support she formerly derived from both brothers and sisters.

#### INFLUENCE OF SIBLINGS VERSUS PARENTS

Although we may conclude that the relations of the Trukese with their kinsmen are essentially generalizations and extensions of the primary relationship with the brother (and for girls also the sister) formed in childhood, this should not be taken to imply that the parents are of no consequence in the development of these behavior patterns. True, we have noted that the parents do not provide any con-

<sup>3</sup> To be consistent with our previous practice, references to all but own brothers should be placed in quotation marks. However, as we are dealing with the extension of attitudes from own to more distantly related brothers an attempt to maintain this convention could only be confusing and has thus been dropped in this discussion.



sistent and effective guide or example which would permit the child to learn adequate techniques for dealing with his social environment; for this reason he derives from them no pattern upon which he can model his social behavior with the expectation that such behavior will be adequate. In his contacts with them he does not even discover procedures which will be effective at home, and could thus hardly be expected to attempt to extend whatever behavior he uses there to other situations. The very inadequacy of this relationship with the parents, however, throws into relief the brother as the *only* figure who is stable and in certain important respects predictable in the child's entire social environment. At the same time, the techniques which are developed in dealing with the brother are in large measure the same ones which prove at least somewhat effective in relations with the parents: restraint, submissiveness (more important with parents than brothers), and above all the inhibition of direct aggression. However, without the reinforcement these attitudes receive in the rewarding support of the brother it is doubtful whether they would become firmly implanted as the primary guide to social behavior, for as a means of dealing with the parents they are only partially effective in avoiding punishment and lead to no specific rewards. These responses are nevertheless learned at home through relations with the parents before the child is old enough to venture forth into the play groups of the children's society where the brother becomes so important.

It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the relationship of the child with each of his parents, for we have already had occasion in this and the previous chapter to explore this question rather fully. We noted among other things that the child forms an impression of his father as a rather less inconsistent and more supportive figure than his mother; this impression, however, is probably due primarily to the fact that less is expected of the father than of the mother and the frustration of his inconsistency is therefore less keenly felt. There is no reason to suppose that there is any real effort on the part of the father to be a better and more reliable parent than the mother. Neither of them are "good" parents by almost any standard, and the support of the brother within the children's society is not a sufficient substitute for the inadequacy of the parents at home. The child is and remains for a long time dependent on his parents for his livelihood and his social placement, and their failure to provide him with consistent affection, security, or guidance must leave him ill-equipped, in spite of his brother's help, to face the world with confidence.

#### ADOPTION

Although we do not have direct evidence, other than that of the individual records which will be examined in the next two chapters, it is highly probable that children who have been adopted, particularly when their own parents are still living, suffer even more than most from the inadequacy of the parent-child relationship.



To the feeling of constantly being rejected without apparent reason is added for the adopted child the realization that his own parents did not want him enough to keep him. There is apparently little attempt to keep this information from the child, and it is most unlikely that he would realize the small amount of choice his own parents could actually exercise when they were requested by the proper relative to give their child away.

#### INTERNALIZATION OF NORMS

One other result of the inconsistency of Trukese parents should be mentioned. As we have noted, the child is unable to form any coherent picture either of what is expected of him by his parents or of what his parents themselves are really like and thus lacks any overall framework about which to organize an effective system of behavior and techniques for dealing with the other members of his society. This same lack of a clear parental image also prevents him from formulating and internalizing a code of proper moral conduct—in simpler terms, a conscience. The conscience with which most members of our society are equipped in varying degree is considered to be based upon just the sort of parental image the Trukese fail to form. The child in our society wants to be like his parents (as he sees them) and to conform to their expectations of him, for then he has reason to suppose they will love him; when he deviates from the image he has thus created of what his own behavior should be like he becomes anxious for this deviation immediately raises the possibility that his parents will no longer love him. He thus has a conscience, an internal policeman which not only warns him when he is getting out of line but reminds him of the penalties for so doing. The Trukese child, however, not only is unable to form this sort of image but has little reason to conclude that his parents love him in the first place. He cannot therefore be expected to have a very effective conscience. If we add to this the fact that the parents themselves not infrequently practice deceit on their own children, we must conclude that when a Trukese child (and in large measure an adult, too) does not do something he wants to do it is only because he feels he cannot get away with it.

#### SOCIAL PLACEMENT

Before turning to a consideration of the changes in status and therefore personality of later childhood it would be well to consider the social implications of the conclusions we have reached so far. Outside of the support of his brother, the child has not had any consistent or satisfactory relationship with anyone and has not found the means whereby he can effect such a relationship. His relations with his parents are clouded by anxiety, and in addition he is anxious about food—which in turn increases his anxiety toward his parents, the source of his food. One wonders then, with all these anxieties and no means to deal with them, how the Trukese child can be effective at all. The answer seems to be that he is not, because he does

not have to be. He is given practically complete freedom to satisfy his bodily and his social needs as he sees fit. Virtually no demands and almost no restrictions are placed upon him. Were he asked to undertake any appreciable responsibility, we could safely predict that he would in most cases prove to be completely inadequate. It is thus fortunate that little is expected of the Trukese child except that he amuse himself and keep out of trouble. But even in his freedom he is in a dilemma because, as we noted in commenting on Eleanor's life history, he cannot in his younger years participate adequately with the other children somewhat older than he, and at the same time finds no reward in remaining at home. It is for this reason that one so often sees little children wandering rather aimlessly around with little to do and nowhere to go. And even if the child finds some measure of rapport with older children, as Eleanor did, as the children gravitate toward the sand spit he finds himself pursued by his mother, fearful lest he drown. Nevertheless, the children do ultimately learn to join increasingly actively with other children in their play without any apparent assistance or encouragement from their parents; in fact, when they achieve a level of participation sufficiently adequate to encourage them to play away from home for long intervals, many (but not all) children find when they return that their parents are angry with them for not coming back earlier. It is this which most frequently inspires parents to withhold food from their children; seemingly, although the parents frequently reject their own children, they cannot tolerate the rejection of themselves implied by their children not wanting to come home and retaliate with the most effective weapon at their disposal, food.

#### PLAY GROUPS

With increasing age and experience in interpersonal relations the child becomes able at about six or seven to join a regular play group, a group which is at first composed of children largely older than he. In time, however, and always with the support of his "brothers," he develops for himself a place in the group. There is no formal indoctrination nor even any event which signalizes his admission; he simply comes in time to find himself competent and accepted in the full range of their play activities, their fights, and their adventures. He gradually learns to understand and predict the behavior of the other members of the group, while they in turn learn to know him. He is, in other words, part of a social group wherein he can act with reasonable assurance that his actions will evoke responses from the other members which will coincide with his expectations of them. In some cases these responses will be negative—if he beats a smaller child, he will probably in turn be beaten by the child's older brother—but at least they are predictable. On occasion, he may find that he controls the group in at least a limited sense—he may suggest an activity, and find the whole group following his suggestion. In contrast to his life at home he knows where he stands as a member of the children's society. It is apparent that this experience of being able for the first time to predict and in

some measure control the behavior of others has important consequences in the development of his feeling of assurance and of his view of himself as a human being who is in some degree effective and counts for something among his fellows. With his parents and elders he is more or less helpless, a pawn, but with his agemates he is a person.

#### CHANGING RELATIONS WITH PARENTS

The child's relations with his parents, however, improve over time. While during the middle years of his childhood they still provide him with little or no positive instruction in how he should behave or what he should do, their discipline becomes somewhat more consistent. They at least tell him more explicitly what he should *not* do, and his punishments are more in keeping with these warnings. They no longer hold lighted cigarettes near him to watch him recoil nor expect him to believe them when they say, "Your father is coming!" when he knows his father is up gardening. But the severity of their punishment continues to depend in large measure on factors other than the nature of the actual misdeed of the child. It is when the beatings he receives become very severe that he is most helpless, especially if he feels the beating is unjustified (as most children do). He has been attacked with (in his view) great hostility but cannot retaliate: the physical and social supremacy of his parents, and his continuing dependency on them, make the prospect of his attacking them even more forbidding in its consequences than what he has already suffered in pain and humiliation. He feels hurt and unwanted and can find no solution but further to punish himself by running away. This initially masochistic act, however, ultimately is rewarded when he returns home or is discovered by his parents; the fact that his parents more often than not go out to look for him indicates that they too are affected by the interchange—they are obviously remorseful, a remorse probably further prompted by the anxiety of knowing the child has left and therefore, in effect, rejected them. They are caught in a dilemma of their own making and the victory in the end goes to the child. It is doubtful, however, whether the child realizes much of this; he only sees that he is at one time beaten and rejected, and that thereafter, when he runs away, his parents inexplicably change their tune and not only forgive him but in effect offer their apologies through the medium of offering him food. The food reassures him that he is wanted and that they really care for him; at the same time, the parents are reassuring themselves that they have this hold over their child, for he returns to be fed.

One could, of course, punctuate practically every sentence of this discussion with the observation that the attributes we have been referring to of parents, children, brothers, and the like vary with different individuals. This would, however, add nothing to the clarity of the discussion, and it is furthermore the purpose of the next chapter to spell out this variation in some detail. But the point appears worth raising here because in considering the gradually increasing consistency in the treat-

ment of children by their parents we are dealing with a rather subtle change in behavior, difficult of precise definition, but of great importance. This increased consistency of course does not reflect a basic change in the personality of the parent, but rather a growing recognition of the fact that the child is a person to whom things have to be explained and whose views are therefore of some consequence. Furthermore, that the child's views are to be reckoned with means that, in however small measure, the child has some control over the actions of his parents; he is no longer completely a helpless and dependent pawn in the household. As we have said, this change is subtle but, because it is the first relief the child has found in his previously hopeless attempt to find a satisfactory *modus vivendi* in his crucial relationship with his parents, it can make a major difference in the child's self-assurance and capacity for successful self-expression. The time at which this change begins to take place in the parents' attitude, and the degree to which each parent gives to the child this recognition of his importance to them, can have a profound effect on his subsequent development. This point was of course well illustrated in the life history of Eleanor, whose parents accorded her the opportunity for self-realization both earlier and in greater measure than most, although not without an undercurrent of deceit and inconsistency continuing into her adulthood.

#### ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

One aspect of the children's play groups we have not yet mentioned here: they tend to be divided into groups of boys and of girls. This is not the only way in which they are divided, for on occasion there are alignments along village lines, by age groups, and of course on occasion the further segmentation of kin group affiliation. But the most common and consistent criterion of group membership is sex. In many respects the play activities of boys' and girls' groups are the same—they both wander around the island, pick fruits and eat them (thus reducing in some degree their dependency on their parents), play games and makebelieve, and even join with groups of the opposite sex in some activities. But their games tend to be different, and increasingly their makebelieve takes on a character appropriate to their sex. Boys pound breadfruit, sail boats, and play at being chiefs, while girls prepare the breadfruit for cooking or play games of fishing with nets. It is thus that they begin to learn to take on the role appropriate to their sex and to think of themselves as girls and boys rather than simply as children.

Although as we have noted before our evidence on this point is not conclusive, it would appear that the joining of a children's play group (at the age of about six or seven) is the first time that the differentiation of children's roles on the basis of their sex becomes of consequence. If the parents have any differential expectations of their girls or boys before this time, we have no evidence for it. This is not to say of course that they are unaware of the difference for they clothe their children differently, refer to them as "boys" or "girls," and must in other more



subtle ways recognize a distinction. But they do not seem to expect them to do different things, or to do the same things differently, in any appreciable degree. It thus appears that just as the child's first successful interaction with other persons comes in the society of children rather than adults, so his sex-typing has its origin in the same context.

Somewhat later in childhood, however, the parents do take an active hand in molding their children for their adult roles as men or women. In some degree this may be a matter of telling them to do or not to do something because it is appropriate to their sex, as when Eleanor's mother told her not to play with a ball because such games were only for boys (although Eleanor was thirteen by then). More importantly, however, the parents gradually indoctrinate their children in the adult tasks. A little at a time, they are taught the techniques they will have to know to fulfill the role of a productive man or woman; they learn these skills by helping the appropriate parent (or other adult relative), and when they have learned them will increasingly be called upon to undertake such jobs by themselves. The demands for such assistance are not heavy, unless the household happens to be exceptionally short-handed, but they gradually come to take more and more of the child's time, a process which continues on into adolescence and adulthood.

#### THE LITERAL VIEW OF LIFE

More important, perhaps, than the sex-typing and the time consumed in these work activities is the fact that this is the first time the child has been given positive instruction and responsibility by his parents. Having at first been told practically nothing, and later what not to do, now, finally, he is told what he should do. At long last he is given a guide by his parents for behavior, at least of certain kinds, and a more positive status in the household. He begins to learn that there are "right" ways as well as wrong ways of doing things for his parents. Set against the background of ambiguity which has surrounded his attempts to determine what his parents expected of him thus far in his life, these rather specific instructions take on more importance than one would otherwise anticipate. They are, in effect, likely to be overevaluated, not in the sense that the child would throw himself with overenthusiasm into his work, but rather that he would tend to take very literally and concretely his instructions, attempting to perform his tasks exactly as he had been told. Concreteness in following directions and a tendency to accept situations in their most literal sense is a characteristic of children even in our own society, and appears to be a means of responding to new situations for which past experience and immediate guidance is barely adequate. It is the "safest" way to react when one is unsure of the full significance of the total situation. If children in our society who are given consistent positive as well as negative guidance and instruction practically from the time they say their first words tend to respond concretely, it is small wonder that the Trukese child takes literally these directions which he finally re-



ceives for the first time in the latter part of his childhood. He has been left largely incapable of dealing with new situations both by the generalized anxiety he has learned to feel toward any interpersonal situation as a result of his unpredictable childhood relationships and by his failure to distill out of his inadequate attempts to identify with his parents any overall guide for behavior which would permit him to respond to his problems in any more generalized sort of way. Just as his relations with people are inherently superficial, so he looks in a new situation for the most superficial and obvious aspect which bears any resemblance to what he has encountered in his past experience, and interprets the situation in these terms.

Unlike Americans, however, the Trukese in general never lose this concreteness of response. It is a by-word among Americans that the spirit of the law is more important than the letter, and the ability to recognize this distinction in dealing with his problems is a measure of an American child's growing maturity. The Trukese, on the other hand, tend always to see the letter of the law and even as adults are seldom able to approach a situation with the more abstract view implied in seeing the spirit of it. Thinking in abstract terms involves a measure of ambiguity, a weighing of alternatives in terms of personal value judgments, which is an inherently more hazardous approach than simply to be literal and concrete, taking the situation at its face value and using its most obvious external signs as cues for behavior and response. By hazardous we mean that there is implicit in the abstract approach the possibility that one's opinions and reactions will not coincide with the interpretation of the situation made by one's fellows. If all situations are interpreted in the simplest and most literal terms the possibility of disagreement is reduced to a minimum, although the flexibility and creativity of the individual who habitually responds in this fashion is of course reduced. We see, then, why any child will tend to approach his problems literally and concretely: being faced by a constant succession of new problems with which he is more or less inadequately prepared to deal, he plays it safe and responds in a minimum fashion to all of them. The Trukese, however, lives out many of his formative years without really beginning to acquire the knowledge or experience which will equip him to approach his life situations in a well-rounded sort of way. When he finally does begin to learn, he responds in a fashion which American children at a corresponding age are beginning to grow out of, and for the rest of his life is seldom able to improve upon this type of performance.

This does not mean that because after all these years the Trukese finally receives in late childhood some actual positive instructions, he takes them literally and adopts this approach to problems for the rest of his life out of sheer relief. Undoubtedly there is a measure of truth in this statement, for the security he feels in finding a mode of behavior which is indubitably "right" after a childhood spent in doubt and confusion is not likely soon to be forgotten. More important than the relief he now feels, however, are the years which have gone by, years during which he might have been learning how to deal with his parents and other people in a

confident and effective manner, and how to express his opinions freely without fear of making some small misstatement and with it bringing down about him what little security he has been able to find in a generally hostile and unpredictable social environment. By the time the Trukese child has, at an age of perhaps nine or ten, begun to learn how he really should behave he has acquired a fundamental mistrust of his fellows and a lack of confidence in the adequacy of his own resources as a means of coping with his social problems; as we have discussed in some detail in the preceding pages, his response to this sense of social inadequacy is to attempt not to offend anyone, particularly his relatives. It is for this reason that he seeks the "safest," the least provocative, and therefore the most conventional and literal response he can find to every problem he faces. This conservatism and concreteness, rooted in the uncertainty and inconsistency of his childhood, he carries with him throughout his life. As long as he can structure a situation so that there is but one correct solution he feels secure; but if the situation demands of him initiative, responsibility, or assuming a position of eminence and authority, he feels anxious and withdraws.

#### PERSONALITY OF TRUKESSE CHILDREN

Before proceeding to a consideration of the changes which take place at puberty and after, we may pause here briefly to summarize the characteristics of personality with which the Trukese child is equipped at the end of his childhood, characteristics which represent in turn the habitual modes of responding which he will attempt to apply to the new problems he faces in adolescence. We noted in the preceding paragraph the child's concreteness and literal interpretation of situations and observed that this stems from the lack of a consistent guide for behavior derived from his parents and that it is constantly reinforced by his sense of social inadequacy; these points need not be elaborated here. The important people in his social environment are his parents and his brothers (or for a girl also her sisters), and beyond these a larger group of relatives toward whom his attitude is a blend of those attitudes he has adopted in dealing with parents and brothers: these people are unpredictable in many respects, and often hostile, but one is nonetheless dependent upon them. The best way to assure their cooperation, insofar as it can be assured at all, is to be submissive, conventional, and above all not openly aggressive. If one can hide one's true feelings one will not get into trouble, for these feelings are too likely to reveal one's hostility. Particularly for a boy, the most reliable of all relatives are his brothers, but even they have to be treated with care and restraint.

The differences in the expected social roles of boys and of girls have not yet become marked. At the age of six or seven they began increasingly to participate in play groups of children of their own sex, and later at perhaps nine or ten began to learn from their parents the work appropriate to their sex as adults; neither of these distinctions, however, would be expected, taken by themselves, to create important psychological differences between the sexes. We have, however, concluded at least

tentatively that there is a more subtle source of security for a girl in the closer rapport she feels with her all-important mother as another woman. Any effect this may have would be expected to be accentuated as the girl is drawn closer to her mother in learning the household tasks, and as she has her first experiences of heterosexual activity and finds in practice that her vagina is as important as she has already probably come to suspect.

Both boys and girls undoubtedly feel the need for some relationship or situation in which they can express themselves without the superficiality and restraint they have found must be exercised at every turn, but such an opportunity has not yet presented itself. In some degree they were able to express themselves spontaneously in the play groups, but even here they were more often than not playing with their "brothers" or "sisters" and had to be careful lest they alienate them and lose their vital support.

Underlying and intimately related to all these social relationships is a strongly felt anxiety about food, for this has been the key factor in the dependency which has bound the child to his parents and at the same time the means through which these parents have expressed both their love and (indirectly) their hostility. Both boys and girls have by the time they reach puberty learned most of the basic techniques of getting food, but their economic roles have not yet been developed fully to the point where they can be self-sufficient, and free at last of the tie which has bound them to their elders.

#### FROM ADOLESCENCE TO OLD AGE

At puberty several important changes take place in the social status and activities of the individual, changes which have both immediate impact and longer range effects on the mode of adaptation of the Trukese to the persons about him. These changes are primarily a function of the social recognition of the individual's full sexual maturity. The Trukese do not consider this maturity to be reached gradually: in their view, at puberty as culturally defined (or actually slightly before) the person is capable of a sexual role as complete as he will ever achieve and is expected to begin at once to fulfill this role.

The difference between boy and girl now becomes the difference between man and woman and as such abruptly takes on far greater importance than before. In a purely social sense, the change is of largely equal consequence for both sexes; from the standpoint of its psychological consequences, however, it is the boy who is most strongly affected. While before puberty we found few aspects of the social differences between boys and girls which could with assurance be predicted to have important psychological results for one as against the other, from puberty onward we shall see that virtually all such social differences make a psychological difference too. Furthermore, the changes which take place at puberty as well as later create sex differences which, in practically every aspect, tend to undermine the psycho-

logical security of the man while they leave the woman with her position unaffected or actually improved.

#### THE BOY LEAVES HOME: BROTHER-SISTER TABOO

The first such change occurs simultaneously with social recognition of the boy's physiological puberty, and from the standpoint of its psychological effects is probably more damaging to his sense of security than any of those which follow. With sexual maturity his relations with his sister (and more remotely related "sisters") come under a taboo which requires not only restraint and formality in their social contacts, including the avoidance of any topics of conversation which might bear even remotely on matters of sex, but also that they be together as little as possible. A certain amount of propinquity is necessary and allowable during the daytime, but at night, when the family sleeps, brother and sister are not supposed to sleep in the same house if both have passed puberty. This means that one or the other leaves the house and sleeps elsewhere; in terms of the cultural definition of this situation it is the boy who departs, never the girl. In the past this was apparently rigidly enforced; however, at that time the lineage men's houses were a going institution and provided a natural place for the boy to go. There he stayed with his father, his mother's brother, or whatever other male relative he and circumstance selected. Because men are self-sufficient in the acquisition and preparation of food, he was not only assured of an adequate supply but no longer was forced to depend on his mother for his sustenance. At present, however, the lineage men's houses no longer exist on Truk and the boy at puberty has no culturally prescribed place to which he can go. In some cases he does not leave home, sleeping instead in a separate room of the house, on the porch, or at least under a separate mosquito net at the far side of the room if it is large. This is at best an uncomfortable compromise, however, for it is recognized that the boy really should not be there and he cannot help but feel somewhat out of place and not wanted. Otherwise he goes to live with some other relative where he faces the same problems he has faced for years at home in regard to food and in addition does not "belong" in the household in the same sense that he did when he was living with his own (or adoptive) parents. Some boys at this time may be able to go away to school on another island and a few may get jobs elsewhere, although at this tender age any job that is available is apt to be taken by an older "brother." The boy is thus rather more at a disadvantage now than was the case in the past; we have already discussed the probability that this situation has been responsible at least in part for the recent lowering in the age of first marriages on Truk.

Even in the past, however, as at present, the boy was forced to leave his home where he had been brought up and where, after years of frustration and difficulty, he had begun to feel he had a meaningful place. The men's house provided him with no special status of itself (as men's houses do for example in those societies



where this is part of an initiation into adult status) and was thus to be viewed as a place to go when he was forced to leave home rather than something in itself desirable which incidentally required that he not live with his female relatives. In terms of its meaning for the boy, then, the men's house was essentially only a slightly better solution than that presented by the various alternatives of today. He was required then, as he is now, to get out of the family house, and we must not overlook the fact that this was on account of a woman—his sister. She, on the other hand, remains at home indefinitely; it is difficult to see how either could avoid noting the contrast. She remains secure, an increasingly important member of the social and economic group comprising the household, while he must go forth and find some other place to live, deprived of the role he might have played had his sister not been there. In many cases, of course, he has no sister living at home; most boys do (although the "sisters" may not be their own) but an appreciable number do not and these are spared for the time being the dislocation and anxiety which is a part of being ejected from their homes.

#### THE SOLIDARITY OF BROTHERS

In addition to the restraint the boy has to show to his sister, he is also required to treat his older brother with deference and to avoid in particular sexual topics when talking to him. This restriction is not nearly as binding as that which obtains between brother and sister, and furthermore does not extend beyond the limits of the immediate lineage "brothers." It thus serves to avoid the possibility of trouble arising in a potentially hostile relationship and as we have seen merely formalizes a shift in emphasis which would in most cases probably occur anyway. The boy in his childhood has already found his closely related brothers too crucially important and at the same time too much in the position of rivals to permit of the easy camaraderie which he now seeks as his social horizons broaden and his fancy turns to thoughts of love. Nevertheless, even though this is not a restriction which deprives him of something he values highly, it must be noted that it applies only to boys: girls do not have to behave with restraint even toward their own sisters, or at least with no more restraint than the irreducible minimum which applies to all relatives.

A certain amount of restraint also applies to the relations between "brothers," however remotely related, and even between artificial "brothers." Although the acute hostility which may be expected to underlie the relationship between own brothers is lacking, a boy still looks to his other "brothers" for support in times of need and cannot therefore afford to take any liberties in his contacts with them which might lead to a severance of the relationship, or even to any overt hostility being expressed on either side, for this could lead to the same unfortunate result. This is of course the same rationale we concluded was effective in giving to the brother relationship of early childhood its characteristic reserve and superficiality;



we further noted that this original brother relationship later became the prototype on which the behavior adopted toward all other kin in the boy's expanding social universe was modeled. Thus we see that in adolescence, as indeed later in adulthood, the same social conditions obtain and force upon the individual the same inhibition of expression of strong feeling toward relatives which he learned in childhood—in other words, the habits of response learned in the child's earliest social experiences are constantly reinforced throughout his life. It is therefore not surprising that this inhibition is so characteristic of all Trukese overt behavior.

Despite the superficiality of the "brother" relationship, as compared for example to the greater warmth which can be expected to characterize a close friendship in our society, this bond becomes of increasing importance to the Trukese youth. It is most typically in adolescence that a young man surrounds himself with the "brothers" who will ideally be his companions and helpers throughout his adult years; others may be added later, but it is felt that such affiliations are best formed and consolidated in a man's youth. We may be fairly sure that this tendency is closely related to the fact that it is at this time that the individual is more or less cast adrift in the society. He no longer has a place in his own home and has not yet married and thus found a substitute household where he can feel he really belongs. He responds to the insecurity of being cut off (although by no means entirely) from the relationships defined by his social placement at birth (or adoption) by utilizing the institution of artificial brotherhood to create his own socially rewarding relationships. The degree to which this is a response to the anxiety created by the youth's being a "displaced person" is further shown by the reduction in importance of the "brother" relationship after a stable marriage has been established. He then turns increasingly to his wife's relatives for help and security and, while the "brother" is not forgotten, contact with him becomes only occasional, losing the constancy of the companionship of their youth.

#### FIRST SEXUAL AFFAIRS

Thus far we have been discussing the psychological aspects of the social effects of sexual maturity: the boy ejected from his home due to the presence of his sister—a woman—and turning instead to his "brothers" for support and companionship, however superficial. Concurrently with these changes in social orientation the boy is expected to begin having actual sexual relations with girls. We say "expected" because our accounts of the first sexual experiences of Trukese boys, while limited in number, indicate that boys do not rush headlong into this new activity. Their first attempts are not made without hesitation and anxiety over their ability to perform successfully, although this anxiety is not centered about a concern over their actual physical adequacy (i.e., they do not fear that they will be impotent); rather, they hesitate before facing the interpersonal challenge of taking the initiative in seeking a girl who will accept them. In this situation the boy's "brother" can and often does

help him break the ice by offering him the opportunity to sleep or at least have intercourse with his wife. Little personal initiative or mastery is required in this context, but the boy acquires a measure of assurance simply from the experience of having successfully acquitted himself at the physical level. Although his physical adequacy is not his primary source of anxiety, there is undoubtedly a measure of doubt in his mind as to his competence, as there is likely to be in any undertaking of social importance requiring a degree of physical skill and finesse. With this hurdle passed he is somewhat more free to try his luck on his own. Not all boys of course have their first sexual experiences with their "brothers' " wives (or sweet-hearts), but it would appear that a fairly large proportion do and thus find their initiation into this activity appreciably eased. There is no means whereby a girl's first sexual experience can be similarly facilitated by an older sister or other person; on the other hand, she does not have to take the initiative either in the preliminary arrangements or in the sexual act itself, and her inexperience would therefore not be expected to be a matter of as great concern to her as to a boy. There is no evidence that the pain of first intercourse is of more than incidental consequence to the girl.

Even after having acquired the assurance derived from his first sexual experience, the boy still does not usually launch at once into a fully active sexual role. His sexual adventures are comparatively infrequent, and, having once succeeded in sleeping with a girl, he will tend to return only to her, albeit intermittently, rather than at first explore the possibilities presented by other potential partners. The form of intercourse used at this time is also most commonly one of the variants on the ventro-ventral position, the most conservative form in terms of the skill, indiscretion, and degree of arousal involved. There is no reason to suppose that this modest beginning to what will later become for most Trukese a strikingly active sexual role is a function of any physiological incapacity or limitation; if anything, the reverse is probably true, there being some basis for the belief that sexual capacity consistently though very gradually declines throughout adolescence as well as adulthood. Undoubtedly the later increase in sexual activity is dependent in part upon the assurance which comes with experience; a boy must learn the art of writing love letters, of getting into a house silently at night, of making himself attractive and desirable to girls, and of course the various skills and techniques of the sexual act itself. Because the initiative in these affairs rests with the boy, his confidence derived from practice is of more importance in determining the frequency and nature of his sexual contacts than is the case with a girl. Her lovers come to her supposedly unbidden; actually, however, if she is to have numerous lovers it is almost equally important to her to learn how to answer a love letter, how best to arrange a rendezvous, how to appear enticing and receptive without at the same time being conspicuous, and equally with the boy to become skilled in actual sex relations. Many of these necessary techniques have been at least partially learned by both boys and girls vicariously from somewhat older friends and relatives; but until

they have become fully proficient boys will continue to be hesitant and girls will not yet find they have many lovers.<sup>4</sup>

#### DEVELOPMENT OF SEXUAL MATURITY

Mere experience, however, and, with experience, competence in a sexual role is not enough to assure that the individual will embrace this role with the enthusiasm expected of a young man or woman and implied in the complete freedom allowed by the society within the limitations of the incest taboo. It is in fact ironic that the maximum level of sexual activity is seldom reached during the premarital period of freedom but more commonly appears after marriage in the form of adulterous lovers' liaisons. For women on Romonum at the present time practically no time intervenes between puberty and marriage, so they have little opportunity for premarital sexual relations; since it appears they have always married rather younger than men, their opportunity for the development of full premarital sexuality was probably even in the past less than that of men. Adolescent boys do, however, have plenty of time for such development (albeit at present only with married girls). But it is significant that although there were quite a number of boys on Romonum of this age, several of them close to twenty and thus having had four or five years of sexual experience, not one of these youths was among those spoken of by other men as the accomplished lovers of the island noted for the number of their sweethearts and their unfailing success.

This failure of youths to take full advantage of the freedom they are given before marriage appears less paradoxical if we consider the character of the interpersonal relations involved in a lovers' liaison, and compare it with the previous social experience of the participants. Sexual intercourse, without which a lovers' relationship has no meaning for the Trukese, by its very nature requires the expression of strong emotion not only by the man, but also by the woman. In some societies the occurrence or nonoccurrence of female orgasm is not considered of major importance; on Truk, however, it is important, particularly for more accomplished or serious lovers, and its occurrence is a function of the contribution of both partners to the relationship. For the man it determines the success or failure of his performance: if he reaches his climax before the woman he not only leaves her in some degree unsatisfied, but more importantly from his standpoint has "lost" in the contest. To the woman orgasm brings physical pleasure, although it appears that Trukese women do not attach so high a value to this experience as do women of some other societies, and furthermore assures her that her lover can consider the

<sup>4</sup> It is, incidentally, interesting in regard to sexual techniques that breast play is of so little importance in Trukese sexual activity. Although not a point which can be proven it is quite possible that the lack of erotic value to a Trukese man of the female breast is a result of the highly frustrating and in many respects unrewarding nature of his nursing experience in infancy.

relationship satisfactory. This assurance is important to her because if her lover leaves with a sense of failure he not only will be less likely to return but other men will also hear of it and not consider her a desirable partner. As we have seen, the ability of a woman to achieve orgasm is considered to be a function of the adequacy of her genital anatomy; the ability of almost any adult man to discuss in some detail the merits of the genitals of most of the women available to him outside of the incest taboo shows clearly how important it is to a woman who wants to attract lovers to have a reputation for being able to reach orgasm rapidly. Men who discuss women make this equation simply and explicitly: "She is good because she is very quick."

There is also an aggressive side to sexual relations. Not only is sexual intercourse phrased as a "contest" between the man and the woman but, particularly in its more discreet and passionate forms, is often accompanied and followed by actual painful mutilation of one partner by the other. Biting, particularly of the neck, often occurs during coitus; these bites are sufficiently severe to leave a mark (which may sometimes become evidence to support a charge of adultery). Men may also scratch their partners' cheeks with their fingernails, while burning a lover's (especially the man's) arm with a cigarette after intercourse is both the most frequent and the most painful of these forms of mutilation. As we noted in describing these practices in the ethnography, both scratching with the thumbnail and burning the arm appear also among the techniques used by men in fighting, thus making the aggressive implications of these acts even more evident.

Sexual intercourse, then, which is the central and essential core of the lovers' relationship, is an act requiring of both participants a display of strong emotion in a situation which is explicitly phrased in aggressive terms, although it does not involve behavior which is itself overtly aggressive. But, as we have been at some pains to make clear, the entire life experience of the Trukese up to this point has taught him one cardinal rule of social behavior: that he should avoid the expression of strong feeling. Furthermore, the rationale behind such inhibition is that what is strongly felt is apt to be aggressively felt, and it is the aggressive component of emotionally-toned behavior which makes it dangerous. The individual has not only learned to suppress such expression of strong feeling, but to feel anxious when faced even with the prospect of its expression. It is thus evident that successful performance in a sexual relationship requires a type of behavior which is practically the exact opposite of what the Trukese has learned in adapting himself to his social environment up to this point; furthermore, the inhibition of emotion which he has learned continues to be required and rewarded in his everyday life throughout and beyond the period during which he is sexually active. For the adolescent, then, sexual relations represent not merely a new type of activity whose skills and techniques must be learned, but an entirely new way of behaving toward another person which stands and will continue to stand in sharp contrast to the behavior employed in all other social contexts. It is hardly to be wondered that he is slow in developing



this role to its fullest expression. While he is adjusting himself to the new standards of behavior which apply in the sexual sphere, he not only undertakes this activity less frequently than will be the case later, but uses a technique of intercourse which minimizes the amount of sexual arousal and by the Trukese definition greatly reduces the probability of female orgasm, thus practically ruling out at the outset the aggressive "contest" aspect of coitus. The development of full sexuality is thus gradual in kind as well as degree.

What has been said above applies almost equally to women as well as men. If we add to this the fact that the man has to take most of the risks in initiating and executing the rendezvous and that his potentialities for "losing" in the sexual "contest" are more immediate and personal than those of the woman (who may after all be able to achieve orgasm with other lovers even if not with him), we see that he has appreciably greater cause for anxiety in the sexual situation, particularly if he is inexperienced. Furthermore, we have noted that after puberty boys find themselves in a social dilemma as a result of their displacement from their homes which creates in them psychological insecurity and anxiety. We would therefore conclude that the boys would be at this time less well equipped to cope with the further anxiety created by the reversal, when they adopt the sexual role, of their usual standards of interpersonal behavior than would girls whose social position has if anything improved with the advent of puberty. Because all but one of the sexually mature girls on Romonum were married at the time of this study, we have no evidence as to how readily they would be able to adapt their behavior to permit the achievement of full sexual expression during the premarital period. Even information on their extramarital sexual activities is scanty for, although the men were willing to discuss their activities, they were usually reluctant to identify the girl involved, and further tended to emphasize their own behavior rather than that of their partner. It would probably be safe to predict, however, that if data were available we would find that girls make the adjustments required in the sexual situation more readily than boys. It is also probable that in the past, when the availability of the men's house reduced the anxiety-producing effect of the boy's departure from his home at puberty, he was able to approach his sexual experiences with more self-confidence and thus achieve full competence earlier than at present. However, the data contained in the life histories of the few men old enough to have had this opportunity are not adequate to provide any real evidence on this score, and no other information is available. There is no doubt, however, that at that time extramarital sexual exploits were quite as frequent and important as they are today.

If we are correct in believing that the instability of the boy's social situation during his adolescence, and the anxiety which this creates, act as limiting factors on his capacity to respond in the uninhibited manner required for full sexual expression, this hypothesis would further account in part for his ability finally to



make the psychological adjustments necessary in sexual behavior only after he is permanently married. Marriage, as we shall see, returns to the man much of the social security he lost at puberty and in other important respects can be expected to reduce his overall anxiety and improve his self-confidence. With anxiety from other sources lessened, he is finally able to adapt to the more complete reversal of his behavioral role required by frequent and passionate sexual affairs. Thus the very conditions which make lovers' liaisons no longer socially approved are the ones which make such liaisons psychologically possible.

We stated that the above hypothesis accounts only in part for the ability of a man to achieve full expression of his sexuality after marriage because there remains implicit in the discussion so far an important question: If sexual activity, by negating the caution necessary in usual social interaction, creates by its very nature such strong anxieties in the Trukese, what then motivates them to enter into sexual relationships so avidly, and through promiscuity or passion seek particularly the sort of sexual expression most likely to produce the greatest anxiety? It is evident that the explanation does not lie in the purely physiological need for the release of sexual tensions, for such release is always available. Masturbation, while in other respects not necessarily as satisfying as heterosexual intercourse, serves at least to release sexual tension. And it is, as we have noted, after marriage that sexuality reaches its height (for both men and women) in spite of the fact that at this time the spouse is almost always available for actual heterosexual relations. There are limitations on the degree to which most married couples will give free rein to their emotions in intercourse for, as we shall see, in most respects the husband-wife relationship entails the same sort of restraint required in relations with other kin, but certainly the spouse provides sufficient sexual outlet to satisfy any physiological needs.

The answer seems rather to be found in the very reversal of behavior in the sexual role which produces the anxiety we have been discussing thus far. Although the anxiety associated with unrestrained emotionality is unquestionably real, if it can be suppressed the reward in being able freely to express oneself can be even greater. As we noted in concluding our consideration of the experiences and personality development of childhood, up to the time of puberty a Trukese has had virtually no opportunity for free self-expression in any situation of social consequence. He could presumably go off to the top of the mountain and shout, curse, and wave his arms, but this would do him little good in removing the frustration occasioned by always having to be careful with everybody of any importance to him. Self-expression does not prove very satisfying with people or in situations which one feels are unimportant, for self-expression, to be rewarding, requires that it accomplish something, either materially or socially. Socially this means that one in some fashion impress one's personal self upon another person, and that this other person be someone worth making such an impression on. In other words, one must achieve a measure of personal mastery in a relationship recognized by the society

and the individual to be important. However, throughout childhood all social relationships of importance to the Trukese have been with relatives and hence required restraint, or else occurred in play groups where, if a relative was *not* present, any attempt really to assert oneself could readily result in a beating. The unrelated children in play groups were furthermore of little social importance to the individual.

It now begins to become clear why sexual affairs can be so important to the individual: the lovers' liaison is recognized by the society as a relationship of consequence, in the sense that a good performance in this context is to be valued, and it is one in which free self-expression and personal mastery are not only permitted but actually necessary to the playing of a successful role. This is the only social situation normally available to the Trukese in which he can "let himself go" and act in an unrestrained and uninhibited fashion. That it is hard for him to drop his restraint we have seen, but once accomplished it is easy to see why this type of activity can appear highly rewarding. Once having had an opportunity to feel the sense of self-realization which comes with mastery and success in a challenging situation, approached in a free and purely personal manner, it is not surprising that the individual returns again and again to the pursuit of this activity, which stands in such contrast to the reserved and colorless, although secure, routine of life as a compliant and cooperative member of the kin group. Nor must we overlook the fact that in these affairs a higher degree of sexual satisfaction is usually attained than is possible in any other context.

If we grant that sexual affairs can be sufficiently rewarding to account for the degree to which many Trukese adults are preoccupied with the sexual role they and others play, we must still seek an explanation for the fact that they are able in the first place ever to break through the barrier of anxiety they have learned to erect about the expression of strong and particularly aggressive and personal feeling. At this point we must again insert the reminder that we are speaking of the general case. The ability to make such a major change in learned habits of behavior is not one which everyone will possess in the same degree or at the same time. There are doubtless men who, favored perhaps with more secure and rewarding parental relations in childhood, and not having a sister who would require that they leave home at puberty, could feel sufficiently self-confident to permit the plunge into full sexual activity early in adolescence. On the other hand, it appears fairly certain that there are others, both men and women, who for whatever reason never free themselves from their inhibitions sufficiently to allow sexual affairs to become an important aspect of their social behavior. Most Trukese, however, do develop such relationships, although it appears that for men at least this development does not usually take place before marriage; it is the ability of this majority to suppress the anxiety to be expected in an emotionally-charged situation which we are here considering.

To understand why this anxiety can have its inhibiting effect reduced or

eliminated in sexual behavior it is again necessary to compare the relationship between lovers with that which obtains in other everyday contexts, but this time from the standpoint of the social structuring of the situation rather than of its interpersonal characteristics. As we have noted, the inhibition of strong feeling is learned and constantly reinforced in relations with relatives who form the cooperative economic and social group upon which the individual depends for his security and livelihood, and whose alienation would be disastrous. However, one may not have sexual relations with any person in this group for these are the people specifically excluded as legitimate sexual partners by definition of the incest taboo. Liaisons must therefore be sought with persons outside of this group. In other words, a sexual partnership is the one social relationship so structured that it can be formed only with a person who is *not* among those with whom one has learned restraint is necessary. The situation is thus socially defined to permit exactly the sort of self-expression which is so heavily penalized in other contexts. That anxiety remains and this self-expression is not easily attained is a function, then, not of the situation itself but rather of the social habits which have become so strongly ingrained in the individual in all his other experiences outside of the sexual sphere. This becomes evident in the reduction of self-expression which takes place even when a passionate affair resolves into marriage: the marriage partner becomes the central link in a nexus of new social and economic relationships and with this change in status sexual relations, although still permitted and practised, partake of the limiting restraint necessary to assure the continuance of the relationship. In this situation self-expression is subordinated to the need for economic and social security. Similarly, as advancing years bring the Trukese closer to the time of dependency on their relatives for food, and therefore increase their concern lest they give offense, extra-marital liaisons become less important and soon are dropped entirely; this change in behavior appears to take place at about the age of forty, well before the average person would be expected to have suffered any marked reduction in the physical capacity for sexual pleasure. Thus we see that when a conflict arises between sexual expression and security even in non-incestuous relationships, the sexual activity is reduced or eliminated rather than jeopardize more important security.

The incest taboo, then, not only provides the socially structured setting for psychological freedom from anxiety in sex relations but is itself reinforced and buttressed by this same anxiety. If sexual expression can be inhibited by a comparatively minor increase in overall concern over personal security, it is apparent that even if the incest taboo did not interdict sexual relations with the members of one's cooperative group of relatives, such relations would in all probability remain very infrequent. It is this basic psychological opposition of socio-economic and sexual interests which probably accounts in large part for the complete lack of homosexual behavior we have concluded exists on Truk. Those persons of the same sex with whom the Trukese have the closest friendship and companionship,

and who in another society might be expected to become the logical partners in homosexual relations, are on Truk "brothers" or "sisters." Even if they are not actually so related an artificial relationship of this order is established as soon as their friendship becomes at all close and rewarding. Thus the only people with whom a homosexual attachment would otherwise be at all likely are immediately identified as belonging to the class of relatives upon which is focused most strongly the anxiety and inhibition we have seen to be the primary source of opposition to sexual expression. Any recognition of their erotic value would therefore be expected immediately to arouse anxiety strong enough to smother any inclination toward an overtly sexual act. We might say that homosexuality is unthinkable for the Trukese not because it involves persons of the same sex, but because it would require sexual expression in an area most clearly prohibited by the psychological version of the incest taboo.

Before turning to a consideration of the psychological effects of other changes in social status during adolescence and later, one other result of the desire for mastery which is the primary motivating force in sexual affairs remains to be mentioned. As we noted in the ethnographic description of this aspect of sexual behavior, mastery in sex relations requires not that one partner or the other win but rather that neither lose. In other words, success or failure depends not upon the psychological effect that one has upon the other, but rather for each is a function of the degree to which he or she performs well in this difficult interpersonal situation. This statement may appear contradictory, particularly in view of the fact that the man has to produce the rather specific effect of orgasm in the woman to be successful; the essential point, however, is that orgasm or any other reaction of one partner to the other is construed as part of the total situation in which each is concerned with his own effectiveness and satisfaction rather than with the pleasure he may be giving the other. We found this rather neatly expressed in the Trukese word for the emotions involved in the lovers' relationship: its meaning is not "I love . . ." but rather ". . . has affection for me." Even the most passionate Trukese lover, then, is acting in a manner which is self-centered to a degree which would be incomprehensible in such a context in our society, but which is quite in keeping with his general social experience. He has had it borne in upon him since childhood that other people do not respond predictably or necessarily rewardingly to his personal acts; he can count on social support only by virtue of his social situation (in the kin-group, with his in-laws, etc.). His reaction therefore is not to attempt to identify his own fortunes with the personal feelings of others, but rather to structure the situation in which he finds himself so it will redound most clearly to his own benefit. For the Trukese, then, mastery in a sexual context is a matter of structuring the situation through one's own performance so that one will derive from it a maximum of self-satisfaction, which in this case requires one's being able to feel one is a successful lover.



## CHANGING RELATIONS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Sex, however preoccupying, takes up only a relatively small amount of a person's time. The time which remains continues to be occupied primarily with the pursuit of his other dominant interest, food. Both boys and girls in adolescence assume an increasingly large proportion of the burden of providing for themselves and their families. Only in exceptional cases, however, is this yet their primary responsibility, for few adolescents find themselves household heads, or even the only male or female in the household. It nevertheless gives them increased status in the households in which they live and a measure of independence from their parents or other elders. At the same time the parents become progressively less arbitrary and less restrictive toward their children. While this is in part a result of the more adult status of the adolescents, it must also be considered to be a function of the parents' own development. As their children grow older, so do they, and by now they are likely to be approaching middle age. The food-producing capacity of their offspring from now on will become increasingly important to them, until finally they can expect to be completely dependent themselves upon the largesse of their relatives, among whom they hope their children will be the most generous. They can therefore no longer afford to treat their sons and daughters in an offhand and arbitrary fashion but rather must attempt to provide an example of supportive and considerate behavior which they hope their children will reciprocate. This change in parental attitude does not of course occur overnight and will vary in its effect for a particular child in terms of the age disparity between him and his parents as well as other factors. The tendency usually begins to appear, however, during the child's adolescence and again can be expected to be psychologically more beneficial to a girl than to a boy. The girl lives at home in increasingly close contact and cooperation with her parents, especially her mother, and will thus benefit directly from any improvement in their attitude toward her. The boy, on the other hand, has already left and will only intermittently have the opportunity to appreciate the more rewarding character of his relations with his parents. To the extent that they continue to impose disciplines and restrictions, however, he will be less exposed to them than his sister.

## MARRIAGE

The last major restricting or controlling influence parents are likely to exert, particularly over their son, comes at the time their children marry. We discussed at some length in the ethnography the contradiction in values which result from the lack of cultural definition of who has the ultimate right to choose the marriage partner, the couple or their parents. The conflict and anxiety which can result from disagreement on this score is obvious; it is, however, temporary, although the experience may further heighten the distrust which the child feels toward the parents. It should further be fairly clear by now why it is the girl, rather than the boy, who



is able in this situation to find the assurance necessary to resist a parental decision. The boy is incapacitated by the social and psychological insecurity of his adolescent status; the girl on the other hand has not only had the security of remaining at home but as her status has improved in the household she has learned how more effectively to bargain with her parents, and knows just about how much she can get away with. Her self-assurance in this situation is thus compounded both of less overall anxiety and of a specific knowledge of the degree of success she can expect to attain in the particular parent-child relationship which is at issue. The boy further reveals his lack of self-assurance in that in most cases he cannot press his own suit with the girl's relatives but rather has to have some other male relative whose interests are less involved do the talking for him.

First marriages tend to be easily broken. This is due in part to the fact that both the couple and their relatives view the relationship as more or less a trial; if the couple are incompatible a divorce is thus expected and easily accomplished. It is also due, however, to a generally unrealistic appraisal of the other person's suitability as a partner, a factor which is likely to be even more pronounced when the marriage is arranged by the parents with economic or other non-personal interests in mind. Adolescents or young adults, however, having learned to expect little of interpersonal relations, and being used to accepting people of importance to them (their relatives) without the opportunity of selection, are not likely to be very shrewd in appraising the potential compatibility of their intendeds. They simply get married, see how it works, and get a divorce if it is not successful; it is this attitude which makes possible the rather large number of cases in which young people accede to their parents' selection of spouses with little or no protest. The exception comes when a couple have already formed a successful lovers' liaison and hope to continue a relationship which is satisfying to each into marriage. Even if they are successful in marrying, however, the sexual relationship which is the essential basis of the tie between them soon becomes diluted by the socio-economic pressures and there remains little more likelihood of their marriage being permanent than if it had been more casually arranged.

On the other hand, because the Trukese expect relatively little personal reward from interpersonal relations they are fairly easily satisfied so that in spite of the haphazard fashion in which they select their spouses by no means all first marriages fail of permanency. And even if they do, the next try, or the next after that, should result in establishing a relationship which will then last through most of their adult years.

Being married, especially if the marriage is reasonably permanent, gives to both partners increased social, economic, and psychological security. The man particularly, after spending his adolescence more or less adrift, not only finds a household in which he has an important place but also is assured of food. He is an active member of the food-producing team and as such can of course expect to receive a

share of any food that is available. In contrast to what has gone before his status is greatly improved, and we would expect him to be appreciably more free of anxiety and more self-assured, as it appears he in fact is. On the other hand, his position remains vulnerable. He has moved as an outsider into a household which is already a going social and economic unit and in the process acquired a whole new assortment of relatives to whom he has to adjust on a basis of deference and restraint, and toward whom he has considerable economic obligations. If he finds these irksome he may leave, but by so doing he again casts himself adrift, a prospect which is sure to cause him concern. His assurance of a continuing availability of food is also somewhat precarious, it being in his view more or less conditional upon his ability to keep up his productive contribution to the household's supplies. It is probable that men, relieved and rather glorying in their self-sufficiency at last, tend to exaggerate in their own minds the degree to which their continued eating in fact depends on their continued productivity. Several men on Romonum, incapacitated in their adult years, while somewhat despised showed no signs of being undernourished. That men feel this anxiety, however, is demonstrated by the degree to which they are concerned over any loss of strength and particularly over illness, a point which was documented at some length in the ethnography.

The woman, on the other hand, need adjust only to her new husband. She also acquires his relatives as her own but they are usually of a different household and her contact with them is not nearly so constant as that between her husband and her relatives. Her status in her own household is furthermore enhanced by her marriage, for it has brought in a new and economically (as well as socially) important member whose services to the household are mediated through her. As she and her husband grow older and he becomes the household head, it is she whose position becomes ever more pivotal in regulating the affairs of the household and particularly the distribution of food. Although she is not formally assigned the job of supervising the apportionment of the family food resources, her position of intermediary between her husband and the rest of the household automatically gives her this privilege. Her ability to be well fed during the two years or so of her economic inactivity associated with the birth of a child attests to the security of her position. Similarly the fact that women in general do not react in any exaggerated fashion to illness demonstrates that their socially determined assurance of food supplies is also reflected in a greater psychological security on this score than that shown by the nominally self-sufficient men.

Thus we see that although boys and girls reach puberty with their anxieties, particularly in regard to food and interpersonal relations, about equal for each, thereafter every successive change in status tends to make the position of the woman more secure, until finally in a stable marriage she has reached a comparatively anxiety-free adjustment to her environment. The man, on the other hand, in undergoing the same changes in a different way has had his psychological security further

undermined at almost every turn. In marriage his position improves considerably for the first time, but it is still not nearly so secure as that of his wife. Although it may not receive conscious recognition, he can hardly fail to envy his wife her secure and central position in the household, to which he makes a greater economic contribution than she; nor is it to be overlooked that his major frustrations up to this time have been at the hands of women: his mother in his childhood, and later his sister who at the time of puberty was the cause of his being forced to leave his home. His wife must in some degree become for him the symbol of the aggression he feels toward all women. It is interesting, but surprising in this society, that he is now given the opportunity to express this hostility in the most direct possible manner: most men may and do beat their wives quite brutally on relatively minor pretexts with almost complete impunity. It is not in keeping with all other types of social behavior on Truk that a man should be able to express overtly and directly such presumably strongly felt aggression, particularly toward a person as socially and economically important to him as his wife. Although wife-beating is not considered laudable, its social repercussions are usually minor and there is no evidence that men feel any marked degree of remorse or anxiety after such a display of naked aggression. One can only assume that both the wife and her family look upon this as the price which must be paid for having the social and economic advantage of another man in the household, and the husband feels free to administer a beating because he knows he can get away with it.

#### ADULTERY

Adultery, when discovered, remains a constant threat to the stability of most marriages throughout the first ten or fifteen years during which both husband and wife are likely to be having extramarital affairs. A double standard exists in this regard, although only as a tendency rather than a rule, for the reaction to adultery varies considerably with the circumstances and the persons concerned. The double standard reflects a condition we have seen in other aspects of the culture: it superficially reflects a strong male dominance but actually imposes less psychological strain on the woman. Women protest, but usually do not take, or ask their relatives to take, any strong remedial action against their husbands' philandering. Men on the other hand are often outraged, and in the old days felt honor-bound to fight the adulterer. In view, however, of the usually not highly rewarding nature of marital sex relations and the hostility which most men feel toward their wives, it is apparent that the sexual loss implied in adultery cannot be of too great consequence to the husband, particularly as he is probably finding a more satisfactory sexual relationship himself outside of the marriage. It is rather a point of honor, a loss of face which he has to rectify, and thereby plunge himself into a situation requiring physical or at least social aggression for a cause in which he inherently has only limited interest. That men even in the past were frequently not really angry enough

to want to fight is evident from the readiness with which the public hearing and its resultant sentences in the calaboose were accepted as substitutes for fighting—honor was satisfied without the risk and anxiety of open physical aggression. It is also significant that of all the actual fights recorded, including those in the life histories and mentioned by informants, only two were the consequence of discovered adultery, and in one of these only one fairly perfunctory blow was struck. There is no question, however, that in the past (largely prior to the period covered by these records) such fights were far more frequent. Women, on the other hand, do not, and did not in the past, have to make an issue of their husbands' adultery and in fact as "good" wives they are expected to overlook it after only a mild protest. Furthermore, if they feel that retribution is necessary, they call upon their brothers and it is their brothers rather than they who have to take the aggressive step. Women, of course, are more than likely to be beaten by their husbands if they are found to have had lovers, but they are never forced into an anxiety-producing aggressive role.

Marriage is the last change in status which produces any abrupt or far-reaching change in personality characteristics. From the establishment of a stable marriage onward changes do occur which are of importance to the individual but they may be viewed largely as a working out of psychological determinants already established by this time. For this reason it will not be necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of each; we will, rather, review them briefly and thus bring this chapter to a close.

#### CHILDREN

Childbirth for a woman undoubtedly causes her anxiety, both from the standpoint of the appreciable physical hazards involved, and from the necessity of giving up for a protracted period the lovers' liaisons which are as important to her as to a man. This condition is, however, transitory, and furthermore not only brings her the reward of finding herself the center of attention, but also reassures her that although she is for a long time not contributing to the family larder, she continues to be well fed. And if her child survives (and is not demanded in adoption by a relative) she and her husband have the satisfaction of knowing that their old age is more assured. The bringing up of her children is a nuisance and inconvenience in some respects but, as we have had ample opportunity to see, she does not permit this activity to cause her too much concern.

#### SECURITY WITHIN THE KIN GROUP

Both men and women continue to feel dependent, although often with an undercurrent of suppressed hostility, toward their relatives. This dependency is, for reasons we have discussed, more acute on the part of men than of women. This is made evident by the fact that it is only men who are driven to suicide when they feel themselves rejected by their relatives; their reactions to this situation were dis-



cussed in the last chapter and need not be reviewed here. It is probably again the greater psychological insecurity of men which causes them to feel more deeply the death of at least some of their relatives.

Related to this dependency upon one's relatives is the characteristic lack among the Trukese of ambition, in the sense of striving for a position in society better than that of one's fellows. Competition and the display of individual initiative violate the cooperative fabric of the one-for-all-and-all-for-one kin group relationships, and can thus leave the individual without the whole-hearted support of his kinsmen he so sorely needs to support his psychological security; self-advancement and the exercise of initiative can also project him into problems for which he has no ready-made solution, a situation in which as we noted in the first portion of this chapter a Trukese becomes anxious and often very unsure of himself. Their life goals therefore place primary emphasis on just being an obscure Trukese. With no unachieved goals beckoning toward the future, they have little interest in what happens beyond tomorrow; they do not speculate or worry unduly over the prospect of their own deaths, nor do even those who have most firmly embraced the Christian faith show much interest in a life after death, whether good or bad.

Generalizing from their restrained behavior toward relatives, the Trukese find the expression of direct and overt aggression in any situation difficult. The undercurrent of hostility we have noted to be present in most interpersonal relations, however, shows itself indirectly in gossip, the belief in sorcery, and vengeful ghosts always ready to "eat" a living victim and make him ill. When goaded beyond the point where their anxiety is able to inhibit direct aggression, the Trukese become effective fighters; they have no doubt as to their physical effectiveness in action, nor serious anxiety over being injured, and thus have no further anxiety to hinder their performance which, because it has taken a lot to get them started, can be violent. They may also express direct aggression in fighting fairly readily if their anxiety over such behavior is lowered, either through the use of alcohol or in a situation where fighting is not socially reprehensible; examples of the latter are in coming to the aid of a relative in a fight or in the warfare of the past.

With advancing years and the gradual loss of the capacity to produce food, both men and women become very realistically dependent upon their relatives. Although the kin group, and particularly one's children, are expected to provide the necessary support, it is evident that in a society of self-centered individuals organized on a basis of cooperation which is predominantly reciprocal in nature such support is not automatically assured. Old people therefore show in exaggerated form the desire of all Trukese not to offend their kinsmen, becoming highly submissive, conventional, and inoffensive, and doing to the best of their ability anything they are asked to do. It is ironic that when they finally come to act in accordance with the standards of behavior which are culturally defined as "ideal," and which clearly represent what every Trukese wishes his fellow man were like, they find themselves practically ignored.



## TWELVE TRUKESSE MEN

IN this and the following chapter we shall be examining the individual records of twenty-three people selected for intensive study. These records consist primarily in the data derived from the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests and the life histories of each individual. The tests are represented by interpretive analyses of each protocol written by Dr. Sarason. The life histories have been summarized with direct quotations and occasional comments introduced as necessary; while there are certain obvious advantages to reproducing these accounts in full, considerations of space make this procedure inadvisable for our present purposes. We must, however, recognize that the condensation of these life histories introduces a subjective selective bias which cannot be avoided, although every attempt has been made at least to mention everything which appears in the original record. Emphasis, however, has been placed in both the life histories and test interpretations on those aspects which are most distinctive for the individual case. We have up to this point been concerned with the uniformities in our data and there is therefore no need further to emphasize them here. Our objective in these chapters is twofold: to explore the varieties of personality characteristics which can be developed by individuals within the single social and cultural framework of Trukese society, and to see whether these variations in personality are related to variations in life experience in a manner which would be predictable on the basis of the conclusions reached in the last chapter. For both of these purposes differences are of more significance than similarities.

Concurrently with the life histories any dreams the subjects were able to report were recorded. These are also summarized and are drawn upon in discussing the psychological characteristics of the individual where they appear relevant. In addition other data, such as status in the immediate family and kin group and events observed or reported in a different context, are adduced as appropriate. These sources of information external to the life history not only increase the amount we know about each individual but also in some cases provide a check on the accuracy and completeness of the subject's report on his own experience. They do not, however, alter appreciably the essentially subjective nature of the account; it must therefore be remembered that when it is stated that a person performed in a certain manner in a given situation what is meant is that this person *said* he performed in this manner. It is neither necessary nor advisable to repeat this qualification at every turn, but the reader should bear it constantly in mind.

In the interests of brevity and simplicity no separate discussion will be devoted

to the degree of congruence between the description of each individual's personality as revealed by his tests and by his life history. As will be seen the test results conform surprisingly closely in most cases to what the individual reveals of himself in his life history and dreams and it will be necessary only to point up the general areas of congruence in the course of the discussion of each individual; real discrepancies will, however, be noted explicitly where they occur.

Consideration of these individual records will be concluded by a review in a later chapter ("A Review of the Individual Records") of the entire series of case studies in order to determine the degree to which they support or refute the conclusions reached thus far and to see in what respects our knowledge of the development of personality on Truk can further be enriched when viewed from the standpoint of specific individuals.

### SAM

#### AGE 13. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Sam's parents are both living. He is the second of eight children, all of the same parents as he. His older brother died at the age of eight. The status of his younger siblings is as follows: brother, died in infancy; sister, died at six; brother, living, six; sister, died in infancy; brother, died in infancy; brother, living, under one year. The lineages of both his mother and his father are fairly small; that of his mother (and therefore his own) has only one adult male in it, Andy. Sam can thus trace actual kinship with fewer "brothers" or indeed relatives of any sort than most.

### RORSCHACH

The most outstanding feature of this boy, as revealed in this test, is the resourceful, spontaneous, adequate, and perhaps creative way in which he handles situations. Although Sam is like the great majority of Trukese in that his problem-solving behavior would at times suffer from lack of flexibility and concreteness of approach, he has this tendency to a far lesser degree than most of the others. He can adapt himself to a new and challenging situation with greater ease and adequacy than most of the others. One would predict that he would be able to see and do things that others could not. He would see relations where others might not.

In the area of interpersonal relations, Sam again is like and unlike the Trukese. He is unlike them in that he can rather easily respond and adapt to other people. He is aware of himself in relation to others, but this awareness is not a self-consciousness which interferes with overt responsiveness to others. He is like the Trukese in that the more personal aspects of his thoughts and motives are not easily expressed. When very personal associations or strong drives are experienced by Sam, the adequacy of his functioning is impaired. However, the inhibitory and self-control tendencies are sufficiently strong so that only occasionally are such strong feeling and impaired functioning likely to be manifest. Although Sam is an active boy, he does not appear to be a hostile one. Whatever hostile tendencies he has are well hidden, a characteristic of the Trukese as seen in their Rorschachs.

There is some evidence on the Rorschach that Sam experiences conflict in the sexual area. The content or nature of the conflict is not clear. One possible clue to it might be deduced from the fact that the record contains practically no evidence of aggressive tendencies (a characteristic of most of the records). There are two possible explanations: the aggressive drives are strongly repressed and are expressed in the most indirect ways; or aggressive drives are given adequate expression in overt behavior and thus would not necessarily need to be projected in the Rorschach. The evidence from this series of records is that the former is a more tenable hypothesis. If acting out aggressive drives is accompanied by anxiety, one might deduce that assuming the aggressive male role is not without its difficulties. In short, Sam's conflict in the sexual area may be connected with the problem of, or conflict about, being aggressive. A more dynamic explanation of the conflict does not seem warranted by the record.

One more thing can be said about Sam which again reflects the ways in which he is like and unlike his people. Like the male Trukese, he tends to be bothered by the strange and new and to become constricted. But unlike the Trukese, he appears able to master the situation, to recover more easily and satisfactorily. Like other males he shows evidence of having a sexual problem, but unlike them, it does not appear to have the same pervasive effect on him.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

From the way in which parental figures are described, the stories strongly suggest that Sam experiences marked ambivalence toward them. In his stories the father figure is one who administers strong discipline and engenders the greatest fear in children. He is pictured as an unexplainedly angry or hostile individual; although the children do not always understand or merit his punishment, there are times when the punishment is accepted and serves as a controlling force against future indiscretions. The father figure in the stories is also an inconsistent individual: he rewards submission with food and protects the child from maltreatment by others.

The mother figure is similarly described as inconsistent: on the one hand, humble and protective and, on the other, rejecting and punitive. But Sam seems to endow the mother with more positive characteristics than do the other Trukese in this series. When the mother is described as rejecting it is always the girl in the family rather than the boy who is the main object of her wrath and hostility. In this connection it should also be pointed out that in general women are described in a more derogatory manner than men and are more frequently seen as rejecting figures.

The most "touching," consistent, and warm relationship found in these stories is that between brothers. It is in this kind of relationship that emotionally satisfying rewards are found.

From all this certain conclusions may be drawn. Although Sam's parents have been inconsistent in response to him, they, for some undetermined reasons, have also been sources of protection and satisfaction, more so than is apparent with some other males in this series. It is likely that Sam has been in a somewhat favored position in the family since in his stories girls are more frequently punished than boys. In addition, he appears to have obtained personal rewards from peer relationships of some kind. Thus one can say that Sam's interpersonal relationships have been of such a nature that self attitudes

were produced which have, *relatively speaking*, a facilitating rather than an interfering effect on his adjustment to people and situations. He seems to have been able to identify with a strong father figure. It is interesting that in Sam's stories the father is more aggressive and assertive toward the mother than is the case with the other males in this series.

It should not be assumed, however, that Sam shows no evidence of the effects of inconsistent parental response. He has strong hostile feelings towards his parents but also a feeling of insecurity which derives from relations with adults from whom he is not sure of receiving personal acceptance. Towards women he is more likely to be able to express this hostility than towards men. However, Sam's stories indicate that overt expression of hostility is not likely to be characteristic of him. More often than not the figures in his stories *feel* angry, *leave* the frustrating scene, *accept* punishment as merited, and *speak* harshly rather than engage in more direct aggressive action.

As is the case with practically all Trukese, concern about food is present in Sam's stories. But Sam appears to have less concern than many of the others. Although withholding of food by parents as a form of punishment and control is feared by children, Sam appears to have experienced less of this than some of the others.

#### LIFE HISTORY

Sam's life history is slightly shorter than the average for men. It is also quite episodic, which is not surprising in view of the fact that he is still in his childhood and could therefore be expected to have little perspective on the few years of experience which have but recently gone by. He identifies the episodes he remembers as having occurred when he was "small," while others took place "a while ago," or the like. We may therefore assign these to the periods we discussed in the last chapter as early and late childhood.

*Early childhood.* The most striking aspect of his recollections of this period, particularly in comparison with the other life histories, is the number of times he mentions being frightened. He notes that he was scared throughout his childhood by dogs, pigs, and ghosts and documents this with several episodes. He was chased by a dog and had to sacrifice some bread he had just been given to divert the dog long enough for him to escape. A sow belonging to a Japanese treed him; the Japanese heard about this and killed the pig, and Sam notes particularly that all her baby pigs were thus scattered. A cow broke loose and although it did not chase Sam he was terrified; he climbed a coconut stump although at the same time he realized it was not high enough, but stayed there not knowing what else to do. Older boys used to tease him about ghosts until he ran home crying; on other occasions he was frightened of ghosts because he was alone. Several times his father rescued him, but when he was frightened of the ghosts about whom he had been teased, his father beat him instead. Similarly, he almost drowned and when he was rescued by a woman and taken home both his father and his mother beat him. At another time his father comforted him and fed him although Sam had thrown a firecracker into a fire some men were using to cook breadfruit and thus seriously disrupted their adult work; Sam had been hit on the temple in the explosion and bled profusely so his father's concern over Sam's injury led him apparently to express only sympathy and no anger. Thus we see his father responding with both support and punishment to Sam's various disasters.

This is not unusual in itself but contrasts with the stories of others both in the number of times support appears and in the degree to which this support is exclusively from his father: Sam's mother is rarely mentioned in this period outside of episodes in which she joins his father in punishing him.

He says that when he was small he was scared of people and would run away crying for fear they would hit him; this made older people laugh at him. In answer to a question he stated they did not actually hit him.

His life history as a whole contains ten references to his pleasure in eating under a variety of conditions. One of these was a feast, which he noted as an afterthought was on the occasion of his third birthday. As birthdays after the first are virtually never celebrated (or even remembered) this was either an exceptional gesture on the part of his parents, or else represents his personal interpretation of a family feast. He does not report having food withheld at any time.

Sam told spontaneously of running in the house and stepping on his baby brother's stomach; his brother was sick thereafter and died in two months, but Sam was not beaten because he was "really too small to understand." Asked about his other siblings, he told of picking up his baby sister when he was older and holding her too hard under the arms. This made her sick and in three days she died; his parents beat him on this occasion. His other younger sister died when he was seven while he was out playing. In summing up their deaths, he said, "Thus they were all gone, all those boys; my older brother was a fine-looking boy, tall like you." This is the only mention of his older brother and, as he died at eight, it is hard to see how he could have even approximated to the tallness of a six-foot American.

The first episode Sam mentions is his father's going to Angaur (a phosphate island in the Palau group) when Sam was four. He does not elaborate on this but immediately tells of his father's return, bringing Sam some new clothes which he wore with pride until some boys stole them while he was swimming. On three other occasions Sam mentions his clothes; he was thrown in the water by an older man, got his trousers wet and cried, he stole some trousers out of a house and was beaten by his parents, and in summing up his present status first noted that he was happy because his father had bought him some new white trousers to wear on Sunday.

Another man picked coconuts off Sam's father's trees and they fought; they were separated and apologized only after Sam's father had wounded his adversary in the leg with a knife. Questioned as to his reaction, Sam said, "I was unhappy; my mother was there and picked me up. When the fight was over my father picked me up and we went home. We ate and ate until we were full and were happy because my father was not hurt."

Sam expresses well the frustration of being disciplined for things he did not understand: "When I was small I used to use bad language to women and they would tell my father; he would beat me and ask me why I did it. I told him I did not know the good words from the bad."

*Late childhood.* Sam now talks of playing baseball, racing, and wrestling with other boys, of making a trip with Charles the schoolteacher and some other boys to Udot (during which he was badly scared by a shark), and of how the smaller children only dare make faces at him if they are close to home.

He shared the hard time of the adults during the years the Japanese garrisoned Ro-



monum, working in the mangrove swamp under the sun, and being beaten while he and some older Trukese boys were employed as houseboys by a Japanese.

He tells of a typical fight: "Yesterday we were swimming and had a race. One boy lost and we all teased him. This made him angry and we fought; he bit me on the chest and drew blood [although no mark was visible the day this was recounted]. I hit him on the side of the head and he hit me above the eyes. We both cried and then the others pulled us apart; we were no longer angry because he is a 'brother' of mine."

Sam tried smoking but was found out and beaten by his father, an episode quoted earlier ("The Child"). He fled and when he was found was soothed and taken home to eat breadfruit. As he smoked several cigarettes while being interviewed, he was asked about this and said that his mother permitted it but his father did not.

He is still scared of ghosts when he goes out alone.

He was away on a trip with his father when his next youngest brother died. He professes not even to remember the birth of his youngest brother, born less than a year before this time.

Although he says he gets scared climbing coconut trees when the wind is blowing, and gets tired working, Sam mentions that he can climb any kind of a tree older men can climb, and knows how to fish. Although he does not give this much emphasis, some people on Romonum felt that Sam's father had gone too far in teaching him all the skills of food production and preparation while he was yet a boy.

Some of Sam's replies to questions as to his present status are worth quoting:

I am happy because I am still alive—God has not taken my life away. I have been a little bit sick, but I just run around when I am sick so the illness will go away; if I lie down all day it will weigh me down and get the better of me. . . . When I get big I want to get married so there will be someone to wash my clothes and keep the house tidy. . . . I have not yet had anything to do with women because my father beats me for using bad language to them. He says I will burn in hell if I use bad language. But now I have started using a little of this language with women, although if I do it much I will get in trouble. I don't want to try going to a woman yet because if I do I will be sick. When I get bigger I will want to, and yet I will not want to either because I will be in trouble with my religion. I will be in a dilemma.

*Dreams.* Sam tells of only four dreams. Two of these he says he dreamed when he was small; both are concerned with a land crab and a rat. Of these the second is a standard Trukese folktale; although he insisted it was a real dream it conforms in such detail to the folktale that his statement must be considered very suspect. It is probable that the first represents the beginning of the same tale but was changed when he decided not to slip it in under the guise of a dream; he just said he hoped to catch the crab and rat and woke up to find them gone.

The other two dreams, of recent origin, are very brief. One concerns his fright when a ghost stuck out his tongue and grabbed Sam's foot, at which he woke and had his parents light a lamp. In the second a worm crawled into his mouth and he vomited; he woke to find his mouth dry and his parents could see nothing in it.

*Discussion.* If we may accept Sam's account, his father, although occasionally unreasonably punitive (from Sam's point of view), provided ample basis in Sam's early childhood for the formation of a feeling of greater warmth and support than most chil-

dren enjoy. His mother, on the other hand, is scarcely ever mentioned and then but rarely in anything other than a punishing role. In this regard it must be remembered that in the thirteen years since Sam's birth his mother bore six children and therefore must have been less available to him than most mothers would be. He doubtless felt this displacement in some degree as a rejection by his mother, the fault of his siblings; but four of the six died, two as a result of Sam's own activities (at least as he remembers the episodes). He thus emerged the oldest by several years and the one upon whom his father increasingly relied for help in getting food. Although Sam was tired and sometimes frightened in his work, he at the same time received consistent instruction and a position of responsibility in the household earlier than most children.

Although Sam won out in a sense over his younger siblings through their deaths, he feels the loss and lack of his older brother who died before he was old enough to have long been of assistance to Sam. The only person sufficiently closely related to be able to fulfill this role is his "father," Andy, who is six years older and thus was probably a member of the same play groups with Sam for only a brief period.

Sam therefore had to fight his childhood battles rather more alone than most, but with the unusual degree of support he received from his father and undoubtedly some help from more distant "brothers" (who presumably had to be treated with more care than most because they were less obligated), he emerged with rather more self-reliance than many of his contemporaries.

Apparently never having been refused food by his parents, he has more positive associations and less anxieties about eating than others. He views his entry into a sexual role with mixed feelings, complicated in his case by anxiety over its consequences for his religion.

### MIKE

#### AGE 17. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Mike's parents are both dead; he lives with his mother's older sister and her husband. Their son, Stephen, twenty years older than Mike, is mentioned frequently in his life history. Mike's mother had a daughter and two sons by her first husband (who later married another sister of hers); she then married Mike's father, the chief of Winisi at the time, and had three sons of whom Mike is the oldest. The lineages of his mother and of his father are the two largest on Romonum.

### RORSCHACH

One of the most striking characteristics of this boy is his strong need to defend himself against doing something wrong or deviant. This would be especially true when he finds himself in a situation where there is something new to which he must adjust and an authority figure is present. An added difficulty is the marked concreteness of his approach to problems so that he is unable to utilize the resources he does have to cope with such situations. His initial tendency is not one of responsiveness to his environment but one of hiding what he feels. He would avoid responding. In most respects he is a contrast to Sam. Although both of them do not easily reveal their personal thoughts or motives and show concreteness of thinking, Mike has these tendencies to a far greater

degree. Sam can and does respond to people and situations. Sam can utilize his capacities in an effective manner; Mike cannot. While Sam's functioning is at times affected by conflict, in Mike the effect is more pervasive. While Sam would be able to behave in a manner somewhat different from others, Mike would not stand out in any positive way.

It would be surprising if Mike were able to form and maintain a close interpersonal relationship. He is too constricted, inflexible and cautious. While the Trukese are probably not characterized by their deep interpersonal relations, Mike would maintain such relations on a more superficial level than the others and perhaps have few of them.

The interesting question is: why is Mike so fearful, cautious, inhibited and withdrawing? In a sense he is over-controlled. Why? With a person like Mike one expects to find few or no cues from the content of his record. Only in the most indirect manner does he tell you what he may be feeling or thinking. One possible clue might be derived from what Mike does not give. He does not give anything resembling an aggressive response. Speculatively, one might ask if his overcontrol is connected with strong aggressive drives which he feels might get him into difficulty. If an individual is terribly afraid of doing something wrong, one suspects that he has strong needs to do something wrong. But this is speculative. Peculiarities in his background probably would furnish a more detailed and adequate explanation.

In the case of both Mike and Sam, significance was attached to the absence of any aggressive content. There were many indications, however, that Sam does not passively submit or withdraw from problem situations. In the case of Mike there is not only an absence of aggressive content but a lack of any of the derivatives of aggression: perseverance, curiosity, and spontaneity in interpersonal contact.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Mike differs from Sam, as well as from many of the others, in that his stories are superficial and he is unable to respond at all to several of the pictures. From the way in which several stories are given and his affective reaction to a card (10) to which he could not make up a story, one concludes that Mike has great difficulty in revealing his thoughts and that his under-productivity and superficiality is, in part, due to evasiveness and strong inhibitory tendencies.

Because the stories are superficial it is difficult to give a detailed interpretation of Mike's stories. With this caution in mind, the following seems to emerge from the stories: There is no indication that Mike has experienced satisfactory parent-child relations. His parents seem to have been largely punishing and frustrating figures, the mother particularly. Unlike Sam, he does not appear to have received that amount of emotional support and gratification from his parents which would have allowed him to gain the degree of self-confidence which Sam possesses.

From the way in which women and men are described one might conclude that the former are viewed by Mike as being more aggressive and dominant than the latter. In fact, Mike's stories are distinguished by their passive, "lazy" tone, except when parental figures are described and then the women are the aggressive ones. Typically for the Trukese, a concern about food supply shows up in his stories.

Perhaps Mike is best viewed in comparison with Sam: (a) in the test situation Sam appears more confident, is more productive, less inhibited, and more revealing of his atti-

tudes and feelings; (b) Sam gives evidence of his identification with an assertive father figure while Mike does not; (c) Sam has more sources of personal satisfaction than does Mike; (d) Mike would be far less able than Sam to give expression to hostile or aggressive tendencies; (e) Mike would be a much less active or original person than Sam, that is, he would show less initiative; Sam can engage in more truly personal relationships than can Mike. One might tentatively offer the hypothesis that the differences between Mike and Sam are largely a function of different parent-child experiences.

There are similarities in certain of the stories told by Sam and Mike which at least deserve mention at this point. Both boys give a story in which the mother in one way or other resents giving a child food or saving it for him. In Sam's stories the mother is more clearly described as rejecting than is the father and what slight evidence there is in Mike's one story involving a family situation can be similarly interpreted. One can only speculate at this point that Trukese mothers are a greater source of frustration to children than the fathers.

### LIFE HISTORY

Mike's life history is quite short, only about half the length of the average for men. It is often difficult or impossible to tell at what age a given event took place, and he makes no distinction in his account between his own and his foster parents. It is therefore not possible to break the account down into periods; however, the main themes vary little throughout so we are fairly safe in assuming that what is said of one period applies equally to another. This is particularly true of his relations with his parents. We must also assume that the parents to whom he refers are usually his own, as they died fairly recently.

Mike does not once mention his mother, except insofar as she is included in references to both his parents. This would certainly suggest that relations with her were not very rewarding, but anything beyond this negative conclusion would be pure guesswork.

His father, on the other hand, appears in the majority of episodes and more often than not plays a punishing role. Mike appears to have been caught more firmly than most in the dilemma of wanting to play with other children but being told to remain home even though there was nothing to do there. He states in general terms that he was beaten "many times" for playing away from home and not returning when he was supposed to, and furthermore recounts in detail no less than seven such episodes in his short autobiography. In four of these he was beaten by his father, once refused food on his return by his father, and twice beaten by Stephen, in one case with the active support of his father. In addition he mentions being beaten for getting into a fight with another boy (an event reported to his father by the "brother" who intervened on Mike's behalf) and for beating his younger brother who would not go and get some soap for Mike and him to bathe with. One gets the impression of a constant struggle to keep Mike from playing with other children and thus to keep him out of trouble, a struggle in which Mike always lost the battles but did not cease to rebel. The following passage is typical:

My older brother [half-brother] and I went out and played, but we played all day and when we came back Stephen was angry and beat us.

Until I was quite big Stephen used to beat me all the time because I was bad. He would lecture me and beat me and I would say I would be good, but then I would go right out and be naughty again. My father told me not to do that because Stephen



was always angry at me and beat me; he told me I should do what Stephen told me right away. I said yes but was naughty again and got beaten again. My father was angry and told me I deserved the beatings. I told him I would not be bad again and do just what he told me.

Although children are usually allowed to play around the fringes of adult meetings, Mike's father, who as chief attended them often, refused to take him. Mike begged to go because he hoped to get some food if there was a little feast, but his father refused and each time further told him he must not go out and play. Mike similarly asked to go with his father on fishing trips, and was again told to remain home: "Each time I said I was going to go with them. But he said I could not for I would drown. I said I would just stay on the boat and eat fish, but he said no, and when they left the following day I would stand on the pier and cry."

In each of these episodes the underlying motive is given as a desire for food. This was obviously a crucial point in his relations with his father; he describes in some detail the troubles he and his father had during several days when there were no fish and they had to eat their breadfruit with only coconut as accompaniment. This may have been intended to show that although his father could withhold food from Mike, he himself sometimes did not have enough and was thus also vulnerable. Mike, however, had his own means of retaliation with food—a means not devised (or at least mentioned) by any other child: he bought biscuits and fish from a Japanese storekeeper on the island on his father's credit. The storekeeper always advanced credit, knowing Mike's father would pay. Twice Mike was beaten for this, but the third time for some reason he was not.

Only once does Mike mention his father helping him: they were walking together by the store and the storekeeper's dog bit Mike rather severely. At this his father slashed the dog with his knife and drove it away.

Mike says that by the time he was six or seven he was able to climb coconut trees; he would be sent inland by his parents to get coconuts or sugar cane but go off and play instead, thus earning a beating. This is the only time he mentions his age, and it appears most unlikely that he was actually this young when he was told to climb trees. His father did, however, take Mike with him to their gardens somewhat later. He describes his first day, during which he was not very helpful because he played when he should have been working, but stayed until nightfall. The next day his father would not take him until he promised to play no more; they then went up and worked all day. It is interesting that they had no fish, and this time Mike persuaded his father to let him go and buy them a fish on credit. The positive instructions and responsibility his father finally gave him must have been of considerable importance to Mike after his years of futile struggle for he says, "After that I no longer wanted to go and play all day. I just accompanied him in his work in the gardens."

When his father died, however, Mike says, "All my relatives came and cried and I cried too because I was unhappy. But after a few days I no longer missed him and just thought about playing some more."

There are few references in Mike's account to his play activities except as a prelude to another beating from his father or Stephen. Where these do appear he tells of the usual round of games—racing, fighting fish, the ghost game, tug o' war, swimming, and foraging for fruit and other food—usually in company with other boys of his village (Winisi), often on the sand spit.



He replied to a question that he had as yet had no sexual experience: "I have not yet started going to girls—I don't want to yet. I don't like to walk around at night. I am scared of the ghosts." He is probably not completely without experience but it is interesting that he identifies his anxiety in this regard only with ghosts.

It was again in reply to a question that he stated, as quoted in Chapter 7, that he was glad his parents were arranging his marriage because "this way it is sure to be all right." For the future "I want to tend my gardens, planting things like breadfruit, bananas, sweet potatoes, and manioc; thus there will always be food for me."

Asked if people liked him, he said, "I think the people here dislike me though I don't know why, nor do I know why I think so. I do not like to have them dislike me."

He was able to report no dreams.

*Discussion.* Little comment is required on this record. The existence of strong feelings of aggression on Mike's part, tentatively identified from the Rorschach, would certainly seem more than likely in terms of the long and futile battle he put up against his father and Stephen. Mike had a minimum of opportunity to develop any sort of self-assurance and thus retreated to a greater degree than most behind the Trukese shield of concreteness and unresponsiveness.

The difficulties he had with his father, coupled with the suggestion from his TAT stories that he found mothers even more punishing than fathers, leads us to wonder even more about the nature of his relations with his own mother. These have been so well suppressed in his account that we are forced to leave this question unanswered.

## ROGER

### AGE 17. POPULARITY: HIGH

Roger's own parents died during his childhood. He was, however, adopted as an infant by Thomas and Rachel; Rachel was Roger's father's sister. We shall have occasion to refer to the account of Roger's childhood contained in Rachel's life history. Roger was the third of four children; his older sister is Tony's wife, a brother younger than she is dead, and his younger brother married (subsequent to the time of this study) another of our subjects, Kate. Roger's social alignment, due to his early adoption, is primarily with Rachel's lineage. There are a rather large number of boys about his age whom he can through various lines of relationship call "brothers."

Roger, although well built, is very small in stature compared with any other fully grown adolescent or man on Romonum. He was at the time of this study, and still is, the island health aide on Romonum, paid by the administration to implement the health and sanitation programs on the island. His betrothed, whom he later married, is a member of the lineage of the island storekeeper, a person of some consequence and power on Romonum.

## RORSCHACH

This is not a person who is easily described, largely because of the many contrasting tendencies within him. For example, at times he can be very flexible in his handling of and adaptation to problem-solving situations, but at others his handling of such situations would be diffuse and erratic. Sometimes he can respond in a somewhat easy manner to other people but at other times his responsiveness might appear stilted and awkward. He

can be assertive, feel self-confident, and act effectively, although when he feels uncertain or is in conflict, these characteristics lose their strength. Just as for many Trukese, conflict for Roger tends to result in diminished responsiveness and a lowering of adequacy. Unlike many Trukese he has a drive to achieve but his attempts to give expression to this drive sometimes misfire. Like so many Trukese, Roger cannot easily express his more personal thoughts or motives. Although he attempts actively to engage in relations with others—and does so to a far greater degree than Mike—his responsiveness is not a direct expression of his inner needs. One might sum up these statements as follows: Roger is far more like Sam than he is like Mike. He utilizes his capacities more effectively than Mike but not so well or so consistently as Sam. He is not so cautious, fearful, or over-controlled as Mike, but he does possess an underlying anxiety which occasionally is interfering.

There is evidence in this record of a sexual anxiety which has an interfering effect upon Roger. Again the specific nature of the problem is not very clear. There is some indication that the problem is somewhat related to the size of the penis, as if size and adequacy were synonymous. If this hypothesis has any merit, one might deduce that sexual activity in some way involves competition with other males—a form of aggressiveness. (One point should be made clear: by terms like "sexual conflict" or "sexual anxiety" there is not implied avoidance of sexual activity. With the Trukese the evidence indicates much interest in and attraction to such activity. The terms are meant to imply that the area of sexual activity produces problems and conflicts which are not likely to be surface phenomena. Put in another way: the Trukese are not likely to talk about these private attitudes with ease, as indeed they are not likely to discuss personal problems in other areas.)

With Roger, as with many of the others, the effect of conflict and anxiety is an impoverishing one in that the range of his responsiveness is reduced and he tends to retreat from rather than engage in interpersonal contacts. But Roger does not retreat or withdraw so much as many of the others. He would maintain such relations but with an underlying caution and a manifest superficiality. He does not have the recoverability of Sam, nor does he possess his resourcefulness in a problem-solving situation. However, in rating Roger, one would say that he is more like Sam than Mike.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

One of the major conclusions derived from Roger's stories concerns feelings and attitudes arising from what is apparently an unresolved oedipal situation. These stories are almost unique in the series of male cases in that the mother figure is always described as nurturant: she nurses the child whenever he desires and in general adopts a protective attitude. The father figure, however, is much more ambivalently described: at times he is nurturant and protective but at other times he is unexplainedly hostile toward the son or else the son is hostile toward the father. In one story a son throws a rock at his father's genitals, to which the father reacts with a relatively mild verbal admonishment. In another story the refusal of a son to eat food his father has brought, preferring instead to nurse, brings on a very strong hostile reaction on the part of the father: he leaves the mother and child for good. It should be pointed out that Roger gives two stories involving a

husband and wife and in both stories the mother grieves the father's loss because she loves him. Interestingly enough, Roger manages to have the husband leave or die in both stories. It is also important to note two other types of stories related by Roger: one involving hostile feelings toward siblings and the other involving anxiety about physical injury and revengeful ghosts.

It is on the basis of such themes that one concludes that Roger is a boy with rather conflicting feelings about his masculinity. His current conflicts seem to center around aggression and dependence. On the one hand, he has strong assertive and competitive tendencies, but on the other, he has too much anxiety about his hostility—the result being that he cannot adequately satisfy either his aggressive or his dependency needs. In short, he does not feel "at home" being either aggressive or passive. He experiences too much hostility for us to assume that he has learned a passive type of defense and he yearns too much for a dependency role to assume that he can express his hostile feelings. One might characterize Roger as being immature, a mixture of the child and the adult. One would expect Roger's frustration tolerance to be rather low and that when aggression is expressed it will tend to be indirect and furtive. There is one story (6) which strongly suggests that in Roger, masculine display is a compensation for frustration of his oral-dependency needs. It is as if he wants to be a man in order to defend himself against his childlike needs.

A comparison of Roger and Sam reveals some interesting differences: while Sam has ambivalent feelings toward both his parents, Roger shows them only in relation to his mother; while Sam seems to have derived emotional gratification from peer relations, there is less indication of this with Roger; while Sam shows no unusual amount of anxiety about hostility or physical injury, Roger shows a good deal of it; while Sam appears to be a relatively self-confident boy who looks forward to the adult role, Roger is much less confident of himself and has difficulty adapting himself to the adult role.

But Roger is much more like Sam than he is like Mike. Mike is more passive, more constricted, less productive, and far less "ambitious" than either Roger or Sam. It is interesting how the three apparently differ in certain important respects.

SAM	MIKE	ROGER
1. Both parents supportive although both are also punitive. Ambivalence toward parents. Identification with father.	1. Neither parent apparently supportive or protective.	1. Mother nurturant—strongest hostility toward father. Identification with mother but with conscious masculine strivings.
2. Satisfying peer or sibling relations.	2. No data.	2. Marked sibling or peer rivalry.
3. Relatively self-confident with minimal anxiety.	3. Passive adjustment. Probably avoids experience of anxiety. More anxiety than Sam but less than Roger.	3. Relatively anxious.
4. Active and constructive.	4. Passive and uninspired.	4. Active but erratic in quality of performances.

That Sam is a more adequate individual than Roger or Mike may be deduced from what has been presented above. We might also note the fact that Sam was the only one of the three who had no difficulty in adjusting to the requirements of the test situation.

### LIFE HISTORY

Roger's life history, although longer than Mike's is still appreciably below the average for men. He tells us virtually nothing of his early childhood; at one point he speaks of "long ago when we were all small boys," but then describes play groups divided on both sex and village lines, which it is most unlikely he joined before the age of five or six at the earliest. Rachel tells us that she took Roger over from his mother at the age of one month. While this is probably an exaggeration, it is apparent that he was separated from his own mother, and hence weaned, far earlier than most children. At three months (still according to Rachel) he became very ill, having a high fever for several days, but then recovered. At three years he was still crying every time he did not get his wish in regard to anything; he was finally broken of this constant crying by Thomas who beat him every time he cried and thus led him to understand it was not a good idea.

Roger begins his account, however, with a rather overly emphatic statement of his allegiance to his foster parents and corresponding denial of any tie with his own kin:

I will begin by talking about my mother and father who are dead. [It had been suggested the day before that he tell about his early childhood, relations with parents, etc.] I will just tell you what I have heard from my present parents, Thomas and Rachel, because I don't remember it myself.

When I was still small and could not yet think I lived with my real parents. When I was barely able to crawl Rachel and Thomas took me away from my parents; I lived with them until I was bigger and able to walk, but I did not know they were anything but my real parents. Later, when people told me to go to my parents I did not think of my real parents; I just knew about Thomas and Rachel. When I became big enough to work I just did work for Thomas, not the brother of my real mother who was dead, because I loved Thomas and Rachel because they had raised me. Nowadays lots of people ask me why I don't go to do work for the relatives of my dead mother but I tell them I cannot because I was raised by Thomas. Had Thomas and Rachel taken me when I was big I could work for these relatives, but they raised me from a baby so I cannot. I think of these relatives and go to talk to them, but I don't work for them—I just go and talk and then come back and do work for Thomas.

Despite his protestations of affection for his foster parents, he does not mention Thomas again and Rachel only once in an episode where she discovered he and a "brother" of his had been smoking; she beat him and then called in an older "brother" to do a good job of beating them both. This resulted in their running away and hiding; the episode is quoted in the chapter, "The Child."

This is not the only beating he received—in fact, his life history is almost exclusively an account of his beatings, not, however, at the hands of his foster parents. His group of Winisi boys ran away and hid from the bigger Chorong boys who threw rocks at them and chased them; this same group stole some food from a canoe belonging to some Okinawans who found out, surrounded them, and beat them with sticks. Roger notes



that his parents could not rescue them because they also were afraid of the Okinawans; however, the boys fled inland and on their return the next morning Roger's parents were angry with him and threatened to beat him if he stole again. Roger was also beaten by his own father for swimming with two "brothers" when they had been told not to; they fled and his "brothers" climbed a tree. When Roger followed them up, a branch broke under him and he fell; he was picked up unconscious under the tree, taken home, and revived with holy water. His father was still angry but the next day the three went swimming again; this time Roger was able to persuade his father his two "brothers" had instigated the swimming so Roger stood by laughing while his "brothers" were beaten, only to have them return and beat him.

Roger's account of his years in school on Udot and Dublon shows him alone and embattled at every turn by bigger boys, but often holding his own and acting as the leader of his less resourceful companions. This is made the more significant in view of Rachel's account of her travails in staying with Roger *throughout* his schooling, and the independently verified fact that she did stay with him through the first half of his three years on Udot and all of his half year on Dublon. By his account, Roger and his companions, a boy and girl, arrived on Udot without a place to stay and no relatives to turn to. Roger suggested they stay in the schoolhouse; when the teacher told them in the morning they could no longer sleep there Roger went out and found an older man whom he asked to be a "brother" and who took them in. In the boys' school he and the other Romonum boy found the Udot boys glaring at them; Roger concluded they were going to be beaten, so he precipitated a fight in which they were not hurt because there were so many Udot boys they all just hit one another. Roger says he was, however, beaten brutally by the Trukese teacher for starting the fight.

After this Roger says he stopped fighting and applied himself so well he rose two grades in one year and caused the teacher to marvel that he could have thought Roger stupid. Roger says this success made him want to fight again, so he picked a fight with another boy, was branded "just bad" by the teacher, and sent to the school on Dublon. (The school on Dublon was actually an advanced school, attended by Roger as well as others after graduating from the three-year course on Udot.) The boys on Dublon were even bigger; a big boy precipitated a fight with Roger, during which Roger was wounded in the back by the boy's knife and saved by the intervention of a Romonum man. The next day he returned to Romonum and when the teacher later came to Romonum and inquired about him, Roger said he was very sick and was permitted to remain home. (His schooling on Dublon was actually terminated by the war.)

In regard to his present status, Roger wistfully looks back upon his carefree childhood but now has nothing but worries—worries over "work, eating, playing, women, everything." He resents his being prevented by the storekeeper from marrying his betrothed, and accusations from the storekeeper's mother that Roger is stealing things from the store (which he sleeps in and also uses as a temporary dispensary). His only goals are to get married, and to be kind, generous, and well liked by everyone.

*Dreams.* Roger reports a dream he had at the age of twelve, in which all his companions aboard a boat were drowned when the boat was smashed in a storm. He tried to save his "brother" but in vain; he took the body ashore, buried it, and was left alone. Then his "brother" abruptly returned and accosted Roger who woke in alarm. It is interesting



that a very similar theme appears in Roger's TAT (Picture 16). In both, the "brother" cannot be saved but returns after his death. In the TAT the threat implied in the dream becomes a reality when the "brother," transformed into a fish, eats the survivors.

He also had two current dreams one of which he could not remember because it scared him. In the other he bought some shoes from the storekeeper, although noting that they were very flimsy; the shoes shortly fell apart but when Roger demanded his money back the storekeeper beat him. He fled inland, desperate, and woke up.

*Discussion.* Roger's life history tells us little of his experiences, particularly in early childhood, but reveals the same concern over his physical adequacy which was interpreted in the TAT analysis as anxiety over his masculinity and fear of physical injury. He is beaten by "bigger" boys (in Trukese this may mean either larger or older or both) but describes his triumphs in school in passages which we must conclude are in large part deliberate fantasy. There can be little doubt that it is his small size which has channeled his anxieties in this direction. He compensates for his feeling of inferiority by fantasizing his success (or in the dream and TAT story, survival) over his larger peers.

His opening statement of strong allegiance to his *foster* parents makes almost explicit the feeling of rejection by his *own* parents which Roger felt was implied in his adoption; it is as if he is saying "They did not care for me enough to want to keep me, so I refuse to feel any obligation toward them." Rachel and Thomas, on the other hand, took him in and thus earned his loyalty and the work upon which he lays so much stress; if he has any appreciation of the fact that it was Rachel who took him from his presumably not too willing parents it does not appear here. Rachel herself, as will become apparent in our discussion of her life history, is a woman who has a strong but unrewarded desire to be a mother herself and jealousy toward women more successful in this regard than she. She lays great stress on her devotion to her two adopted children (Irene and Roger) but at the time shows resentment of the burden they are upon her. In many respects she thus corresponds to the type of woman who in our society is likely to exhibit toward her children what is referred to as "maternal overprotection"—a marked display of maternal affection at the overt level, coupled with the use of her parental power to inflict upon her children the sort of restriction she inwardly feels they are placing upon her. Insofar as the child takes his mother's protestations of affection at face value he tends to exaggerate in his own mind her importance to him; at the same time the restrictions (which Roger once remarked in a different context were irksome in his case) reduce his contact with other children and his effectiveness in meeting them on equal terms. Both of these results are evident in the picture of Roger's personality as defined by the tests; his dissatisfaction with his relations with his peers ("brothers") is in his case a product not only of his mother's overprotection but also of his feeling of physical inferiority due to his small size. Overprotected children are typically "spoiled" children who cry, as Roger did, at every frustration and grow up physically without at the same time achieving psychological maturity in an adult role. In our society some cover their sense of inadequacy among their age-mates with aggression, becoming childhood "bullies" and blustering "conceited" adults; this type of response is so antithetical to everything for which the Trukese are prepared that it is doubtful whether any Trukese would ever respond to his feelings of insecurity in this fashion. Others in our society, unable to take their place effectively among their equals, either withdraw or seek success in a noncompetitive role,

both being modes of adaptation more suitable to the Trukese personality. Roger chose the latter course and accepted the job of health aide wherein he attained a position of prestige without competition; at the same time (if we wish to be speculative) we may assume he derives satisfaction from an identification of himself as the good parent caring for the ills and needs of the people of Romonum. We might further note parenthetically that Roger, subjected to the essentially "Western" experience of maternal overprotection, is the only one of our subjects to reveal at all clearly any oedipal conflicts; for other Trukese the mother, while highly important, never appears sufficiently loving to provide a basis even for fantasies of an intimate mother-son relationship.

Although Roger is able to report only harrowing episodes in his childhood, as he now enters adult status he looks back upon his life as a child as happy and carefree by comparison. He is having a hard time making his way and centers his resentment (overtly and in his dream) upon his future father-in-law, the storekeeper. It is clear that this man, who is in fact highly authoritarian, now stands between Roger and his betrothed just as his foster father, Thomas, stood between him and Rachel in the oedipal situation of his childhood.

### ANDY

#### AGE 19. POPULARITY: HIGH

Shortly before Andy's birth on the island of Moen his mother divorced her husband and married another man who acts in every respect as Andy's own father. After Andy, his mother had seven other children as follows: a boy who died at the age of seven or eight, a boy who died at four or five, a girl now thirteen, a girl now nine, a girl who died at two or three, a boy now five, and a girl now two. The lineage to which Andy belongs is among the smallest on Romonum, and Andy is the oldest male in it; next in age is Sam. Andy's "brothers" are thus mostly artificial.

Andy's father is the Catholic catechist on Romonum and likes to consider himself an entrepreneur, a desire which increases both his importance on the island and his debts. Andy was my principal assistant and companion during our stay on Romonum. At the time of recording his life history he was pining for a girl to whom he had been betrothed some two years before; her parents broke the betrothal and married her to another man. A few months later he became disillusioned in this girl and began the intensive affair with his "brother's" wife described previously. In the crisis precipitated by this affair he was maneuvered into marrying his former betrothed after her hasty divorce; this marriage was seldom satisfactory to Andy, but four years later he had not yet succeeded in realizing his often stated determination to terminate the relationship. In the preceding pages we have mentioned his birth, at which he was almost killed as a ghost, and his attempted suicide as a result of an argument with his mother.

### RORSCHACH

Andy is probably the most complex and un-Trukese person in this group. He is much more adaptable, spontaneous and outgoing than the others and can express his feelings and needs in a more direct fashion. He is self-confident and probably is overtly more aggressive (in the positive sense) than the others. He lacks the strong inhibitory tenden-

cies which the others tend to share. He is able to act on the basis of his feelings and is not so afraid to express them. He also lacks the concreteness of thinking of so many Trukese. He is flexible in his approach to problem-solving tasks and can use his imagination—he probably is not so afraid of fantasy as many of the others are. He is sufficiently different from others that one wonders whether this culture permits him to carry out or satisfy many of his inner needs and fantasies. There is some indication that Andy's internal needs, desires and fantasies may be stronger or more fully developed than his ability to give them satisfying expression. In a sense, he is like a child (a smart one) who feels much more and wants to do more than he can say or do. One would also conclude that he feels more aggressive tendencies than he allows himself to express.

So far, emphasis has been given to the non-Trukese aspects of Andy's make-up. He is like the Trukese, however, in that he inhibits, or in his case, tries to inhibit, the expression of strong or conflicting feelings: what one feels strongly one should not express. His initial response tendency is to avoid any expression of feeling but it should be emphasized that Andy overcomes this better than the others. He also shows conflict or anxiety in the sexual area. In this sphere strong inhibitory tendencies have a constricting effect. It is interesting that in Andy's record women are described as aggressive and such aggressiveness seems to be associated in his mind with sexuality. Whatever the explanation of the hypothesized sexual problem, in this and in other cases, it would appear that fulfilling the male sexual role is not without its problems. One other way of describing the difference between Andy and the others would be as follows: like Sam, he has capacities and utilizes them, but he is better able than Sam to maintain interpersonal relationships that are more than superficial. Like Roger, he is outgoing and striving but Andy gets more satisfaction from interpersonal relationships and is more successful in carrying out his strivings. In most ways Andy and Mike are striking contrasts.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

What is perhaps most distinctive about Andy's stories is that they reveal his unusually strong needs for intellectual achievement and personal prowess. He is the only one in the series who has closely identified himself with the Western examiner, whom he regards as a "thinker" and whom he wishes to emulate. One might put it this way: Andy has an unusually high level of aspiration; he not only wants to be a "thinker" but he wants in general to excel—to be in a position of eminence and power. Although he possesses a degree of self-confidence which is unusual for the Trukese, he is plagued by self-doubts and feelings of inadequacy in regard to the fulfillment of his goals. Given his high level of aspiration, and the contents of it, we would expect him to be quite aware of the discrepancy between what he would like to be and what he is or might be. The important point to stress is that Andy not only wants to be a "thinker" and a man of great personal and physical prowess, but he wants to be "on top." It should be emphasized that his achievement strivings are intimately related to very strong aggressive and hostile feelings. From his stories one might conclude that his achievement fantasies and assertive tendencies are sublimated expressions of extremely strong hostile tendencies. This should not be taken to mean that Andy does not consciously experience strong hostile feelings because the strength of these feelings as reflected in his stories is too great to assume that

it is completely or even largely sublimated. The fact that in his stories the aggressive action of some of the figures is either seen as a "battle of minds," or is connected with guilt, or serves to protect a weaker person, or is punished, or has "accidental" effects, or in some way is associated with feelings of inadequacy—leads one to conclude that much of Andy's hostility is inhibited. One would expect it to be expressed indirectly or through his excelling in some kind of activity. Andy is a "bright" boy and should be able to satisfy at least partially his need to excel and achieve. However, the discrepancy between what he would like to do and what he can do is probably a source of concern and frustration.

The question why Andy should possess the need to achieve and a relatively good degree of self-confidence seems to be answered by the nature of his parent-child relationships. Apparently Andy has been able to identify himself with supportive and dominant parental figures. But the stories reveal a difference in his attitude toward mother and father figures. Again it is the mother who is more ambivalently described. What the stories suggest is that Andy's mother, although supportive and protective, was a more threatening and perhaps aggressive person than the father. In fact, Andy appears to react with feelings of inadequacy and submission to adult females. It is as if toward men he feels more secure or self-confident than he does toward women. He feels that women are powerful, undependable, and threatening. However, he is attracted to people, male or female, whom he regards in one way or another as exceptional.

There is evidence in his stories that Andy, like Roger, did not have an uneventful oedipal stage. The remnants of the conflict are not nearly so strong as in the case of Roger. It is as if Andy resolved the conflict by identifying with the power of the father whereas Roger was only partially successful in doing so. We would expect Andy to be a more mature person than Roger.

There is good evidence in the stories that Andy tends to identify with the underdog who is weak, helpless or unaggressive. Although he tends to deprecate such people, he nevertheless takes a protective attitude toward them. If one assumes that Andy himself feels like an underdog, the possibility arises that his relations with one or both of his parents are responsible. It is difficult to be more specific on this point. The fact that fear of "being alone" recurs in the stories in relation to the loss of a parent—usually the father—suggests that the family constellation might in some way be responsible for this feeling of being the underdog against which Andy reacted aggressively and assertively. In short, it may be that Andy's strong needs for assertion and achievement are a form of compensation for opposing feelings of inadequacy and some kind of personal loss. Whether this stems from the oedipal conflict or some non-sexual social factors, or both, cannot be answered in any detail.

What perhaps deserves elaboration here is Andy's sexual attitudes toward women. Although he has strong sexual drives and interests, he seems to have some guilt about their expression. When this is taken together with the typically Trukese attitude that women are not dependable sexually and are threatening to a man's self-esteem, it seems that Andy has his problems in this area. It may be that a person with strong needs for assertion and dominance is particularly vulnerable in his relations with Trukese women.



## LIFE HISTORY

Although Andy's life history provides us with abundant evidence that he is quite as exceptional among Trukese as his test results would indicate, he tells us little that would provide a reliable basis for determining why he developed in this direction. His account is again shorter than the average, and almost a third of what he tells consists in a review of his present status in response to the usual questions in this regard.

Andy's early childhood was spent with his parents on Moen, several months on an island on the barrier reef where his parents were cutting copra, and later on Romonum. His recollections of this early period consist in accounts of no less than four adult feasts at which he was present—during one of which an older man gave him some sake and he got drunk—catching some crabs and roasting them, and being accidentally bitten on the finger by a big coconut crab he had been given. He mentions his parents only in passing. He conveys the impression of an assured and anxiety-free period after he arrived as a small child on Romonum: "I don't remember coming here. I liked it much better here than on Moen. [Why?] Because I was bigger and knew what was going on. I used to sing songs and go from house to house getting little presents. There was lots of food. . . ."

The only beatings he mentions were administered by his father when Andy was about six in punishment for the common misdeed of swimming when he was told not to. He says, "I was unhappy and cried and cried. My mother was angry at my father and cried too because he was treating me like an animal." This is a most unusual reaction for a Trukese parent and, if true, indicates a greater appreciation of Andy's status as a personality to be reckoned with in the family group than we find in the accounts of others. He never mentions being told to stay around the house or having food refused him for his misdeeds.

By the time Andy was eight he was playing the ghost game on the Winisi sand spit, participating with young adults in canoe races, and fishing with a slightly older "brother" (Andy's father's brother's son—Roger's deceased older brother). From this time onward Andy mentions with pride his skill in fishing, compounded, in his opinion, of luck and his enjoyment of the sport. He identifies with his father in this regard and yet has anxieties: "My father is the same way: he is number one with the thrown spear while I am number one with the small rubber-propelled spear. I don't know why I can get fish so easily. I have an idea that one day I will be sorry for it, for we Trukese are a little scared of people who are so unusually apt in some form of work. If someone is very lucky in fishing every time he goes out he is not quite the same as other people—perhaps he will soon die for the ghosts will come and get him." This passage spells out the dilemma noted in his TAT: he seeks and enjoys personal achievement, but shares with other Trukese the anxiety which comes with being outstanding and surpassing one's fellows, an anxiety he typically ascribes to the relatively impersonal ghosts rather than to the hostility of actual people.

At about twelve or thirteen Andy spent two months visiting on the reef island of Pis where he again distinguished himself as a fisherman and began to make advances toward girls: "I used to wear a lot of flowers in my hair and give them to girls; I used to tickle their legs with a coconut leaf rib, up their legs as far as I could go." He did not have any intention really of starting an affair, however, for he had the opportunity and



did not take it. A girl approached a "brother" Andy had acquired on Pis and asked him to arrange that the three of them get together so she could hear Andy talk. "I wondered about this, but we went out to the beach. We sat leaning against a boat with the girl beside me. Later she asked me for my flowers and gave me hers. I did not understand all this and asked my 'brother' about it; he said she liked me very much. I said, 'Really, is that true?' and he said 'Yes.' But there was nothing I could do about it because she was older than I—I was just young."

Andy describes two narrow escapes during the bombing of Truk, one on Dublon during the first raids and a second when a boat was strafed and sunk. The boat was based on Romonum and several people from the island (including a "brother" of Andy's) were killed; this episode is mentioned in several of the life histories. Andy found his father in the water and helped him to land (on Romonum's reef island of Yawata, where they had been fishing). Andy ascribes his escape in each case to his presence of mind, although he adds in recounting the bombing episode on Dublon that he prayed and Jesus cared for him. Those who were killed on the boat "did not dive under the water; they did not observe as I did that the bullets ricocheted off the surface."

In discussing his present status Andy shows clearly his dependence on his parents and the degree to which this centers about food:

Every day I think of my father and mother and what I would do if they should sicken and die. I am frightened. I don't know what I would do. I would just have to go into some relative's house, although not a real "mother" or "father," and take some food—I would be embarrassed, very embarrassed. I hope they do not die first; I would rather I died first. I would hate to see them die; I love them. If they died I would be hungry and embarrassed. There would be no food, no money, no clothes; there would be, but if they were dead it would not be the same as now. Every day I would go to the house—not of my real mother and father but of others—and just sit down and wait until they asked me if I wanted to eat, if they did at all. Now I just go up and ask if there is any food; I am not embarrassed. If my parents should die I think I would have to go and live with my father's sister, Rachel. Whenever I go there to eat I notice her son Roger always is given a bigger share than I—she is not a very good sort of person. On the other hand when he or my father's brothers' other children come to our house everybody gets the same amount of food: it is just as if they were all my parents' own children. That is why I keep thinking how sorry I would be if my parents were to die: if I lived in my father's sister's house I would be embarrassed every day.

In another passage Andy shows his strong identification of himself with his father, protecting and watching over his younger sisters; then, in response to a question, he shows his anxiety over his adequacy in the event that this protection should involve fighting.

I also think of my sisters and when they will be married. I am very anxious that they marry, but not to men who will beat them every day. If their husbands beat them all the time I will not know what to do for I will not want to fight them, and yet I will be angry for I love them most of all. I think that finally one day I would get mad enough to fight them. [Why would you not want to fight them—frightened?] No! Not I. I just don't like to fight. When I was small and other boys beat me I could not fight, for I was frightened and small. But now I think I am big enough to fight, and I think that if I were to meet any of those boys I would fight them. Since the time I left the Japanese school where those boys used to beat me I have gotten bigger and if I go far

away and meet them I will fight them. I used to feel that I could not fight them when they ganged together against me; I wanted to fight them one at a time but that was not possible. But now I feel I would just do it.

It is evident that Andy's anxiety over fighting is a blend of his common Trukese feeling that he should not be directly aggressive (it would be all right to fight the boys if he them "far away") and actual timidity in facing a fight (he could have fought as a child if the boys had not "ganged together"). Although he now envisions himself as not afraid, we should note that he does not permit himself the degree of fantasy Roger showed in stating as fact his heroic emergence from a fight against overwhelming odds.

In continuing the discussion of his present status Andy tells how much he would like to marry his former betrothed, and what an ideal husband he would be (a hope not entirely realized when the marriage became a fact). He says he likes being a young man, and does not want to grow old. "I am afraid of dying early. Every time I have intercourse or something of the sort I am a little afraid of dying. I am afraid I will die because of doing something bad. [?] I really don't know why I am scared—that is just the way it is. I am a little afraid because I have intercourse with girls and also go to church; that is why I am scared."

*Dreams.* Four current dreams were recorded in the weeks which followed the life history sessions, the first occurring the night following the conclusion of Andy's interviews. He met his love and she told him angrily to go away, followed by a curse. As he and others were trying to placate her Andy awoke. Andy's interpretation of this dream follows a standard line of reasoning, a device which permits the Trukese to deflect the aggressive implications of their often hostile dream situations: because his love rejected *him*, this meant she was thinking of someone else. People are never angry at the persons toward whom they express hostility in their dreams.

The second dream occurred five days later. Andy simply dreamed a tooth had fallen out, woke, and found all his teeth there. This is interpreted as signifying the imminent death of a relative.

Two months later Andy dreamed he and three companions were by a beautiful mountain covered with soft grass. He saw a magnificent red chicken. They chased it up on the mountain and one of Andy's companions caught the chicken; he gave it to Andy, but it got away. They were off the mountain by then so they again chased it up the mountain, the same man caught it, and gave it to Andy who did not let it go again. Everyone admired it. The interpretation was in terms of chicken medicine, a type of curing magic.

The last dream was ten days later, involving Andy and me, and later the other two anthropologists then still on Romonum. A powerful older man on the island threatened and then attacked me; Andy almost cried, then used a powerful curse to stop the man, but in vain. I defended myself successfully, and then many people closed in on the four of us with knives. We fended them off and then the people drew back, walking around angrily. Andy awoke, but adds that before he woke it occurred to him that he must not walk around at night lest someone knife him. Andy could offer no interpretation. It should be noted that in his dream Andy did not enter the fight until he had three companions.

*Discussion.* As we noted in beginning the summary of Andy's life history, he is an unusual boy to find on Truk; his desire for and pride in achievement is marked—he is a

skilled fisherman, and wants to be a good fighter, a protecting father, and ideal husband. But, as noted from his tests, he finds his path blocked by his anxieties; even his skill at fishing, a culturally approved and essentially noncompetitive activity, gives him pause. We should also note that his goals involve doing things for other people to a degree most Trukese do not show: he wants to be able to fight to protect his sisters, and as an ideal husband he will be kind and tolerant toward his wife. He thus shows the capability for more satisfying and sensitive interpersonal relationships noted in his Rorschach, a characteristic even more evident to one who knows him and has an opportunity to compare him with other Trukese. He can introspect: whereas other Trukese respond to a battery of questions as to their present status with only a few sentences, Andy takes off on a long discussion of his personal problems. It is evident that a person of this sort would find difficulty in finding the sort of relationships he seeks among other Trukese. It is probably this which led him to form a strong attachment to me, an American and therefore less constricted than the average Trukese (and by the same token led me to select him as my companion and assistant). If we remember that his strivings for achievement as expressed in his life history are toward goals within the Trukese framework, it appears likely that his identification with me as a "thinker" in the TAT is an identification with my responsiveness rather than with my superior status as an American. Although not mentioned in the life history, he noted in another context that his closest friend to date had been an unusually kindly Japanese man, "different from the other Japanese." Thus although he knows how to behave in the Trukese society, and accepts its stated goals as his own, he is in important respects unfitted to make a satisfying adjustment to his life there. But by accepting his version of Trukese life goals as the measure of his own success he introspectively examines himself against this yardstick and finds himself wanting; thus to the frustration of his inability to find responsive companionship is added the frustration of his failure to be a successful Trukese.

In seeking an explanation for Andy's atypical development we find in his life history two clues: his seemingly carefree childhood and his mother's sympathy with him when his father was beating him "like an animal." As we noted above, this shows a sympathy and understanding on his mother's part which is unusual. She shows this same attitude toward his younger siblings—observed especially during the latter part of my stay on Romonum when I was living in their house. His father is more neutral, but did not show toward his young children the occasionally vindictive behavior noted in other fathers. It would thus appear that Andy had an exceptionally supportive mother who treated him more as a person than a plaything, and a father who was at least less punitive than most and with whom Andy succeeded in establishing a strong identification. With the greater responsiveness he thus acquired he undoubtedly became a more amusing "plaything" to older people than most children (as is his five-year-old brother now) and for this reason received more positive attention from other adults as a child—as he himself notes when he describes his unusual activity of singing songs and collecting little presents around the island.

If Andy had such a "loving" mother (by Trukese standards) on whom he remains very dependent, one wonders why he does not show with any clarity the oedipal conflicts revealed in Roger's TAT. The answer very possibly lies in the number of times his mother was pregnant and cared for the resulting small babies: she had seven children after Andy,

all of whom survived at least well into childhood. Thus whereas Roger's childless mother Rachel could always be available to him, Andy's support and attention from his mother were repeatedly broken by long intervals when she was more or less incapacitated by pregnancy or preoccupied with a baby. It would thus have been difficult for Andy even in fantasy to have believed that he could command his mother's exclusive attention. At the same time the negative component of the oedipus—hostility toward the father—would have been less likely to develop in Andy, whose father was only occasionally punitive, than in Roger whose father, we may remember, broke him of crying by beating him every time he did.

### TONY

#### AGE 23. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Both of Tony's parents are living. He is the oldest of their five living children, although five others died. His older brother died at the age of twenty-three, seven years prior to the recording of Tony's life history; Tony then married his brother's wife. Tony's younger siblings are as follows: a boy who died at four or five, a girl now nineteen and married, a boy who died at eight, a boy now fourteen, a girl now ten, a boy now eight, a boy who died at two, and a girl who died at one. Tony's wife, as we have noted, is Roger's older sister; she has a boy of seven fathered by Tony's older brother and two children by Tony, a boy of four and a girl almost one year old. Tony's own lineage (that of his mother) is small, but that of his father is the largest on Romonum.

### RORSCHACH

This appears to be a person whose anxiety level is higher than in most other individuals, that is, he probably experiences anxiety somewhat more frequently than others. He differs from Mike in that his anxieties will be somewhat more manifest. But Tony defends himself against his anxieties by a suppressive mechanism which, however, impoverishes his adequacy and has a rather constricting effect on him. From the record one concludes that there are times when his defenses do not work satisfactorily. His reality-testing is not consistently good. His conflicts seem to center around the presence of strong needs for expression and an inability to give them any kind of direct or satisfactory form. Whereas with Mike personal expression is almost completely inhibited, with Tony these personal needs are nearer the surface. While it is doubtful that Mike would attempt in other than a superficial way to adjust to people and situations, this is not the case with Tony. He tries but he is not very successful. He lacks the assertiveness of self-confidence that are found in Andy, Roger, or Sam. It does not take much to force him to withdraw and pull in his horns.

Thus it follows that Tony responds subjectively to his environment, that is, he responds in terms of his motivational structure, unlike Mike who inhibits such a tendency. One might expect, therefore, that Tony would experience conflict where Mike would not. Tony seems to experience more ups and downs than Mike. It would be surprising if Tony's relations with his environment were as effective or smooth as Andy's or Sam's. He is not so well-organized or sure of himself.

The fact that Tony is described as a person with personal problems should not be



taken to mean they will be blatantly apparent. He does try to avoid expressing them and frequently succeeds in doing so at the expense of his spontaneity. In a sense this seems to typify the Trukese: in the face of a conflict- or anxiety-arousing situation their behavior loses flexibility, their adequacy is reduced, they become anxious, and inhibit personal expression. They probably become dependent rather than aggressive or assertive. While this description holds in general for the Trukese, it is given here because it fits Tony in all particulars.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Tony's stories are short and superficial and the content distinctive for the relative absence of hostility. Many of his stories deal with people "relaxing," "playing," "dancing," or "eating." Practically none of his stories contain figures who are really active or assertive or who interact with each other on a personal basis. In the only story (9) in which some kind of feeling is exchanged between adult figures, it is the woman who is assertive over the man. Although parental figures are described as frustrating, the degree and strength of their frustrating behavior are much less than are found in the stories of many other males. Similarly, the reaction of the children is only minimally aggressive. Considering all this, and the fact that Tony's stories contain few active conflict themes, one concludes that Tony is the kind of individual who avoids self-expression or personal involvement and raises the possibility that he was being evasive in the test situation. There is some evidence for this conclusion: in one story (7) he describes some young woman as "pretty sexy"; in another story (9), he ends with the unexplained and somewhat inappropriate remark, "These two know about the old dances." It is quite clear from his stories that Tony is much interested in dancing. If one assumes that dancing is in some way or other a sexualized activity, it not only indicates where Tony's interests are but also that he was inhibiting or avoiding sexual themes in his responses to the pictures. The nearest he comes to the expression of such a theme is the story (15) in which two men are relaxing in the coolness of the tree's shade and practicing love songs.

There is one comment made by Tony which deserves brief discussion. In one story (8) he says of a child: "He has no food because he has no one to love him: he has no mother or father." Not only does this underline the importance which the Trukese attach to food but also indicates how the association "food=security" is part of Trukese thinking. One might also speculate that to the Trukese giving food is symbolically like giving love and taking away food is equivalent to taking away love. It will be remembered that in discussing Mike the possibility was raised whether maternal rejection by refusing or begrudging or withholding food might not be something which more than a few Trukese children experience. It should also be pointed out that thus far it appears that it is the men who show more concern and responsibility for the child's food supply than the women.

Returning to Tony, one might say that he is more like Mike than anyone so far discussed.



## LIFE HISTORY

Tony's is the only really long life history given by a man; it is about three times as long as the average and includes a report on twelve dreams. It is of particular interest to us (although much of it is concerned with his time in school on Udot and on Dublon working for a Japanese, neither of which is particularly germane to our present interests) because his projective test results indicate that he feels in marked degree the "typical" Trukese conflict between a need for expressing his feelings and the suppression of this expression due to his anxiety in interpersonal relations.

Tony begins his account with a long description of children's play activities—games, make-believe, teasing, fights, and disasters, by day and by night—most of them seemingly applying to the play groups of somewhat later childhood. Several of the games are quite aggressive, such as this one: "We had a battle with little fruits, pelting one another with them; if we put sand in they were heavy and really hurt. We knew they hurt but we were just as if we were crazy when we were small. We cried but kept on fighting." Later he mentions again the craziness of children when he describes fighting with firebrands. Discussing his play he says, "We played this way day after day for years because when we were small we had no work to do." Although he describes several fights, he does not mention any "brothers" either helping or opposing him; on the other hand he does not note that he was often beaten by his age-mates. He mentions his parents bandaging his shoulder when he cut it with a piece of glass, and his father caring for him when he was bitten by a "scorpion fish" (presumably a Portuguese man-of-war) on the beach. Other than this his account is just an endless round of relatively carefree play with other children, mostly boys when their sex is mentioned.

After spending a day recording these play activities I asked him to talk about something other than just games, perhaps his relations with his parents. The change in tenor of his account was striking:

When I went home my parents used to tell me I should not play so much, for when I was out playing all the time if something happened to them I would never know anything about it. They just wanted me to stay in the house until I was grown up. When I came home and asked for food they would tell me there was none for me. They said if I was disobedient and played all the time I could not eat, but if I stayed home I would eat. Later they would feel sorry for me and give me something to eat.

If I was home and they told me to get a coal from someone's fire to light ours with and I was disobedient and did not go they would beat me or tell me I could not eat. But then they relented and gave me food after all.

When I was out playing and came home to find they were not there, having gone inland or somewhere, I would cry, realizing that this was why they told me not to play all the time for now I did not know where they were. When they came home and saw I had been crying they would ask me why and I would tell them; then they would tell me that was why I should not play all the time. They also pointed out that if I was far away playing and was beaten I would be in trouble without anyone to help me.

When my father used to go out fishing I would meet him when he came in. He would give me the fish to take home but I would just go off and give them to my playmates to eat. Then I would go home and my parents would ask me about the fish; when I told them they beat me.

When there was no food and I came home hungry I would cry. My parents would point out to me that if I had stayed home I could have eaten what food there was, but by then they had eaten it all.

Tony goes on to describe his disobedience to his father in an episode quoted in "The Child." Also in this chapter appears his account of his relations with two of his brothers: beating his little brother every time he had the chance (and being beaten in turn by his parents when they found out) and teasing his older brother by telling him there was no food, for which his brother would beat him. The dangers of sorcery were also invoked to keep Tony in line: "My parents used to tell me not to tease older men or be fresh to them for if I did I would not grow up to be big. [?] I could not grow big if I did because the older men would curse me and I would be sick."

In view of the life he describes at home it is small wonder that Tony constantly sought to escape into the children's society. In the above passage Tony spells out with unusual clarity the conflict between his desire to play and his parents' attempts to force him to stay home with threats, beatings, and the withdrawal of food, at the same time keeping his own dependency upon them forcibly in his mind by emphasizing the fact that he might come home some day and find them gone for good. Tony also makes more explicit than most his hostility toward his own brothers. In considering both the unsatisfactory nature of his time spent at home and his aggression toward his brothers we should remember that Tony's mother bore and raised at least into childhood eight children after him, an average of one at least every two and a half years, so that she at almost all times was either pregnant or caring for an infant and thus had an excuse for telling Tony not to bother her.

When he was fourteen Tony attended school briefly on Romonum, first with a Protestant and then a Catholic native preacher, the former on Tony's own initiative. Then he went to Udot to school, thus avoiding being ejected from his home at puberty. However, he did not want to go and when the teacher came over Tony hid. But his name had been written on the list of those who were to go to Udot and he finally consented after the teacher threatened to throw Tony's parents in the calaboose if he did not go.

The teacher found a place for Tony to stay with a local chief and Tony started school. With the chief and in school Tony began almost at once to be disobedient and uncooperative. He resented being told by the chief to do his share of the household food production; it is interesting that Tony had to admit he did not know many of the routine aspects of this work which one would expect a boy of his age to have learned from his father. Tony was very inadequate in his school work and made little effort to apply himself; he was beaten many times by the teacher and frequently lied or simply ran away to get out of school and return to Romonum. After several months of this, however, Tony and two other Romonum boys ran away again and after they had been forced to return . . .

The Trukese teacher lectured us telling us we should learn Japanese so that we would be able to talk to them. I felt I did not care a bit whether I knew Japanese or not. But then he went on to point out that now *he* had an easy job because he had studied hard night and day when he went to school, and now he was our master. I realized then that maybe he was right. When I went to the chief and apologized for running off without telling him he said it did not matter about him but that I should not run away from the

teacher. Because, he said, the only way I could make life easy for myself later was to study hard at that time. Everybody—he, my parents, and the teachers—had all said the same thing and I finally decided they must be right and I should work hard. So after that I worked hard until I knew a little Japanese and arithmetic and went into the second grade. By that time the teacher liked me and I realized I had been right in believing them. When I wanted to go back to Romonum, if someone was sick or the like, he let me and I always came back the day he told me to.

This change in Tony's attitude toward school (which is reflected in the account of his remaining two years on Udot) we should note was a result of what we may suspect was the first positive instruction he had received in how to deal effectively with important people. In fact, if we are correct in believing that he had less than the usual amount of training in food-producing tasks, this may well have been practically the first purposeful guidance he had received in regard to any sort of behavior outside of the (until then) meaningless instruction in Japanese words and numbers. We should also note that although he was in essence advised simply to submit to authority—the same thing his parents had been trying to get him to do for years—in this instance he was told to submit not merely to avoid punishment but rather in order later to be able to deal effectively with people in authority. It was probably this reasoning which appealed to Tony. Thereafter he still did not do very well in school and occasionally rebelled and was beaten, but he learned enough to maintain the proper rate of advancement through his three years of schooling.

His reform in school did not extend to his behavior in the home of the chief, and he was finally asked to leave. An Udot boy who had become his friend in school asked him to stay at his house and Tony moved over there; later he moved again, spending the rest of his time on Udot with his father's "sister." We need not concern ourselves with the many episodes Tony recounts from this period—a typhoon, a woman who was possessed by a sea spirit (see "The People Today"), a man who fell out of a tree, and so on—because they tell us little of importance regarding Tony's development. He became increasingly competent and willing in undertaking the work of a man and consequently had little difficulty in living with his friend and later his father's "sister." He got in a fight with an Udot boy who was thereafter beaten by Tony's older "brother," Stephen (of Tony's father's lineage). It would appear that Tony had no sexual experiences on Udot; he was, however, acutely aware that the girls were better than he in school (Eleanor was the best), a fact brought to everyone's attention repeatedly by the teacher. It was after the first recitation in which the girls won that Tony became so disobedient with the chief that he was told to leave his house. Tony stayed in school, with occasional visits to Romonum or visits by his father to Udot, for three years and "then the final day came and they gave out the prizes. They gave out prizes for all sorts of things but all I got was a prize for working hard in the outside tasks [cutting copra, gardening, etc.]."

Then they all returned to Romonum and soon the others received letters advising them they were to go to the advanced school on Dublon, but the school authorities "forgot" Tony. "Then later they sent for me and the teacher told me I was going, too, but I would not be going to school; I would just be a houseboy for a Japanese who was looking for one. But he told me it was just like school for I would be learning things

and had a chance to reflect with credit on my island and on him." With his feelings thus salved Tony left for Dublon and started working. We may again omit discussion of most of the episodes which Tony describes during the two years or so he worked as a houseboy on Dublon and later on Romonum, as most of these are concerned with his relations with various Japanese who apparently found him a reliable servant. He was, however, beaten several times by some of the military personnel on Romonum, once very severely.

While on Dublon Tony had an affair with a Trukese woman from Fefan who worked for another Japanese next door; this is the first such experience he mentions. It ended when his master told him to go out fishing with him one night and Tony thus failed to keep a rendezvous he had made with the woman. Later Tony had an affair with a Romonum girl while he was home on a week's vacation; although she went over thereafter to Dublon to be with Tony his father would not permit them to marry. Tony's older brother became very ill and Tony had to spend more and more time on Romonum to be with his brother. Then Tony was himself sick; after two months a Japanese doctor on Romonum cured him and engaged him as cook in the military dispensary on the island so he no longer returned to Dublon. After describing his vicissitudes with the Japanese Tony said he could remember nothing else, without having said anything more about his affair with the Romonum girl or his sick older brother. I asked him about these and he said, "That was why my father would not let me marry that girl I wanted to marry. He said that if my brother died I should marry his wife, but if he got better I could marry the one I wanted to. But my brother died so I married his wife and I am still married to her." This is all he had to offer on the subject of his marriage and his life thereafter. When asked for more he described several adulterous escapades wherein he made fools of his male companions (one of them a "brother") by having greater success than they in gaining access to women and ridiculing them afterwards. He concludes by saying, "That is all, for my parents told me I should not go to a lot of women. They told me if my wife was very forward with men it would be all right for me to be forward with women; since she is not I should not be either, and I am not."

Asked about his present status he said, "I am pretty happy now for I do not have any more troubles. A while ago when I had so much trouble [during the war] I was not happy but now I have little to worry about. I am happy with my wife because she is humble and gentle; if she were not I would not be satisfied with her. [?] I have no special wishes for the future; I like to go to women but that is about all." Thus Tony submitted to his father's authority and is married peacefully to a "humble" wife; this relationship is apparently not of sufficient interest to him to be worth recounting for he says nothing about it nor about his children. He has found he can express himself and be successful in his adulterous liaisons; the importance of this activity to him is shown in his statement that this is "about all" he likes.

*Dreams.* It is interesting in view of Tony's life history that six of his twelve dreams involve his being away from Romonum. All but one of these found him in trouble: he was sick on Tol and the Romonum boat went off and left him there; he gambled on Moen but when he won the Moen men threatened him and he woke up frightened; he capsized in a canoe on the way back from Falabeguets and would have drowned if a U.S. Navy motor launch had not rescued him; he played baseball on



Dublon and was hit on the arm (after which a Romonum man gave him a coconut to drink); and when on Dublon he was chased by a policeman and almost missed the boat back while hiding under a bed in a house. His only favorable experience was in a dream about going to Japan, where he bought some bread and the storekeeper accidentally gave him too much change; Tony pocketed this and was very pleased. Thus although he fairly consistently suffers at the hands of his fellow Trukese, when he is away from home foreigners give him money and rescue him from drowning. This and his lengthy description in his life history of his life on Dublon would suggest that Tony found this period in his life the most secure and rewarding of any that had gone before or came after. Although most Trukese do not appear to have any clearly formulated impression of foreigners in general other than as rather authoritarian figures, to Tony they apparently mean support and security.

It is difficult to determine the significance of most of his other six dreams; his own interpretations are stereotyped in those cases where he was able to give any. He was chased by a ghost but was able to rout it by lighting a palm frond torch. He lost his shirt and trousers but later found the shirt in his house, and with it five fish and two bundles of breadfruit. The storekeeper and his men came up while Tony was fishing with some boys; the men spread the seine net and caught a lot of fish but a shark came and ripped open the net, eating all the fish. He then reports two complex dreams, one of which is definitely a Japanese folktale; the other also has elements which make one suspect a similar origin. In his final dream Tony and some other men got drunk in the island meeting house; the women present were going to leave but Tony persuaded them they would not be molested because there was an order from the "office" saying men should not approach women while they are drunk. The women stayed for some time and Tony got so drunk he could not walk; he asked the women to carry him home but they would not and left him to sober up. We may conjecture that this last dream reflects something of Tony's attitude toward women; he submits to authority and does not antagonize the women, but even then they abandon him in his distress. Any attempt to interpret the symbolism of the other dreams would be too speculative to be warranted in this context.

*Discussion.* Little need be added to what has already been said in the course of the summary of Tony's life history presented above. Although his recollections do not extend back into early childhood there is no reason to suppose that his relations with his parents were any more rewarding during his first years than they were later. From about the age of five or six onward, if we may assume that is when his account begins, Tony suffered to an unusual degree the restrictions shared by all Trukese children. His parents made great efforts, including frequent withholding of food, to keep him home and away from the play groups where he could express himself and feel more free. His only means of responding which would avoid parental wrath was to be submissive, and submission meant not playing. As in the case of Mike, Tony could not long withstand this restriction and, leaving home, exposed himself time and again to punishment. It is not surprising, then, that in common with Mike Tony shows in his projective tests a high degree of anxiety in interpersonal relations and inadequacy when faced with conflictful situations. On the other hand it was noted in the tests that Tony's need for self-expression is stronger and "nearer the surface" than Mike's. It is probable that this



is to be attributed to the experience of the mutually satisfactory and perhaps even warm relationship which obtained between Tony and his master during the years on Dublon. It should be noted that it was during these years that Tony apparently was first able to initiate a sexual liaison (rather later in his adolescence than most—he must have been eighteen at the time) and thus begin the activity which now provides him with his only satisfactory emotional outlet. As an outlet, however, even this is not without anxiety, an anxiety noted in the TAT and made explicit by Tony when he points out that his father disapproves. Thus although he was able through the security of his life on Dublon to undertake sexual activity and find it rewarding, the shadow of the losing battles of his childhood falls across it and leaves him in conflict.

Tony's sexual conflicts are thus but one aspect of his basic dilemma—having a strongly felt need for self-expression and at the same time strong anxieties about such expression, a dilemma which was crystallized by the years on Dublon. Tony brought to school on Udot an almost random and certainly ineffective mode of behavior; he modified this in favor of more consistent compliance and submission when presented with the prospect of the rewards ultimately to be derived in learning Japanese. These promised rewards became fact on Dublon, and to the submissiveness and inhibition which was as far as Mike could develop Tony added (in the Dublon environment) an element of secure self-expression. When he returned to Romonum, however, he re-entered the environment of his childhood and, although he continued to feel the need for the outlet he had found so rewarding on Dublon, was less able to satisfy this need without anxiety. It is apparently for this reason that Tony shows in almost exaggerated form the Trukese conflict over the expression of strong feeling; from his unusually restricted and unrewarding childhood he derived his strong inhibition and social inadequacy, and from Dublon the almost equally strong need for self-expression—he has tasted of the joys of assurance and response from another person and is not willing to forego them entirely. It would probably be safe to predict that had Tony not gone to Dublon he would almost have been another Mike.

In regard to anxiety over food it is again not surprising that it should be Tony, for whom the withholding of food was a constant threat, who makes almost explicit the equation between food and security in his TAT. The equation had, in fact, been phrased for him more than once by his parents who told him if he stayed home he could be assured of both food and their support (if not companionship), but if he went out and played he would have neither.

Because it is evident that in many respects Tony is not very effective in expressing himself we may wonder why it should have been he who produced a life history so very much more extensive than any of the other men. Again it is likely that the explanation is to be found in his Dublon experience. We have noted, particularly from his dreams, that it is probable that Tony generalized this experience into a belief that all foreigners (at least of the administrative caste) are essentially supportive and to be trusted. I was of course a foreigner and, while he could not be very productive when faced with the strange problems of the projective tests, he could let himself go and also spin out the time when reminiscing to me about his past.

## EDWARD

AGE 27. POPULARITY: LOW

Edward's mother is living. Her first (?) husband fathered Edward's half-brother (whom we shall call his brother), her second was Edward's father and died in Edward's infancy; when Edward was perhaps twelve his mother married again, this third husband dying fairly recently. She then married a widower, her present husband. Her only child other than Edward and his brother was a son born later who died in a few days. Edward's lineage through his mother is large; that of his own father (whom he does not remember) is small.

Edward and his present wife have one child, a boy, born during our stay on Romonum.

## RORSCHACH

The outstanding feature of this person is his extreme concreteness, possessing it, thus far, to a greater degree than anyone else. He is unable to shift his mental set in a problem-solving situation. In terms of concreteness and inflexibility, he appears to be even more extreme than Mike. In Mike's case one concluded that there was the possibility that he could at rare times react somewhat more adequately than his record indicated. With Mike one felt that he was defending himself against doing the wrong thing. With Edward there is little indication that he is even as complicated as Mike. (By "complicated" is meant here the possibility that he may be capable of a more adequate or varied responsiveness.) Unless Edward is very sure of himself—unless the situation permits him to respond in his own limited way—he does not or cannot respond.

Throughout his very sparse record there is not a trace of what he thinks or feels and one wonders whether much of anything goes on—whether he has anything of an intellectual or personal nature to give.

In a record as sparse as Edward's one must raise the question whether factors in the test situation may not have affected him unduly and resulted in an unrepresentative performance. There is a possibility that the examiner's questioning early in the test was taken as a criticism by Edward and resulted in his clamming up. If this were so, his reaction is still an extreme one. The examiner did not question him more than the other males, which underlines the extremeness of Edward's reaction. If the examiner's questioning was the cause, then one would have to say that Edward is hypersensitive, even extremely so. There is one strong argument against these possible explanations: Edward's concreteness appeared at the very beginning of the test and his set continued throughout. Whatever the explanation of Edward's impoverished, inadequate, personally unrevealing record, one must say that he is a deviant individual. However, his deviance is not un-Trukese because he shows to a marked degree the concreteness, constrictedness, and caution which so many of his people have. But why he should deviate in this way is obviously not deducible from this type of record.

## THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Edward's stories reveal him to be one whose central problem or conflict revolves around his relations with women; more specifically the problems involved in becoming

a man. Like most of the Trukese males sexual activity is for him a primary interest but it arouses strong feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, and competitiveness, because women are not dependable or faithful and exercise a subtle kind of dominance over men. He reacts to this kind of situation with strong hostile feelings which receive indirect and inadequate expression, the net effect being that the conflict remains. It is interesting in his as in other protocols that men apparently feel more hostility toward men rather than toward the undependable women. It is also likely that men can be more overtly aggressive toward other men than toward women. Why this should be so is difficult to say. One possibility is that the men, consciously or unconsciously, are emotionally extremely dependent on women and avoid expression of hostility toward them because it would endanger the dependency relationship. If, in addition, men feel inadequate or inferior to or threatened by women, it would be difficult for them to justify aggressiveness toward them, except in indirect ways.

That Edward's conflicts and feeling of inadequacy are probably not a function of the present alone can be seen in those stories involving parents and children. In one way or another children are frustrated: the parents do not let the child play, the child is hungry and the child cries when a parent leaves. When one considers that obtaining food is another primary concern of Edward's, one concludes that Edward's childhood was not without severe frustrations. It appears that while his dependency needs were strong but unsatisfied the consequent hostility he experienced could not be expressed in a direct way. In short, his attitude toward peers in the present is a reflection of previous relationships.

It is probable that Edward experienced inconsistent handling by parents rather than complete frustration—but the frustrating aspects outweigh the supportive. For example, in one story a child is given food after he had gone hungry for most of the day. In another, a child is scolded and threatened with a beating after which the parents react somewhat supportively. In still another story a mother does not want to go off with men until her child is asleep. The child falls asleep but as the mother goes off the child cries and then the mother takes the child along—it is as if the mother has difficulty sacrificing her interests for those of her child. The writer has gone into detail on this point because it appears to be the typical Trukese parent-child relationship. It is obviously not the kind of relationship calculated to allow a child to learn self-confidence or to seek out or to trust others. The Trukese concern with food is probably a reflection of such early parent-child relationships.

Edward's reaction to two of the pictures suggests some ambivalent feeling or inhibitory tendencies with regard to sexuality. In one story (10) he obviously enjoyed seeing the child's vagina, but he ends the story with disparagement of the parents for not teaching the child to wear clothes. In another story (12) about an old woman and an old man he seems to go out of his way to point out that the man does not sleep with the woman.

Again we find indications in these stories of a fear of being alone. In the light of what parent-child relationships appear to be, it would not be surprising to find such a fear among the Trukese.

## LIFE HISTORY

Edward's life history is of average length, but all that he tells of his life before perhaps ten years of age is contained in the following passage. Even this, as will be noted, was largely elicited by questioning.

When I was small I did not work and did not wear any clothes. I just ran around naked all day and came back home to eat. Later when I was about five or six I began to wear clothes. [?] I still did no work. [?] My mother was alive but my father was dead; I do not remember him. [?] My mother did not do anything much with me; I just went out and played all the time, came back and ate and went out again. When I was bad she beat me. [?] She used to beat me often for going out to play in the ocean; she told me not to but I could not stop going and she beat me.

It is evident that Edward experienced with his mother the sort of restriction we have seen in previous cases. As he notes later, throughout his childhood they lived in a more or less isolated house inland—Edward and his brother, their mother, and their mother's mother. With no man in the house Edward must have felt his dependency on his mother even more keenly than others, and it is also probable that they not infrequently did not have enough food.

The only play activity Edward mentions in his later childhood (at ten or eleven) is of the sailing of little boats made of ivorynut fronds. It is likely he played group games also, but if he did he does not say anything about them. The two toy boat episodes he describes both resulted in fights. The first fight was between Edward and another boy who broke Edward's boat; the other boy was bigger and beat Edward, after which their three companions separated them. He went home and his mother felt sorry for him so she gave him something to eat. The next morning, however, when he wanted to go back to play on the beach she would not permit him to go; when he argued with her she beat him. He fled into the bush and hid without any breakfast until noon; on his return she again felt sorry for him and fed him. The second fight was between Edward's brother and Paul; Paul used bad language to Edward's brother (apparently in an argument over their boats) and was beaten for it. An older "brother" of Paul's came to his rescue, however, and Edward's brother was beaten in turn. Edward fled home, told his mother, and she went out to bring his brother home. After that Edward says they no longer played on the beach without their mother.

During this time Edward helped his mother produce and prepare the household food supplies; as Edward tells it this was the only food they had to eat. His brother did the difficult work of climbing the breadfruit trees and pounding the cooked breadfruit.

Edward describes the death of his grandmother during his late childhood; he mentions no grief of his own but notes that his mother cried a lot.

Later their mother remarried and Edward was pleased because he and his brother were relieved of much of their food-producing responsibility.

When Edward was sixteen his brother went away to school on Udot and Edward says he missed his companionship because during his brother's absences during the week Edward just played alone. When his stepfather was away or out fishing Edward produced and prepared the family food all by himself. In discussing this he digressed to describe (in a passage quoted in the chapter "Youth") his pride even now in his ability to make food and have other people hear him pounding breadfruit.



Not long after this Edward went to Dublon and began working for the Japanese on the boats they operated within the Truk lagoon. Although Edward says he worked for them for five years he tells us practically nothing about this period except the type of jobs he held. He finally tired of this work and decided to quit; his boss would not let him go so he asked for a short vacation and then hid when they came to look for him.

When Edward had been back on Romonum for a month and a half he decided he would like to marry Tony's sister. He does not mention speaking to her about it, but asked her father as he was walking to the pier to take a boat to Dublon. Her father referred him to the girl's foster father who had adopted her in infancy. Edward asked the boat crew to wait and dashed off to ask the girl's foster father, who said he would write Edward a letter on Dublon. No reason was given for this unusual and impromptu procedure in requesting a girl in marriage. A letter came announcing that her family approved the marriage, but meanwhile Edward had taken a two-month's job as a cook for a Japanese.

On his return his wife was away cutting copra on Tol; she returned in the afternoon, they slept together that night, and the next morning she returned to Tol. Edward went back to Dublon to collect his pay but encountered his former boss who was in charge of the boats. Edward told him he had not run away but had remained on Romonum with a sick mother. So his boss told him to go back to work and Edward did. After a month they asked for volunteers to go on a ship to Kapingamarangi, a Polynesian island to the south of Truk which Edward had never visited. Edward was delighted with the prospect of this trip and with the clothes with which he was outfitted. The trip occupied several weeks; Edward looked with great curiosity upon the Polynesian girls and describes among other things his drunken attempt to have intercourse with one of them, the sister of the wife of a Trukese man who lived there. He was impeded by his ignorance of the language and his drunkenness, and finally thwarted by a Japanese who decided to sleep with her himself.

On their return to Truk Edward decided he had better go home; he asked for a vacation and again failed to return. He did not receive a cordial welcome from his wife for a reason which could only be given by a Trukese: "My wife was angry with me and asked why I did not consider what would happen to my food plants, for they did not know whether I was coming back or not." They remained married, however, until Edward discovered she had slept with another man and left her. Her parents beat her and attempted to arrange a reconciliation but Edward would not return. Shortly thereafter she married someone else.

Somewhat later Edward undertook to marry his present wife. In response to a question he said he had not yet slept with her but had slept with "a lot of other girls." He later expanded on this: "I just went around sleeping with a lot of girls for fun but they were all very forward and promiscuous and I did not think of marrying them. But my wife was quiet and modest and I decided to marry her." His approach in this case was more conventional than before and he had no difficulty in arranging the marriage. Later he volunteered to work on Guam; while he was away his wife was pregnant. She contended when he accused her of adultery that she was pregnant when he left but did not yet know it; although by the figures he gives she would have thus had an eleven-month pregnancy he apparently accepts her explanation.



Although in discussing his present marriage Edward said that he no longer slept with other girls, his reply when asked at the end of his account for his hopes for the future is probably closer to what other evidence would indicate is the truth: "I don't want to die; I just want to keep on living to be able to look at women and when I see one try to sleep with her."

*Dreams.* Edward reports only two current dreams. In the first a man came to sleep with his wife but she told him to wait until Edward had gone out to work. Edward heard this but left anyway; when he returned she was gone. When she came back he beat her. She was angry and left but returned shortly, still angry, although she finally apologized. Edward awoke to find her sleeping beside him. Edward interprets this dream to mean she is fond of the man, but he is sure she is not sleeping with him because of her small baby.

Two nights later he dreamed of going to a girl who is the wife of a "brother" of his. He had intercourse with her and then woke to find he had had an emission. He says he had this dream only because he in fact likes the girl very much.

*Discussion.* Although we know little of Edward's early childhood it is evident that then and later his lack of a father and consequently greater dependence upon his mother was a crucial factor in his development. It would appear that this dependence was strong enough to make in large degree effective the restrictions imposed by his mother: although he says he was beaten on occasion for playing we do not find in Edward's account the same sort of constant battle between child and parent described by Mike or Tony. Edward was seemingly successful in suppressing his desire for participation in the children's society in order to stay safely at home with his mother and his brother. This is reflected in his failure to discuss any play group activities or games; although we are not safe in assuming that he did not play with his age-mates at all, the fact that he does not mention such activities would suggest that they were less important to him than to others. He thus had little opportunity to take advantage of his relationship with his more distantly related "brothers" and in consequence became so dependent upon the company of his own brother that when he left for school Edward played alone. With such exclusive dependency on but two people Edward presumably had to inhibit more than most children any aggressive feelings he had toward them, for if either his mother or his brother turned against him he was lost. It is probably for this reason that he still reveals as an adult the almost complete inhibition of personal expression seen in his tests.

In discussing Edward's dependency we must not overlook his anxiety over food. As an adult he shows this perhaps more strongly than most, both in his TAT and in the life history where he describes graphically on several occasions the importance he places on being strong and able to produce food for himself and others. It is highly probable that in his childhood, spent in a fairly isolated household with no adult man at its head, actual shortages of food were not infrequent. If as we have seen most Trukese can develop a high anxiety over food under conditions in which there is little realistic basis for such anxiety it is not surprising that Edward, faced with actual shortages, became even more anxious on this score. With this greater concern over food, of course, his dependency on his mother was further accentuated.

Having only his mother, a woman, with whom to identify in attempting to form a conception of proper adult behavior it is apparent that Edward as a boy was even more

handicapped than most Trukese even in his earlier years. Later in his childhood he learned the techniques of food production from watching his probably not too skilled older brother, but had acquired this knowledge by the time his mother remarried. He was thus deprived of the opportunity of receiving parental instruction even in these tasks, which we have noted is for many Trukese their first positive guidance. Without a father with whom to identify and later to provide instruction it is not surprising that Edward's response as a man to his environment and his problems is inadequate, concrete, and superficial; he never had an opportunity to learn any better way of responding.

Restricted by his mother and more completely dependent upon her than most, Edward probably learned early in his life to look upon women as highly domineering and yet unreliable. In spite of this he was able to undertake sexual affairs with women—albeit not without conflict—and in his otherwise inhibited social life places great value upon such relations, an emphasis which is also reflected in his dreams. It would appear that in Edward's case sexual activity provides him with his *only* means of self-expression; as he says himself at the end of his life history this is what he lives for, although we should note that he says he wants to "try" to sleep with the women he sees—others simply say they want to sleep with women. In view of Edward's unusual degree of inhibition and his attitude toward women as domineering figures it would be particularly interesting in his case to know under what conditions he was able to embark upon his sexual career. He unfortunately does not tell us, and it is perhaps significant again of his anxiety that he was not able to do so, although he had several opportunities.

## PAUL

### AGE 27. POPULARITY: HIGH

Paul is the sixth of his mother's eight children, five of whom survive. Five of these at least were fathered by a Chinese trader to whom Paul's mother was married; contrary to the usual opinion on Romonum Paul's mother contends that his father was not the Chinese but rather a Trukese whom she later married after the trader's death. Paul's appearance is so distinctly Chinese that the popular belief as to his parentage is probably correct. His brothers and sisters are as follows: a boy who died in the second week of his life, a girl now forty-three, a girl now thirty-nine, a boy now thirty-seven (the island storekeeper), a boy who died in infancy, Paul, a girl who died in infancy, and a boy now twenty. In addition the Chinese trader was married simultaneously to Paul's mother's sister who had ten children of whom eight survive; at least three of these were fathered by the Chinese. The oldest of these children is Richard, Eleanor's husband; a younger one, fathered by a later Trukese husband, is Roger's wife. Both of the trader's wives are living.

A brief discussion of this Chinese and his present descendants appears advisable. He was first in the Marshall Islands where he had a Marshallese wife and an undetermined number of children. When he came to Truk around the turn of the century he brought with him his eldest half-Marshallese son. This man, who reached his adulthood on Truk, was the principal heir to his father's wealth; he was already in a position of economic and political importance, with his headquarters on Udot, when the American administration, seeking men with a knowledge of English, placed him near the top of

the native administrative hierarchy. His Chinese father, on the other hand, based his operations on Romonum. His father's two Trukese wives were of a Moen sib not present on Romonum and thus established a new lineage on Romonum. They gradually acquired by purchase a fairly large amount of land in Chorong, adjacent to the main pier; the Chinese head of this family is buried by the meeting house. His oldest half-Trukese son, the storekeeper, became the head of the Romonum branch of the family upon his father's death. Although still subject to his half-Marshallese brother's orders, he is an authoritarian and powerful figure on Romonum who lives in an elaborate and comfortable house (which we rented), owns the only motor launch and store on the island, and during our stay had the island chief consult him before making any decisions. The men and women who comprise this lineage headed by the storekeeper (all but one children of the trader's two wives) form a compact and cooperative social and economic group somewhat set apart from the rest of the people of the island. Paul, although younger than Richard and his brother, occupies a favored position as the storekeeper's own younger brother.

Paul and his wife have had three children: a boy who died at six months, a boy now three, and a girl now one. They live in a house near the storekeeper's—i.e., not with his wife's family.

#### RORSCHACH

One of the characteristics of this person is that he can use his capacities in other than a routine or superficial manner. He does not appear to be a person who is bound to his environment in the sense that he follows the straight and narrow path and does only what is expected of him. He is more self-confident, assertive and expressive than either Mike, Edward or Tony. His internal needs and wishes are not subject to strong inhibitory tendencies as theirs are. His thinking and approach to problem-solving situations are not marked by concreteness or diffuseness. He can react in a somewhat varied fashion and shift his approach where necessary. He appears to possess an aggressiveness which is in contrast to the submissive tendencies of others. This aggressive tendency would not be blatant because he can exercise control of its expression. One would rather expect his aggressive tendencies to come out in the form of assertiveness or leadership. Put more cautiously, if more ambiguously, Paul is not likely to be a wallflower. In contrast to Mike and Edward, Paul should be able to give some overt expression to his internally felt needs and he should have an active rather than a passive relationship to his environment.

But there are inhibitory forces within Paul which might at times be expected to interfere with his functioning. It is difficult to specify the nature of these inhibitions, but their effect, as in so many of the others, is to reduce his productivity and personal expression. What distinguishes Paul from some of the others is that he is able to recover from or overcome these tendencies somewhat more easily. In the face of anxiety or feelings of inadequacy, his effectiveness is reduced but he is not "thrown" by them. He becomes somewhat constricted in that the range of his responsiveness is reduced but he does not become rigid in the sense that he is incapable of alternative ways of responding.

As in many of the other records there is evidence of a sexual problem. If one can generalize from this record, the males seem to overevaluate the importance of genitality

to a degree that makes one wonder if unconsciously they doubt their masculinity. They seem to be not only interested in the subject of sex but *concerned* about it. It is difficult to be more explicit about this because the Trukese can express only in an indirect and disguised way their private thoughts and experiences.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The stories reveal Paul to be a mature, active person who is not so riddled by feelings of inadequacy as are most of the others. In Paul's stories one does not find male figures who are primarily inactive and passive but rather figures usually engaged in some constructive activity. He and Andy are the only two who give a story in which the central character is performing an intellectual task. What is perhaps more surprising is that in stories involving a husband-wife relationship the husband is sometimes an assertive individual who is not easily intimidated by the wife. Although there are stories in which the wife is aggressive or dominant, even here the woman is not so clearly dominant as in the stories of the others. For example, in one story the husband and wife disagree about allowing their children to engage in a certain activity. Although the wife's will prevails the husband *gives* his assent and says: "If you get into trouble, it will be up to you [the child] and your mother." In another story, a husband leaves his wife because she does not listen to him and in the end the wife agrees to do as he says. What is perhaps the most surprising feature of the husband-wife stories is that the couple are sometimes described as in love with each other—a degree of affection which is found in the stories of no other person so far.

That Paul is an unusual person is seen by the following two instances. To Picture 17 Paul told a story which, for the Trukese, would be considered adequate. It was not an unusually short story, but after giving it Paul spontaneously remarked: "I cannot think of a real story." Although we do not know why he made the comment, we can say that Paul is a man who sets standards for himself which he likes to meet. The second instance concerns a story in which a child angers a father who is ready to beat him. The father's anger cooled because he felt sorry for the boy who was scared of what the father might do to him. The father did not beat the child because he "realized that he too had done this sort of thing when he was small, and if he had done it when he was small it was not proper that he should punish his son for doing the same thing now." The story is most unusual for what it tells us about Paul's adult and insightful way of thinking.

In many ways Paul's TAT approximates the most "healthy" combination of traits of any of the males. He possesses a good amount of self-confidence; he is resourceful, bright, and productive; he can be assertive; he is capable of a sensitive and varied approach to people; and he is one who can presumably gain personal satisfaction from intimate contact with others. This is not to say that Paul does not have weaknesses but that they are not markedly interfering. One of these weak points concerns masculinity, the need to feel that he fulfills the male role in the way that *he* feels he should. There is some slight evidence (8) that Paul equates a large penis with adult adequacy. In addition, any threat to his masculine dominance (18) is a marked threat to his status. Also, his relations with women are not free of the usual Trukese insecurity. In short, Paul is most vulnerable whenever his masculinity is involved.



It may make for greater clarity of meaning to elaborate upon the statement that Paul is resourceful, bright, and productive. What is meant is that Paul can *think through* in a sustained way a plan of action which may be complex. In his stories there is much positive value placed on a *planned*, systematic attack on problem situations. He organizes the environment so that he can get what he wants. Much of this activity serves the purpose of maintaining the food supply and it is probable that food anxiety is in some way related to some of his characteristics.

There is some evidence that Paul's positive characteristics are a function of early parent-child relationships. Although parental figures are inconsistent in their attitude toward children and arouse ambivalent feelings in them, it is interesting that in Paul's stories children usually get their way to a degree that is unusual. His story to Picture 5 illustrates best the combination of parental frustration and indulgence, on the one hand, and the child's guile and persistence, on the other hand. Paul is not and probably never was a Mike, Tony, Edward, or even a Roger.

### LIFE HISTORY

Although Paul's life history is appreciably longer than the average for men, and provides ample evidence for the self-confidence, cleverness, and concern with sexuality seen in his test results he includes in his account very few clues to his childhood development. He first mentions his resistance at the age of five or six to wearing the clothes given him by his parents. This would suggest that in keeping with his family's higher economic position his parents felt he should be more consistently dressed than his fellows. It would certainly appear that mere modesty was not the only desideratum since his parents were not satisfied with his simply wearing trousers: "I didn't mind short trousers so much but I could not stand shirts." His objection may have been only to the encumbrance of clothes, but one wonders if being completely clothed did not attain more importance in his eyes as a sign of his being different and set apart from his age-mates, and thus acted as a limiting factor on his successful participation with them. Certainly at the present time most people on Romonum resent the power and influence of this family and look upon them still as in some degree outsiders, but at the adult level this hostility cannot reach effective expression. All their children are still very small with the exception of the adopted son of the storekeeper who is six (and always fully clothed); he has obvious difficulty in playing on a basis of equality with children his age. During our stay on Romonum he was most commonly seen playing alone and for a time his almost constant presence in our house (where there were no other children) became a serious nuisance. This boy experiences a rejection in the children's society which is almost certainly a reflection of the hostility toward his family felt (and privately expressed) by adults who cannot afford themselves to take such overt measures. In surmising that this may also have been Paul's experience we should remember that during his childhood the family was newer and therefore even less well integrated into the island society than at present.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that like Edward, whom we concluded had difficulty participating in the children's society, Paul states that his principal activity as a child was



playing with toy boats. The one episode he describes of this activity illustrates well his trouble at the hands of other children and also his treatment by his parents.

One day when I was playing I saw Edward's brother and another boy [both several years older than Paul] making little boats of ivorynut fronds; they had made four of them. I wanted one very much but they would not give one to me. I did not know how to make them because I was small; they were larger, in their teens [which would suggest Paul was about ten]. In our house was a box of biscuits my parents had bought from the Japanese; I thought of these and asked them whether if I brought them some they would give me a boat. They said yes, although they were just lying. I rushed home and got out five packages of biscuits. My parents asked me what I was doing and I told them. They told me to take just one as that would be enough. But I said one was not enough so they told me to take all five—I wanted all four boats. I went back to the boys; they saw me and told me to hurry and get my boat. They were finishing them up, sails and everything. They ate up all the biscuits and then tried the boats out. They sailed beautifully. Then I asked them for mine and they told me to beat it, none of them were for me. I was sad and cried and cried. I went home and my parents asked me why I was crying, but I just told them I had a pain in my stomach. So they told me I must not go swimming any more and I said yes. Then I slept for a while but kept thinking of those boats. Finally I woke up and went out to look again. By now there were lots of people making boats, but I was very sad because I did not know how to make them.

I watched and watched and finally I asked an older man to make me one. He said, "You go inland, cut an ivorynut branch and bring it to me and I will make you one." So I went and cut one and brought it to him and he made me a boat. He made the sail and everything and it was beautiful, for he is the best at making toy canoes. I sailed my boat and it was very fast. But Edward's brother saw it and I suspected he wanted it. Sure enough he came over; he told me to take his boat and we would trade. But I refused for mine was the best. He told me if we did not trade he would beat me, but I still said no. So he took a stick and smashed my boat. I took his boat and ran away. But the other boy said, "All right, we will go inland and fight." I did not know what to do because I was so small and knew he would beat me. But we went and fought; I lost and he took the boat.

I went home and cried and cried. My mother and father asked me why I was crying and I said I was cold. They beat me and asked me why I had gone swimming again when they told me not to. They said they were going to tie me hand and foot and keep me in the house as if I were in the calaboose because I had been naughty. I agreed because I too thought I had better not go out again lest Edward's brother beat me some more—he had threatened me with a beating if I came around them again.

Paul's rejection and bedevilment by the two boys is obvious; it is interesting that the means he chose in his attempt to deal with them was the offer of imported biscuits—a reflection of his family's higher economic status. That his parents felt this was an appropriate way to approach the problem is shown in their ready approval after Paul had explained his objective which, we should note, was to obtain not one but *all* the boats. When he went home crying he was restricted and the second time beaten, but seemingly only because he was thought to be suffering from the effects of too much swimming. Paul does not say (and unfortunately was not asked) why he did not tell his parents of his misfortunes. However, if we may assume that this family in the past as at present was

not accustomed to being refused when they asked for something, we may suspect that Paul was ashamed to admit that he had failed so completely to achieve his objective. Before leaving the discussion of this toy boat episode we may recollect that Edward also told of a fight over toy boats in which Paul was beaten by Edward's brother (rather than his companion) for using "bad language," but in Edward's account Paul's older brother shortly intervened on his behalf. While there are enough differences to make it probable that these are not two varying accounts of the same event, it is interesting that each selected for recounting an episode in which he (or in Edward's case primarily his brother) was "in the right" but was mistreated by an older boy.

Paul did not play only by himself, for he goes on to describe a ghost game at night on the Winisi sand spit (in which, incidentally, Edward was one of the ghosts). Paul was discovered and thrown in the ocean along with other boys (as an alternative to being "eaten") and got home late. When he slept late in the morning his parents were angry and told him he was going to have to go to school so that he would not be playing all the time.

Paul is the only person with the exception of Theodore who reports in his life history that the suggestion of going to school came first from his parents rather than the school authorities. The others either do not report any reaction from their parents or indicate that they sympathized with their children and were reluctant to have them go. This again shows the recognition by Paul's parents of the power to be derived from manipulating resources outside of the immediate social group on Romonum: as Tony's teacher pointed out, the first step toward success in working with and through foreign administrators is to learn their language. The obvious complement to strength in terms of the foreign economy is to be able to deal directly with the foreigners who control this economy. We thus see that in insisting that Paul be fully clothed, in permitting him to use imported goods to attempt to buy favors from his playmates, and in recommending that he go to school instead of playing—in all these episodes which Paul relates his parents were consciously or otherwise leading him to identify with their family rather than the island community and with their orientation toward using their own essentially non-Trukese resources to obtain what they wanted from other Trukese. While Paul cannot have failed to see that this approach was effective for his parents it also had the effect of limiting the rewards he could obtain from participation in the play groups of other Trukese children. Although Paul obviously had the support of his older "brothers" (even if he does not himself mention them) these were confined to the few in his own lineage, for this family of newcomers did not yet have extensive ties with other lineages on Romonum. In contrast to other Trukese, then, Paul had occasion even in his childhood to learn that his success in dealing with other people lay largely with himself and with a very small group of immediate relatives. He also must have seen in observing his parents what is so apparent in his older brother now—that power derives not from being submissive to other Trukese but rather from one's own cleverness in manipulating goods and powerful people, again a highly un-Trukese approach to life. At the same time Paul shared with other Trukese children the beatings and authoritarian parents which made life at home rather unrewarding, but Paul's enjoyment of the children's society was limited not only by parental restrictions but also by non-acceptance in this society. Over-

coming this rejection and making a place for himself in the children's play groups must then have been an objective of some importance to Paul.

The several digressions so far from reporting the content of Paul's life history have been felt advisable due to the paucity of information he gives us on his childhood experiences. His lack of enthusiasm for talking about these early years is probably of itself testimony to the unrewarding nature of his childhood. But without drawing together this fragmentary evidence and attempting to determine the net effect of what experience he does report it would be difficult to view in proper perspective the remainder of the account which follows. On the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that this evidence is fragmentary. For example, Paul tells us nothing of his early childhood. With other Trukese we are fairly safe in making certain assumptions based on our analysis of general Trukese life experience by projecting backwards from the first events reported by the subject. Paul's family background, however, is clearly not in the "typical" Trukese pattern and any assumptions we might make as to his early childhood experiences would be very hazardous. While the inferences we have drawn so far may appear reasonable, and as we shall see provide at least a partial explanation for his behavior as an adult, we must remember that we do not by any means have available the whole story. The type of experience Paul describes may have merely had a reinforcing effect on attitudes already formed in early childhood, or on the other hand may have negated in whole or in part an appreciably different mode of adaptation learned earlier.

Despite his parents' suggestion Paul was able to avoid going to Udot to school for at least two years. The first time a meeting of all the children was called to select candidates for school Paul ran off and hid so he would not be called; when the meeting was over he ran home and told his parents he was not going because the quota was filled without him. Although Paul reports this as if his ruse of hiding accounted for his escape it appears from his account that no one even suggested that he be sent at that time. The next year the Japanese and Trukese teachers came over themselves from Udot and addressed the assembled children. Paul says that all the children except he volunteered, although the resistance reported by others would suggest that perhaps Paul has exaggerated. In any event he was asked why he did not hold up his hand with the other children and replied that he did not want to go to school; his parents were asked their opinion and said they wanted him to go but the teacher finally decided he should wait another year. "So I stayed here. A month later a Protestant missionary came and said he was going to teach all the children who were not going to school on Udot, so I started going to school with him. I learned a little and began to understand what it was all about. I thought I might even go to Udot." Paul's ready appreciation and acceptance of the advantages of schooling is unusual and suggests that he had already absorbed something of the viewpoint presented by his parents.

The following year when the teacher came Paul's parents registered his name without telling him. He thought he had been overlooked and was delighted until his parents told him, after which he spent a sleepless night of worry. "Finally when day came I felt sorry for my parents because they were so anxious for me to go, so I said I would go." We may wonder whether Paul was truly only sympathetic or whether, identifying somewhat with his parents' viewpoint, he was persuaded of the wisdom of their advice.

Probably he was just making the best of a situation he realized he could no longer avoid. In any event he went to school.

He stayed with his half-Marshallese brother for two of his three years. It is significant that what little he tells of his school years is concerned not at all with his relations with the other children, but rather with the Trukese and particularly Japanese teachers. The first year he was very slow in learning and was beaten repeatedly by both teachers. During the second he "decided to work very hard" and even studied by lamplight at night. "About the middle of the year I began to understand but still did not speak up much in class. By the end of the year I had learned pretty well and spoke up in class. The Japanese teacher was pleased with me and when the next year began he took me out of school and had me work for him as a houseboy. I worked there the rest of the year eating and sleeping in his house, while at night I still studied my schoolwork."

Near the end of Paul's third year he was told he was to go to the advanced school on Dublon. He objected but the teacher was adamant.

I said no more but determined to go back to Romonum. I did not know whether I would slip away at night or in the afternoon, or perhaps just say I was sick. When someone was sick and missed school for a month or two they would decide he had been out too long and not let him go on to Dublon. I was very anxious not to go for by that time I was almost twenty and I thought much more about girls than about school; I knew that if I stayed in school any longer I would not do well at all in my studies.

So I asked my parents and they said I was big by then and could decide for myself. So I went back to the teacher, told him my mother was sick, and said I wanted to stay with her for a couple of weeks or a month. He said I could go but for only four days. I said all right and left. I came home and of course found my mother was fine—I had just been lying. When the four days were up I wrote him a letter telling him I was sorry I could not go back because my mother was near death and I was going to take her to the hospital, but I said that as soon as she was well I would go to Dublon. He wrote back saying that was fine.

So I just stayed here and went out to sleep with girls. I slept with girls who were married and girls who were not—in the old days I was very good at this.

Paul's handling his getting out of school stands in striking contrast to the transparent and soon-discovered lies told by others in this situation. Here he tells us how he weighed the alternatives, checked with his parents, made a plan, and carried it out, even to sending a follow-up letter at the end of the four days. He thus shows even in his youth the ability to make the "resourceful, bright, and systematic attack on problem-situations" which his TAT revealed.

At the same time he began well before he was married to play a highly active sexual role (which is documented in the succeeding portions of his account). This is again unusual but in his case not surprising if we accept the conclusion reached above that his security depends more on the power of his immediate family than in dependence upon a large group of kinsmen with whom he has to be restrained and careful. For this reason Paul had far less occasion than most to learn to inhibit his feelings in his childhood, and it is of course this inhibition which we have concluded makes it so difficult for young Trukese to adapt their behavior in a sexual role. Unfettered by anxiety on this score Paul was able to launch fully into a series of liaisons appreciably earlier than most.



After another ten days Paul had a letter from the teacher asking him to come at once to care for his two children as his wife was sick and he had to take her to the hospital. After some indecision he decided to go, but have a last affair before going. He got all dressed up and went to a girl he had not visited before. He went into her house but when she turned out to be reluctant he lied and said he had come because he wanted to marry her; at this she acquiesced and he tells us they had intercourse twice before he got up before dawn and left for Udot. "In those days I lied a lot—when something seemed impossible I just lied and it was easy." The teacher was grateful for Paul's help in his time of need and excused him from any further schooling. He returned to Romonum and went to the same girl and told her again he wanted to marry her. She suggested he talk to her family; Paul did so and one gathers he correctly anticipated they would refuse. They said "I was young and foolish and played all the time so I would not be a good husband." She then suggested he ask his family; they were opposed but Paul lied again in telling her they approved subject to the approval of her family, which of course had not been granted. She was thus not annoyed with him and, since they could not get married, they had intercourse four times on their last night.

Later Paul went to Susan, whom he says he really wanted to marry. He says that three other men were trying to marry her but she consistently rejected them. Of Paul, however, she approved. He approached her family but found her father's "brother," with whom she was living at the time, opposed. Thwarted, Paul went to four Japanese who were living on the island supervising road work; Paul had already told them of his intention of marrying Susan. They offered to help and the next day told her father's "brother" that if he did not permit the marriage he would get all the dirty jobs from then on. He was, however, adamant and Paul had to give it up. Having had intercourse twice in one night during the negotiations "because we did not know how it would work out later" this time they had intercourse three times and he left.

Three months later his present wife came back from school on Dublon and after seeing her in church Paul decided he wanted to marry her. He spoke to her and said he wanted to come that night and sleep with her; she approved but said her father had insomnia. Paul thought and then suggested she tie a string to her finger and hang it out through a crack in the wall of the house; he could pull it when he came and wake her. She congratulated him on his cleverness and they carried out the plan. The next day he asked her family; her parents approved but her mother's other relatives did not. After several days Paul arranged an appointment with the commanding officer of the Japanese garrison then on Romonum, a man whom Paul also counted among his friends. He presented his problem to the Japanese. That night while Paul waited at home the Japanese went to see the girl's family; he told them that since she was registered as a resident of Moen at the time she would either have to marry someone on Romonum or return to Moen. Since this came from such an important man they presumably took his statement as fact, for when he inquired if he should select a husband for her they acquiesced. He then named Paul; after a stunned silence he told them how reasonable it was they should get married, called Paul, and left them married.

Two months later Paul's friend was relieved by a new commanding officer who did not like the Trukese. He discovered a deal of Paul's whereby he traded bananas to a



soldier for cigarettes, and Paul was beaten. Other beatings followed, and his wife was also beaten. Paul went to Dublon to work and was reported to have informed on the Japanese on Romonum; his wife was beaten so she could hardly walk and Paul returned to take her to Dublon with him. She was pregnant and so returned after a while to have her baby (who later died) at home. Paul meanwhile remained on Dublon where he and some other men started singing songs outside the windows of Trukese houses at night in return for drinks; the Japanese stopped this after a month because they were all too sleepy to work.

Later Paul was returned to work on Romonum. He had various jobs, some narrow escapes from bombing and strafing, and often stole food reserved for the Japanese. One night he threw a rock at some other Trukese who were also out raiding the gardens; they were scared and ran, scaring other poachers, and thus started a mass flight. This amused Paul, although he became a little frightened himself. Then one day they heard the war was over, and a rumor started that the Japanese were going to behead all the Trukese. Paul got some palm wine and some squid (which he says the Japanese liked) and invited a Japanese friend to eat and drink with him. He got the Japanese very drunk and finally elicited the information that there would be no beheading, for the Japanese were simply going to surrender. The next day the surrender was announced and everyone was permitted to get his own food without Japanese permission.

Paul's half-Marshallese brother had bought a motor launch from its Japanese owners in the closing days of the war and after the surrender the storekeeper and his brothers took it over to make trips to the American base on Moen. Although Paul says the only English he knew was "yes" and "no" he was able to establish a brisk trade between the Americans and the Japanese prisoners. The prisoners were fed but given no cigarettes so Paul traded American cigarettes for Japanese flags, watches, swords, and other souvenirs. He succeeded in making a sizable profit from each transaction, keeping himself supplied with cigarettes and his wife with clothes.

The remainder of Paul's spontaneous account is concerned with more or less current episodes—peeping at his wife's "sister's" genitals when out fishing, getting food for a feast, seeing Nancy and another old woman who passed blood when they defecated, losing their cigarettes when he and some other men were out fishing, and so on. At the time of his interviews Paul had for some time been the island constable on Romonum. He told of seeing ghosts on his nightly rounds, his pride and ability in his work, the difficulties he got into through not knowing English when stationed for a while in the dispensary on Moen, and his dissatisfaction with the small pay he received for his long hours of day and night work making his rounds of the island and getting people to keep their houses clean.

In response to questions Paul said he was happy with his life but wished that he had more money so he would not have to work—he would be able to have people do all his work for him. He said his wife liked him, but also readily admitted that he still slept with other women. He named no less than twenty-one women with whom he had slept, but stated that now he only went to his wife's "sisters" and his "brothers'" wives. He named five women, three in his wife's lineage and two others whose husbands would not be considered "brothers" of Paul through any line of kinship. He described in detail

the size and conformation of the genitals of the three "sisters" of his wife and ranked them in order of preference. This concluded his account.

*Dreams.* Paul reports five current dreams. In the first he was fishing on the reef when he saw people buying fish at a pier; he swam in to buy his own but was chased by a shark and had to throw away five he had caught to distract the shark. When he reached the beach he found the fish hanging from a tree. He interprets the shark from which he could barely escape as frustration or trouble in attaining some objective; the fish in the tree signify the removal of the trouble. After some thought he decided the people buying fish found things easy: they did not have to work as he did but could just buy what they wanted.

The next two dreams (the following night) came one after the other. The first was an attack by a ghost, which followed his actually believing he saw a ghost while making his rounds that night; he was not sure whether the ghost which came in his sleep was real or a dream. It was followed by a real dream, although only a fragment. He had gone inland to supervise some work and climbed a coconut tree to get a drinking nut. Because he was wearing shoes he slipped and fell, waking when he hit the ground. Paul had no interpretation for these dreams. We should note, however, that shoes are largely an imported prestige item for the Trukese and are not generally worn when working; the foreign goods by which he sets so much store were thus in this dream literally his downfall.

Four days later he again dreamed twice in succession. In the first he entered a house and found a woman asleep on her back; he lifted her dress to look at her genitals and found she had a large sore on each side. Although she slept on he told her to go to the hospital on the next boat. After this Paul dreamed of making his rounds and being chased by a dog, but found he could not run fast. He came to a tree but as he started to climb it the dog bit him and he fell. He went to Roger to have his leg bandaged and then went home to tell his wife. At this a noise outside awakened him and ended the dream. Paul knew of no meaning for these dreams and said that at first he was not going to tell them because he could not supply an interpretation.

*Discussion.* Even if we assume that Paul has colored his stories considerably in order to make himself appear more clever than he actually was, three attributes stand out clearly in his account of the years since he got out of school: (1) his ability to conceive and execute rather complex plans in order to achieve his objectives, (2) his willingness to capitalize on his friendships with foreigners to attain his ends regardless of the unfavorable effect this may have on other Trukese, and (3) his great preoccupation with having a large number of affairs (but apparently no intensive ones with a single woman) and with his ability to have intercourse several times in a night.

We concluded in discussing his childhood that Paul learned to expect little from his Trukese contemporaries and found that his power and support was rather to be derived from his position as a member of a small tightly knit family with economic resources based on the money economy. Not being dependent as other Trukese are on the more or less voluntary support of a large group of relatives he could be more free in expressing himself without fear of jeopardizing his security. It would therefore appear that he was able to utilize what is apparently a good intelligence without the hesitation and anxiety

which characterize the typical Trukese approach to difficult situations. He could, and can, think out a solution to his problems without the hindrance of worrying over the possible offense his actions may give to his relatives; it is for this reason that he is able to be an effective planner. Furthermore, because he is not dependent upon the opinions of others, if he wants something enough he can afford to take steps which are not merely socially hazardous but are actually certain to make people angry. He knows he wields enough power through his brothers to overcome the effects of any hostility he may arouse. He has only to retreat into the bosom of his family and wait for the storm to subside—as he did when, after forcing his wife's family to approve his marriage, he took her to live with him. When he became island constable (doubtless through the efforts of his half-Marshallese brother in the administration) his power and assurance were further increased.

The exercise of power in this situation does not, however, lead to rewarding personal relationships. It was notable during our stay that Paul tended to remain at home rather more than most men except when engaged in his police work. In contrast we concluded that even in childhood Paul did not find his life at home very pleasurable but at that time could only seek against fairly severe handicaps to make a place for himself among his contemporaries. It appears that Paul finally found the means of satisfying this need for rewarding interpersonal relationships in his adolescence through the medium of sexual liaisons. He embraced this activity with enthusiasm and still does. Although it is impossible to vouch for the truth of specific episodes he recounts, there is ample evidence from the statements of others that Paul is an outstandingly active adulterer. He satisfies through this means his need for personal self-expression and mastery in much the same way that other Trukese men do; we do not, however, have to assume from what we have said so far that his greater enthusiasm is a result of a greater need than that felt by most. It is equally likely that his lack of learned inhibition permits him to undertake this sort of behavior with less inherent anxiety, and the sense of security he derives from his social position minimizes the possible adverse effects of his being discovered. As a matter of fact, although Paul's sexual exploits were a matter of fairly open discussion during our stay on Romonum no one at any time undertook any reprisals. We should, however, note that his sexual contacts are almost blantly promiscuous: he wants to have several women available to him at all times. This and the fact that he emphasizes how adequate he can be (even to having intercourse four times in one night) shows us the degree to which simple mastery of the sexual situation is his primary objective. It is probably for this reason that his anxiety over genital adequacy shows up rather more clearly in his tests than in those of the other young men. Because he reveals this preoccupation more strongly than others we may modify our statement above to suggest that while his conscious anxiety in a sexual context is less than that of others his psychological need for this type of expression may in fact be greater than for most Trukese men. In speaking of amount of need or amount of anxiety we are of course entering the realm of guesswork. We may nevertheless speculate that if Paul does in fact feel a compelling drive to conquer women sexually he has at some time suffered severe frustrations at the hands of women. This would presumably have been in his childhood before he embarked upon his sexual career. We do not, however, have evidence to support or refute this hypothesis, so we must leave it an open question.

## CHARLES

## AGE 33. POPULARITY: HIGH

Charles' mother is still living; his father died during the war about three years before Charles recounted his life history. His mother was a woman from the Mortlock Islands to the south of Truk and his father (whose father was also from the Mortlocks) was a man from Uman on Truk; there is also a fair possibility that Charles' actual (biological) father was English. As we shall see from the brief summary of his life history Charles did not even come to Truk until he was eight and to Romonum until his early twenties. Charles' developmental background was thus so different from that of the remainder of our subjects and contains so many unknown factors that a comparison between Charles and the others would be of little significance. There would thus be little to be gained from as careful an examination of his record as that devoted to the others in our series.

Charles was included only because the very considerable divergence in his background was not known at the time the sample was selected. He was said to have had some "relatives" in the Mortlocks, but because he was married to a Romonum woman (Irene) and listed among the permanent residents of the island there was no reason apparent at the time for questioning the advisability of including him. His foreign upbringing was only discovered with the recording of his life history which took place after the administration of the tests. Having collected a full set of data it appeared advisable to retain Charles in the series if only to see wherein his test results would differ from those of persons who had spent most of their lives on Romonum. The validity of the projective test interpretations as a whole finds considerable support in the fact that Sarason—who of course was not told anything of the background, status, or relationship of the subjects—was able so clearly to recognize the un-Trukese characteristics of Charles' personality from the test protocols alone.

On the basis of a minimal knowledge of English derived presumably from his father Charles was appointed interim schoolteacher on Romonum to remain until such time as a properly trained man became available. At the time of our study he was attempting with some difficulty to perform this function for which he recognized he was inadequately prepared.

When Charles moved to Romonum he was accepted into a lineage appropriate to the corresponding Mortlock sib of his mother. When he married the wife (Irene) of a lineage "brother," however, he was expelled from this lineage. During the remainder of his time on Romonum he maintained a somewhat dubious relationship with a different lineage (of another sib) and could claim some support from his wife's lineage. Neither of these kin affiliations, however, was very strong or effective and he was as a result socially rather isolated. He later moved to Uman where he affiliated himself with his father's kinsmen. He has no children although he and Irene more or less adopted a boy of seventeen who is said to be Charles' nephew.

## RORSCHACH

This is an unusual person who is in some ways un-Trukese. He differs most from the others in the degree to which he is able to respond in a personal way to people and situations. Whereas the behavior of others is largely determined by convention, Charles



can respond in a more uniquely personal way. He does not inhibit his own needs and drives (or fantasies) the way others tend to do. He appears to differ from many of the others in the degree to which he can overtly express and use his imagination. He is not bound by what is given him—he is not concrete—but can organize and change his manner of approach to problems. One would expect Charles to see and do things differently from the others. One is tempted to say that he appears to be a mature Andy. Charles is the kind of person with whom one should be able to establish a personal relationship. He is perceptive, he does not assume a passive and constricted manner, and he does not lack personal or intellectual depth.

But Charles possesses characteristics which do not allow him to be as "free" as the above picture might indicate. One is the degree to which he will delay responsiveness when he, for one reason or another, is uncertain or in conflict. The word "delay" is used because Charles can overcome his doubts and come to grips with the problem presented; he does not inhibit responsiveness, as others tend to, but rather to postpone it. He reflects and meditates and will not spend so much energy as the others do in trying to avoid a problem; nor does he give up so easily as they. Another qualification is the evidence of an underlying anxiety which appears to be related to the problem of aggression. The evidence might be interpreted to mean that he views his environment as a somewhat hostile one. Such an anxiety would tend to act as a damper on his spontaneity and good ability. Taking these qualifications into account, one would say that Charles feels and imagines more than he allows himself to express. But compared to such Trukese as Mike, Edward, Tony, and perhaps even Roger, Charles should be able to express more of himself and show more originality.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

That Charles is a most unusual person is seen not only by the length of the protocol (twenty-nine typewritten pages) but by his ease in communication, imaginativeness, and coherence of thought. In terms of form, length, and content, his stories differ so much from those of the others that one might well conclude that his background is in some ways un-Trukese. It is this examiner's impression that with only slight deletion or change Charles' protocol would be considered far more characteristic of a "Westerner" than of a Trukese.

One of the major themes in the stories concerns the loss of loved ones, as a result of which poignant feelings of sadness and unhappiness ensue. In one story (15), for example, a man misses his dead wife and children, grieves a great deal for them, and by the end of the story decides to stay with them in the spirit world where he has found them. In addition to such stories is a group in which a separation theme is manifest: for one or another reason a person is separated from his family—the person usually being on another island. Again such separations are unhappily viewed.

On this basis one might conclude that in the course of his life Charles has experienced either the loss of some close kin or separation from them—or both. In connection with this he experiences something akin to depressive feelings and has strong longings to reinstate what he views as a once happy relationship. The fact that Charles' stories contain so many references to individuals who are separated from loved ones by



being on "another" island strongly suggests that Charles has not spent all his life on Romonum.

Another recurring theme in these stories concerns the undependability of people, especially a wife or some close relative. In one story (1) a brother fails to carry out his duties, in another (14) a widower "forgets" his wife and child, in Story 5 a husband feels let down by his wife, and in Story 10 a son becomes very angry at his parents because he thinks they allowed a younger brother, whom he loves, to undertake a dangerous journey by himself. It is important to note that in each of these stories either something fatal or unpleasant happens to the undependable person, or very hostile feelings are expressed toward him.

From the above combination of themes one might conclude that Charles has a great deal of hostility toward people and that this hostility is rather easily aroused when he feels, for one or another reason, rejected or in some way let down by them. That the emotions of love and hate are intimately related in Charles' experience is well illustrated in a story (10) in which a son feels concerned about the welfare of his old parents but later on (see previous paragraph) suddenly threatens to cut their heads off. Charles is a sensitive person in the sense that he reacts rather strongly to what he considers to be rebuffs or slights by others. But the sequence of action within his stories suggests that overt display of aggression would not be easy for Charles. His stories indicate that his hostility would either be expressed in an indirect, subtle way, or in fantasy. One form in which his aggressiveness would probably be expressed would be in active strivings for wealth and prestige. It is rather clear in his stories that Charles identifies with the wealthy and the smart person and the power and prestige of the military person. He derogates the "old" way of living and places great value on the importance of work. But the evidence from his stories indicates that Charles is probably unable to fulfill his ambitious strivings largely because he seems to lack the qualities of leadership. He respects and is submissive to authority (the "boss" or "chief") and seems too dependent on others to be capable of assertive and independent action. He strives but he lacks the "promoting" ability of a Paul. His story to Picture 8 (the lion vomiting gold) although a folktale is still a good illustration of several of Charles' characteristics: the feeling of inadequacy due to some kind of personal loss, the desire for wealth, the fear of the consequences of failure, the obtaining of wealth through the power of another person (the lion), and the feeling of competitiveness with others. That Charles is ambivalent about his own drives is seen by his ambitious strivings and his criticism of greedy people. Another factor which would act as a brake, not only on his ambitious strivings but on aggressive display, are feelings of guilt associated with wrongdoing.

In summary, Charles is a person in whom feelings of insecurity, dependency, and personal unhappiness seem to be related to some kind of separation from a familial figure or figures, involving, perhaps, some kind of geographical dislocation. Probably as a result of these factors he has become sensitive to the possibilities of rejection by others and it does not take much for strong hostility feelings to be aroused. He is quick to experience a change from dependency strivings to hostility when he feels rejected. It is doubtful that he can express this hostility directly and it is most likely expressed indirectly or through strivings for some kind of status. Fantasy, as a means of fulfilling ambitions and discharging hostility, plays an important role in his mode of adjustment.

Submissive tendencies, dependency on authority, and guilt feelings probably interfere with true assertiveness and independence of thought and action. He strives and tries, but seems to lack the "toughness" for achieving his ambitions. Charles is ambivalent not only toward himself but to others as well.

There are several things in Charles' stories which are probably revealing of him as well as of the culture. Again one finds a food anxiety but Charles also tells a Trukese folktale which indicates what some of the psychological facets of this problem are. Obviously food, wealth, and security are intimately associated. But the folktale suggests that too much striving in this area is fraught with dangers: the hand that feeds you can also harm you. It is as if excessive striving or demandingness is a "bad" thing. Similarly, the other folktale which Charles related has as its moral "curiosity killed the cat." "Be satisfied" and "conform" seem to be admonitions which the Trukese take to heart. In regard to the food anxiety, one should point out that Trukese spirits "eat" their victims.

### LIFE HISTORY

Charles was born on Nauru, an island in eastern Micronesia whose extensive phosphate deposits were at that time worked by a large number of native laborers imported from various islands under the supervision of a predominantly British administrative colony. Charles' father was presumably to be counted among the more skilled laborers as engineer of a small locomotive hauling ore to the docks. Charles remained there with his mother and father for eight years; if he had any brothers or sisters he does not mention them. He notes that as a child he had a very light skin and reddish hair which made him especially acceptable to the British children and their parents. He speaks fondly of playing a great deal with these children and often spending the night in their houses. Although Charles speaks disparagingly of his present darker skin color he is still appreciably lighter than most Trukese and it is not unlikely that his father was actually British, although he does not himself mention this possibility. He mentions his father indulging him through the purchase of several pets, and also a severe beating he received for swimming when an injury he had sustained from stepping in a switch on his father's railroad had not yet healed. We need not discuss in detail these or other episodes which took place on Nauru for without adequate knowledge of the broader social context in which they occurred their mere description can be of little use.

On their way back to Truk Charles and his parents stopped off for two months on Ponape where Charles attended a school run by the Catholic fathers. Thereafter he attended a Protestant mission school on Dublon until he was fifteen. During the first few months of his attendance in the school on Dublon his parents were in the Mortlocks; thereafter they were on nearby Uman. When he entered this school Charles was told by his father to work hard in getting his education so that he could take care of himself if his father should die and leave him alone. He suffered various vicissitudes while in school but does not indicate whether he did well scholastically. Upon his graduation he was told he was to go as a missionary to Puluwat. Charles refused but his refusal was not accepted. He thereupon said his father was very ill and he had to return to Uman at once; as Charles had prepared a forged letter to back up this story he was permitted to go. He remained on Uman for over a month despite the teacher's repeated efforts to

get him to return to Dublon and thence to go to Puluwat and, after the teacher had given up his attempts, Charles went to Dublon himself and took a job in a store which he held for two years.

Near the end of his period of working in the store Charles married a woman from Udot and shortly moved there and lived in her household. During the four years he lived on Udot with her he came to the attention of the Catholic priest on the island, who persuaded him to become a catechist. Charles was originally intended to go to Foup on Tol but at the request of the Catholics of Romonum was assigned there instead; he had been on Romonum for about eleven years at the time he told his life history. His father had been on Tol but returned to Uman when the bombing of Truk began; he died near the end of the war, reputedly thought to be a spy and therefore starved to death by the Japanese who suspected his knowledge of English. Charles was desolate.

At the end of the war Charles took his wife to Udot to be with her sick mother; he left her there and did not return because he was fed up with her. "My body was tired from working for the Japanese and my head from listening to my wife's talk." A month later he married Irene. He does not mention the severe social repercussions of this act which were compounded of Irene's leaving her former husband the day he came down with a severe illness and Charles' abandoning his former wife and taking another while in the status of Catholic catechist on Romonum.

In response to questions as to his present status Charles presented a picture of his persecution by "a few people" who were jealous of his position as schoolteacher. "If I want to do anything they stop me. It is fine if we want just to be quiet and do our work [i.e., food raising and the like] but if we want to make money for ourselves they don't like it. They want everything for themselves. I know that if I stay here no matter how long I will not be able to be at peace or well off." He went on to discuss how his efforts as schoolteacher were obstructed by the chiefs, and then protested against my writing this down, a passage quoted earlier (p. 147).

*Dreams.* Charles reported only one current dream. He was walking along a path in the interior of the island with his wife when the island chief came up with a dog. While they were talking the dog bit Charles on the leg; he ran but the dog chased him and bit him again, at which he awoke. He felt this signified impending trouble: "We Trukese when we dream of a dog, cat, chicken, or pig biting us think of trouble." This dream may be related to Charles' feeling that he is being persecuted by the chiefs; the dream occurred before he made his concluding remarks to the life history, and would therefore suggest that he feels strongly his persecution by them. His statement that the interpretation he offered was appropriate to "we Trukese" was made in a tone which indicated it might be taken as deprecation both of Trukese beliefs and of himself as sharing them.

*Discussion.* It is not unlikely that Charles derived at least in part the perceptive and personal approach to his problems seen in his tests from his early upbringing in the company of British children. On Romonum, however, he was a man practically without kinsmen in a society wherein the kin group is the foundation of social and economic security. This had furthermore been his status almost all the time since he arrived on Truk, was deposited in school, and abandoned by his parents who went to the Mortlocks. He is irrevocably in, but not a part of, the Trukese society. It is, therefore, not unreason-

able that he should view his social environment as hostile. His early association on terms of comparative equality with the British children on Nauru gives him a feeling of superiority for which he receives little recognition on Truk. His identification with British values leads him to equate money with prestige, power, and security. This identification in his case is not unrealistic for, without the support of relatives, Charles is largely dependent upon purchased imported foods. Teachers at that time were, however, not well or regularly paid and his job was thus not very successful in fulfilling his actual and psychological needs for a large income. But with his highly insecure social status he could not fight for what he wanted and, yearning for power for himself, he respected as well as envied it in others.

There thus appears to be adequate basis for concluding that the description of Charles' personality derived from the tests is largely correct but any attempt to trace its development in more detail would not be justified without access to more complete information on the social environment of his childhood on Nauru. Furthermore, as pointed out previously, even an exhaustive analysis of his case would be of little relevance to our study of the development of personality within the framework of the Trukese society.

### THEODORE

#### AGE 40. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Theodore's parents are both dead, his mother dying when he was about twenty and his father quite recently. Of their children who grew to adulthood Theodore was the second of three sons; his older brother was my principal older informant, and his younger brother is now dead. We have no information as to any other brothers or sisters who may have died in infancy or childhood. Theodore and his first wife had two sons and two daughters; of these only their second son grew to adulthood and is now married and has a small daughter. Theodore remarried after his first wife's death but they have had no children. Theodore's lineage is among the larger ones on Romonum; his father's lineage, however, is small. Theodore is the first person on Romonum now living to have attended a Japanese school.

### RORSCHACH

Whereas Charles' record was distinctive for its un-Trukese character, Theodore's is in many ways "typical" of his people. He is not, and would find it difficult to be, personally revealing. He protects himself from doing wrong by reducing his responsiveness, evading coming to grips with the problem, and adopting a cautious and superficial approach. He is concrete in his thinking and cannot at all easily shift his approach or view of a problem. As with many of the others, any display of deep feeling is inhibited. He lacks the originality and drive of a Sam, Andy or Charles. In contrast to them his behavior would be expected to be far more conventional with few deviations from the cultural straight and narrow path. He lacks their imaginativeness and conceptual skills.

But Theodore is not a Mike, although he is closer to him than to Andy. In the face of conflicts or problem situations, Theodore's responsiveness would not be so reduced as Mike's. Theodore is not so cowed or submissive to the new or the strange. He makes



more of an attempt to adjust to such situations. In his relations with his environment he would appear to be more spontaneous. Where Mike would clam up, Theodore would become cautious. There are indications that Theodore may at times be able to be assertive while this is far less likely with Mike.

In his record Theodore did something which no one else has done: he gave a discourse on the contents of one of his responses. While this may have served the purpose of evading the examiner's questions, the important thing is that he could relate what he did although the discourse was somewhat irrelevant in the situation. This writer can only say that this discourse sounded a little like the musings of some old people. It was partially on the basis of this very subjective and questionable impression that this writer wondered if the older Trukese male is somehow or other under less pressure to inhibit than many of the younger males.

There is rather good evidence that Theodore has some kind of sexual concern. The hypothesis of anxiety and doubts as to one's own masculinity discussed in Paul's case would also be relevant here. One other hypothesis is deducible from this record: the older male does not have so much anxiety in the sexual area as the younger.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Theodore's stories are so brief that it is hazardous to attempt a detailed kind of personality description. From the manner in which he ended his stories ("I don't know any more," "That is all I can think of," "That is all I am capable of") one may wonder if Theodore was exerting much effort and was responding in essentially an evasive manner. What can perhaps be said with a fair degree of confidence from these stories is that Theodore is one of those who, although experiencing strong hostile feelings, cannot express them. Four of his stories contain some kind of hostile feeling but relatively little hostile action. People are "angry" or "a little angry" but there is little indication that anger is expressed. Anger expressed in words is about as far as Theodore allows his characters to go and one may wonder if Theodore can allow himself to go that far.

There is no indication that Theodore is other than an inhibited, passive individual whose conflicts rob him of spontaneity and resourcefulness. In most ways he is the antithesis of Paul.

#### LIFE HISTORY

We have very little information on Theodore's childhood. He says, "When I was very small I did not understand anything and just ran around playing without any clothes on. Later when I was bigger my father used to tell me not to be haughty or insolent." These are conventional statements of what would be expected in a usual Trukese childhood. He adds, however, "My father said that later when I was bigger they would send me to the Japanese school." We have no way of knowing what prompted Theodore's father to be so anxious that he go to school, especially as at this time there was only one administration school (on Dublon) which could take only a relatively small number of students. Later Theodore describes his mother's distress at the prospect of his going away to school, but notes that she also urged him to work hard as he was the only Romanum boy attending at the time (there were actually two but one left after two months).



Theodore describes in some detail his playing one day by the sea when he was about five, being washed off a rock by a wave, and rescued by an older man who was picking breadfruit nearby. Theodore mentions that both his mother and his rescuer were angry with his father for taking such poor care of him. He was treated by "an old, old woman whose hair was all white and whose teeth had fallen out" and recovered. His father and the older man became "brothers" thereafter.

When he was about six Theodore was playing with some other boys with fighting fish. Theodore's fish lost and he became angry (although most boys do not view this sport as personally competitive); he and another boy were fighting when both their fathers came up and very nearly got into a fight themselves championing the causes of their sons. Theodore cried in his fright over their imminent fight. Following this Theodore tells of his relations with his parents and his anxiety over food, without indicating the source of this anxiety:

When I was small and came home and there was no food ready I used to cry. My father would come and ask me why I was crying and I would tell him it was because I was unhappy because there was no food. He would tell me not to cry, there was plenty of food. Now it is not like that any more because I am big and strong and get food by myself. I am no longer worried about food.

[Relations with mother?] When I was small my mother used to tell me not to go off at a distance lest I die. She said if I got lost in the bush I would soon starve to death so I should just stay around the house. She also told me to do what my father said—if he told me something I should do it right away the first time he told me. I assured her I would not be slow in obeying my father.

Although this passage would suggest that Theodore's early experiences were similar to those of other Trukese children, he makes it appear that his anxiety over food was more or less spontaneous in origin and that his mother's restrictions were reasonable. If we assume that his food anxiety was actually created by the same inconsistency (and perhaps withholding of food) other children experience, and that parental restrictions appeared at the time as galling and unreasonable to him as other children find them, it is apparent that Theodore is presenting only a partial picture of his relations with his parents, suppressing those aspects which would make them appear arbitrary and threatening.

When Theodore was about fourteen his mother became quite ill, although he says he viewed her illness as more serious than she herself did. He was very distressed, could not eat, and sought out his father in his men's house to ask him to get someone to cure her. His father divined, determined who should treat his mother, and the man began the treatment which led to her recovery some days later. "All this time I had been doing her work for her but after she got well I just played again, for she told me she was able to start getting our food for us." We should note in this episode that it is Theodore who by his account took the initiative in getting his mother cured rather than his father, and that Theodore took responsibility for the household's food production during her illness—normally his father's function.

At about this time Theodore's father asked him to have his ears cut so he would be handsome when he danced.

I told him I did not want to—I was afraid of the pain and I did not want to dance. Even when I was small I did not want to dance the way everybody else did and now

I still do not know how. Besides the letter had come from the "office" telling me to get ready to go to school and I did not want to have my ears cut when I went to school.

However, his father and the chief of Winisi (Mike's father) came into the house one night when Theodore was asleep and, holding him down, cut his ears to make the loops in the lobes which all men and women normally displayed in the past. The next morning they wanted to improve the job a little but Theodore fled to the bush and spent the night with a "mother" of his who was sympathetic. When he returned the next day they again said they were going to cut his ears some more and he again fled. At this they gave up and later when Theodore went to the chief and threatened to commit suicide if his lobes were not repaired the chief complied. After the repair of one ear, however, Theodore could no longer stand the pain; he was ashamed to return again to the chief and later had his other lobe repaired by a relative of his father's.

Shortly after this Theodore left for school accompanied by his father. "My father told me not to be unhappy, but I cried a lot for I was unhappy at leaving home. He told me I would learn to talk Japanese, to count weights and measures, and to write and it would be a fine thing." His father asked a "brother" of his to take Theodore in; Theodore stayed with his father's "brother" for the three years he was in school and found him very generous with gifts of goods and money "which I would save for my father." He tells us nothing of his life in school.

Six months after he entered school Theodore returned for a vacation. He was by then about sixteen and his mother asked him whether any of the local girls interested him. Theodore answered he was only interested in his schoolwork; however, a few days later he was playing at night on the Winisi sand spit and felt stirrings within him over a girl. He later talked to her on a path and they promised to marry on Theodore's return from school; he told his father and left for school. Meanwhile another man wanted to marry her and arranged a marriage with her father. She resisted, ran away twice and was beaten, but finally gave in; her mother's brother took the most active hand in forcing her to submit. After over a year Theodore returned; he and the girl ran off and spent the night inland—according to Theodore the first time he had ever slept with a girl. After this her father capitulated and she and Theodore were married, although her mother's brother was furious. She lived with his family while Theodore completed his schooling and worked an additional year as houseboy for an important Japanese official on Dublon.

Shortly after Theodore again returned to Romonum his wife became pregnant. The baby, a boy, died within a few hours. Theodore, his brother, and his wife's sister's husband threw the body into the sea where it was eaten by sharks. The others wanted Theodore to go inland with them to work but he was feeling sad and just spent the day at home. After this Theodore wanted to go to Dublon to work, taking his wife along; she did not feel strong enough and asked him to wait until she was fully recovered from the birth of her baby. His mother also objected to his leaving again, saying she would miss him too much, but Theodore was very anxious to work for money. His mother died at about this time, although the chronology is not very clear at this point; Theodore describes his great distress over her death, but he was apparently even more upset over the death of his father some years later.

They waited several months during which time Theodore became the island secretary, a position of some importance but not very great responsibility. When his wife was

well he resigned his job as secretary and went to Dublon to work. After perhaps a year there they returned to Romonum and Theodore resumed his work as secretary. One of the two island chiefs at the time was his wife's father and after over a year as secretary Theodore was asked to take the place of his father-in-law who was "old and weak." Theodore objected strongly and went to Dublon at once. He was subjected to considerable pressure and finally acquiesced when his father-in-law addressed a request to him through his wife—in these terms he felt he could no longer refuse. Theodore became chief and reports that he found the work very trying, particularly in that he had to do so much talking both to the Japanese administrators and to the people on the island. But the important thing is that he took the job and acted as an apparently able and effective chief for several years.

Shortly after he became chief he was called upon to head a group of Romonum men joining others from the various islands on Truk for six months work in the phosphate deposits of the island of Angaur in the western Carolines. Theodore was happy to return even though he again had to take up his duties as chief. Shortly thereafter his wife was again pregnant; another son was born (who is still living). Theodore says that during his son's childhood he only had to beat him three times when he was "slow in coming when I called him." Two of these times he tied him up and placed him on top of the house without food (as noted on p. 88).

After several years Theodore asked to be relieved of his duties as chief. He was refused but finally threatened in a public meeting to hang himself if his wish was not granted; at this he was permitted to resign and was replaced by Thomas.

When he was old enough their son went to school on Udot for three years and later spent two more years in school on Dublon. During this time Theodore and his wife stayed on the islands with him: on Dublon they were both able to work and earn money, he cooking and she doing laundry. Near the end of their stay on Dublon his wife became pregnant; they returned to Romonum where she had a girl who died after four months and later another girl who lived for about seven months.

Some years later—about four years before Theodore told his life history—his wife became ill. After several months she died. Theodore again tells us of his great sorrow, but a little more than two weeks later he married again. His second wife was of the same sib but a different lineage than his first; she would thus not be considered a very close relative of his first wife and to marry her so soon is somewhat unusual although Theodore does not mention the point. He simply says he married her because "there was no one to take care of me, wash my clothes, and the like." Two years later his father died; Theodore describes his extreme grief (see p. 158).

Theodore finds his present life very satisfactory, especially when compared with his troubled time as chief. "My present wife is very good: she listens to what I tell her and does it. [?] No men come to her and I don't go to any women any more. [?] I did not go to any women while I was married to my former wife either." There is no evidence that Theodore ever undertook any adulterous liaisons and he did not even like to dance, although one wonders at the statement that he does not go to women "any more." For the future, "I just want to work for money. But though inwardly that is what I want to do so I will have a lot of money to put away, my legs and body are a little weak so that not all sorts of work are possible. Consequently I just work with the fishing

crew on the storekeeper's boat. But every month I receive only two dollars or so because they go out fishing too infrequently. I wish they went out more often."

While Theodore's life history is of a little more than average length his account is at times rather confused and he not infrequently had to be prodded with questions. Because he skipped back and forth there are several points at which the sequence of events cannot be established with certainty. He was able to report no dreams.

*Discussion.* We find ample support in Theodore's life history for the conclusion arrived at in the analysis of his tests that he has difficulty in expressing aggression and that he evades as far as possible any situation in which such expression might be necessary. It was this which made him view with alarm the prospect of being chief, although when faced with a formal request through his wife he consented rather than affront his father-in-law. In view of our conclusion that the Trukese, when they feel aggression strongly and cannot express it, tend to turn it upon themselves through suicide or running away, it is interesting that Theodore mentions two threats of suicide (which were effective and therefore presumably taken seriously) and that even though no longer a child he responded to the ear-cutting episode by running away.

Theodore cannot even express hostility in telling his life history; in spite of his obviously high anxiety and insecurity (which presumably reflect a troubled childhood) he does not tell us of any unfavorable treatment by his parents except the ear-cutting, which was elicited by a question. Consequently we have a one-sided and selective account of his childhood and particularly of his relations with his parents. We certainly need to know more than he tells us about his father. It is apparent that it was his father who instilled in Theodore a drive for achievement which is not extreme but which is both un-Trukese and largely incompatible with the cautious and unaggressive way in which Theodore prefers to meet his social problems. We know neither what prompted this desire on his father's part nor how he was able to effect Theodore's adoption of his viewpoint. It is incongruous at present to see Theodore, an older man and ex-chief, laboring for a few dollars a month alongside the youths who comprise the majority of the storekeeper's fishing crew. It is, however, apparent that Theodore could have accepted his father's high valuation of foreign modes of accomplishment in the face of the difficulties these presented to him, only if he in turn valued relationship with his father highly. That Theodore did indeed identify closely with his father is shown by his extreme reaction (as reported) to his father's death. In contrast to this, however, we may recall the strong implication, in Theodore's account of his care of his mother during her illness, that he felt his father to be a rather inadequate head of the household.

It is obvious that this record raises many more questions than it answers. One frankly very speculative hypothesis might be adduced to account for the evidence presented. We have noted that Theodore shows in a rather extreme form the desire common to most Trukese to avoid situations in which strong and particularly aggressive feeling need be expressed. At the same time it is apparent that even if he did undertake some pre- and extramarital sexual activity, such activity was probably considerably less frequent and vital to him than to most, and one wonders whether his high anxiety in interpersonal relations did not effectively deny to Theodore this usual means of satisfying the need for mastery and self-expression. Why sexual activity should have appeared especially threatening to Theodore we of course do not know, but it appears possible that making money



and even being a chief presented to him less difficult hurdles than sexuality. Theodore was thus in some degree prepared to accept from his father, whose strength he probably both admired and envied, the suggestion that he seek mastery of his social environment through essentially foreign media. He found being a chief intolerable, and thus money remains as a substitute in Theodore's case for the sexual exploits which others use to bolster their sense of personal adequacy and to fulfill their need for self-expression.

Even if we accept this hypothesis it does not, of course, tell us why Theodore developed such particularly strong anxieties in the first place. Also not explained is why Theodore's drive for achievement, however ineffective, failed to be evident in his tests—although his TAT, where this might be expected to appear, was too sparse to provide us with much reliable information of any order.

### NORMAN

#### AGE 42. POPULARITY: LOW

Although Norman's age is listed officially as forty-two his appearance and the chronology of his life history, although confused, would suggest that he is probably closer to fifty. His father died when Norman was an infant; although his mother remarried (an undetermined number of years later) Norman does not mention this. His mother died during Norman's adolescence. The lineages of his mother, father, stepfather, and wife Ida are all among the largest on Romonum, so Norman does not lack for relatives. Norman had only one older brother who lived to adulthood; if there were others who died young we do not know of them.

Norman and Ida have had eight children five of whom survive. They are as follows: Arthur aged twenty-two, Frances aged twenty-one, a girl of sixteen, a boy who died at two months, a boy (crippled in infancy) of thirteen, a boy of eleven, a boy who died in infancy, and a stillbirth. The first three of these children are married. The records of Ida and Frances appear in the next chapter.

### RORSCHACH

The distinctive feature of this record is the degree to which this man is concerned with sexuality. Connected with this preoccupation are clearly evident feelings of guilt. Although he feels that one should not have the sexual thoughts that he has—or at least that one should not talk about them—his interest in this area appears to be so strong that he cannot successfully inhibit them. Norman expresses personal feelings and thoughts to a degree that is unusual. He allows one to know something about what he is thinking. This expressiveness of self does not appear to be spontaneous; it is rather a reflection of his concern as well as of the fact that his reality testing is inadequate. He is not only a concrete thinker, like so many of the others, but his standards of reality testing are of poorer quality. It is as if his personal conflicts result in a distortion of his perceptions. Although his behavior will at times appear adequate, whenever his central conflict is touched the quality of his effectiveness will be markedly reduced.

From the content of his responses there are several things to be said about the nature of his conflict. First, he appears to feel sexually deprived. The extent to which



he sees sexually passive and receptive females in the cards strongly suggests that he is unable to achieve gratification in sexual intercourse. Although fantasy is pleasurable, it is no substitute for the real thing—it may have the effect of accentuating his conflict. Second, he has very strong ambivalent feelings or tendencies toward women. On the one hand, he has positive feelings toward them and, on the other, he has very strong hostile-destructive ones. It is the latter that tend to come out in a disguised way. In addition there are indications that he views women as possessing some masculine characteristics. Although one might be tempted to hypothesize homosexual tendencies, the evidence for it is too scanty and indirect. Put most cautiously, Norman experiences strong sexual conflict which seems to be connected with conflicts involving passive versus aggressive behavior. In addition, he is much concerned about his own body.

The above description has been largely concerned with Norman's internal experiences and attitudes. The intriguing question is what the relation is between these factors and his overt behavior. There is evidence that the more unacceptable features of Norman's conflict do not tend to reach a clear or direct expression. He makes attempts at suppression of the conflict and does not show an impulsivity which would facilitate its expression. The fact that he experiences feelings of guilt would indicate that he possesses internal controls. However, the fact that his critical ability is not strong and that he is not always able to appraise a situation realistically would indicate that his conflict should at times be apparent. Although fantasy probably plays a strong role in this man's life, it does not appear to be an adequate substitute. One would expect that at times he could not exercise control over his problems.

The fact that Norman does have internal control and that Trukese society does not appear to be one that allows unbridled or strong hostile behavior are the main bases for saying that Norman's hostile tendencies receive only indirect expression. It may also be that his conflict comes out mainly in the form of physical symptoms (which sanction passivity?).

In light of all this, it is somewhat surprising that Norman could respond to the test situation to the degree that he did and that he responded to the examiner's prodding not by closing up but by becoming more expansive. In this respect he is not like Mike or Edward. He does not feel so strong a need to protect himself in this situation. It is possible that one of the factors responsible for this difference between Norman and Mike is age: Theodore's case suggested that older males are able to come out with more personal material than younger ones.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Perhaps the most interesting feature of these stories is the differential pictures of the men and women that emerges. These differences have been found in the stories of others but here they are sharply focused. Women are described as rejecting, sexually undependable and assertive, neglectful of children, preoccupied with sexuality, narcissistic, and rebellious toward authority. In one of his stories (5) he describes women so as to suggest not only narcissism but exhibitionism as well. Men are described by Norman as jealous, dependent on and submissive toward women, concerned with the upbringing of children, unable to give direct expression to hostility, and also highly interested in

sexual activity. In one story (9) Norman says something which typifies some of this: "Her husband gives her everything he can—food, clothes, goods—so that she will like him most of all. But she really does not care for him much. She is nice enough to him so that he will stay around to see that the child is cared for, and so that he will stay with it when she is out." Women as well as men are in sexual competition with those of their own sex, but it is the men presumably who suffer the most from, or are less able to cope successfully with, competitive strivings.

Practically all of Norman's stories deal in one way or another with the theme of sexuality. Considering the fact that it was difficult for Norman to make up stories, and that his tendencies to be concrete and stray off on irrelevances forced the examiner to take an active role—when despite this the theme of sexuality occurs with great frequency, one concludes that Norman himself is preoccupied with sexual matters. But this preoccupation is strongly tinged with ambivalent attitudes. On the one hand, he identifies with Trukese morality and convention in matters of sexuality—especially in regard to how women should behave—but, on the other hand, he is attracted to and accepts the promiscuous, undependable, and exhibitionistic female. What most complicates Norman's existence is his lack of aggressiveness which is one aspect of his submissiveness to authority and to aggressive, dominant people. In a sense, he is a very dependent person who must suppress hostile feelings in order to maintain a somewhat precarious adjustment. He might be described not only as dependent but as inadequate because there is little or nothing in his stories to indicate that he has the personal resources to handle or resolve his aggressive-passive conflicts in a constructive manner. Although he presumably resolves this conflict overtly in a passive and submissive manner, such an adjustment has not resulted in internal "peace of mind."

In several stories there is evidence of a separation anxiety, the fear of losing or being separated from someone who has been a source of security. This comes out not only in stories in which children are in danger of losing a mother but also in stories involving a "brother" who leaves a peer group to marry. It is possible that Norman's strong dependency needs are in some way related to previous "traumatic" separation patterns, experiences which reinforced passivity and submissiveness rather than assertiveness and initiative.

### LIFE HISTORY

Norman's life history is somewhat shorter than average and, like Theodore, he skips around the events of his life to such a degree that the sequence is difficult and sometimes impossible to establish. The first such inconsistency appears in the account of his childhood and is itself very revealing. He discusses his childhood relations with his mother twice, once at the beginning of his account and once near the end when he had blocked and was asked for further childhood reminiscences. The first version is as follows:

Every day when I was small I went out and played. I used to go out playing at about six in the morning and did not come back all day even for a noon meal. We had toy canoe races. I would come back at about six in the evening. My mother was very angry with me; sometimes she would beat me and sometimes just lecture me sharply. Then I would be unhappy and no longer want to eat.

Sometimes I used to go out with a boat that was going out fishing. I would just hop aboard without telling my mother. She would be very angry when I came back for I was very naughty. I was still very small at the time. She had an older brother of mine who is now dead watch over me when she could no longer handle me. He used to beat me when I was bad and talk sternly to me, but he did not beat me hard for I think he sympathized with me.

When I was older [about thirteen] my mother became sick; she was spitting blood. One day I went out to play and when I came back in the evening she was dead; she could no longer talk to me. I said nothing; I was miserable. A younger "brother" asked me why I went out playing and was not here when our mother died, and I said nothing; I just cried and cried. Later they had the funeral and after that I went a long way away and did not stay around the house. When they called me I came back to eat but that was all. [?] I kept on sleeping in the house. My younger "brother" told me I should not go far away from the house again because he felt my mother had died because she had always spoken to me about going so far away and I had done it again.

Thus Norman, with at least the sympathy of his older brother, carried his rebellion against his mother's restrictions right up to the day of her death. When she died he felt guilt over her death and deep remorse. The second version is quoted in full in the chapter, "Youth." This recounts his not only disobeying his mother but striking her, and finally one day really beating her when she told him there was no food. This occurred when Norman was about eleven and was followed by his mother refusing him food for several days and his older brother, no longer sympathetic, giving him a thrashing and warning it would be repeated if he beat his mother again. Then he goes on to describe how at sixteen (three years after his mother's death in the above account) he was sorry for what he had done and treated her in every way with the greatest consideration—getting food for her, buying her presents out of his wages, and neither of them even thinking of beating the other.

While we may attribute the discrepancy in numerical ages to the general Trukese vagueness on this score, in the first account Norman was still at an age when he could be playing all day while in the second he was producing food and working for wages *before* his mother's death. More importantly, of course, in the second account he introduces a period of reconciliation before his mother's death (which he no longer mentions). The second version was given two days after the first, a day intervening during which he was not interviewed. The fundamental disparity between these two accounts is such that it is not possible to say simply that Norman was forgetful; one of them must involve more or less deliberate fantasy. It would certainly appear more likely that the fantasy enters into his story of reconciliation rather than in his first version, for there would be little motivation for his unnecessarily placing himself in such a bad light. If this is true it throws into greater relief the remorse and resentment he feels in thinking of his relations with his mother: by fantasizing a happy ending he not only removes his feelings of guilt over having driven her to her grave but also makes his mother appear more nurturant and kindly than in his first account. These two passages contain all that Norman tells us of his childhood. He says that his father died when he was so small he does not remember him and, as we have noted, he makes no mention of his mother's second husband.

Norman fails also to discuss his adolescence other than to note that he worked for the Chinese trader on Romonum for some time and later accompanied his workmen on a trip to the Mortlocks. In his early twenties Norman went to Nauru (the British phosphate island) to work for three years; during this time he had dysentery but recovered after a few months in the hospital. On his return he learned that his older brother had died; Norman says in rather perfunctory fashion "I missed him a great deal and cried a lot." The Japanese had taken over Truk during Norman's absence on Nauru.

Shortly after Norman returned he says his "parents" wanted him to marry Norma. It is not clear who these "parents" were as his own were of course dead. Norman objected but went to her house anyway, although he slept with a different woman in the house than Norma. This led to a great deal of gossip and Norman left, terminating the "marriage." A month or so later he decided to marry Ida. Her relatives were agreeable and they married. Some time later Norman when back to the woman with whom he had been sleeping while "married" to Norma; Ida heard about it and the two women very nearly had a fight. Instead Norman and the other woman went to the calaboose on Udot; at Norman's request Ida went to Udot also in order to bring him food and otherwise care for him although she did not sleep with him in the calaboose.

Norman worked at various times on Dublon and Eten while Ida remained on Romonum. He also went to the calaboose on Tol, a result of beating the Chinese trader's men with a fish spear one day when they cleaned out a school of fish on which the Winisi people depended. Ida was pregnant at the time and gave birth to Arthur shortly after Norman's return. Frances was born only a little more than a year later. Norman speaks very sympathetically of Ida's troubles in having to care for two infants at once on those occasions when he was away and she was alone; nevertheless he worked on Udot and on Falabeguets for a while and took them all over to Uman to cut copra for three months. When the children were a little bigger he worked on Dublon for a month, and later returned to work there and on Moen at fairly frequent intervals. A few years later Norman went to Angaur (the phosphate island in the Palaus) to work for six months; he notes that Arthur was very fond of him and went over to Udot to see him off, crying when Norman boarded the ship. While on Angaur Norman had a letter from Ida saying Arthur was sick; he went to the postoffice and sent a cable of inquiry and mentions his relief on hearing that his son was better. Nowhere in his life history does Norman mention his other six children.

When Arthur and Frances were old enough to go to school Norman and Ida stayed with them on Udot; Norman returned to Romonum at intervals to get food. Frances did very poorly in school and Norman was finally able to persuade the teacher to let her leave. After they had returned to Romonum Norman again went to work on Dublon and was there when the bombing of Truk began. He soon returned to Romonum where he spent the rest of the war. He discusses in detail his troubles during this period, his fears of being hit in the bombing and strafing, the difficulty of getting food, a beating Arthur received from the Japanese and another one later on Dublon, and his worry over Frances who was married to a Japanese and living on Moen. Norman believed all the atrocity rumors, including a boy who was boiled and eaten by the Japanese and the story that the Japanese were going to kill all the Trukese before the Americans entered Truk.



After talking about the troublous war years Norman said, "It is difficult being a Trukese because it is hard to get food. If I go out fishing there is no one at home to prepare the starch foods. It is impossible for a woman to prepare these foods—she cannot climb a tree to get them [only breadfruit grows on trees], and when we men get them she cannot pound breadfruit. If we have a child or the husband of a daughter it is easier but when there is none it is hard." This led on to a discussion of Norman's current hardship while Frances' husband worked for the anthropologists. He was thus able to show in a few sentences his resentment at both the economic inadequacy of women and the anthropologists.

In regard to his present status Norman said he was happy because the Americans were on Truk and he did not have the hard work and harassment of the Japanese war years. Asked about his wife he said he was happy with her too because there were no men coming to her and the Americans were good and did not molest the Trukese women. He said that before the war there were four women with whom he used to sleep but that now there were none. He also said he still had intercourse with his wife but it was not so good as it once was. For the future he just wants to keep healthy and out of trouble, avoiding the calaboose by not fighting, stealing, or committing adultery. He feels that soon he will be too weak to work and will have to be supported by his children, but it cannot be helped.

*Dreams.* Norman remembered seven dreams, five of them current and the last two from the past. Three were from one night. In the first he was in a house watching two ships racing toward Romonum; one was red and the other black but both were manned entirely by Trukese. Norman believes their home port was on Tol. When the ships got to Romonum a man on the red ship shouted to the black that they were through racing, at which the black ship left. Norman's son touched his arm and he awoke. He interpreted the red as sickness and the black as heavy rain; the black lost the race.

Later Norman dreamed he was in another house with two graves beside it; some people came and pulled the bodies out of the graves. Norman noted that one of the bodies had a thin leg like a cow's and awoke, frightened. He says the people exhumed the bodies because they heard them speak and thought they might be alive. The dream means trouble and the death of relatives.

Then Norman dreamed a woman came to him and told him a certain man was sleeping with his wife all the time. He thought about this and decided he believed it. Then he awoke, thought about it some more, and asked Ida, who said it was not true. Norman thinks, however, it will be true if it is not now as he had the same experience before when he was on Angaur. He dreamed his wife was sleeping with another man and on his return she admitted it.

Two nights later he had two more dreams. In the first he was alone on a small island and his canoe drifted away; he was in despair until a woman came up to him and told him she had the canoe on the other side of the island. Norman had not known she and her companions were there. He found his canoe and was awakened by someone's movement in the house. He thinks the woman may have been the spirit of his dead mother because she looked like her.

In the second dream Norman was in a house in the dark. He heard people talking outside and later a man, who told Norman his name but whom Norman had not known



before, came and chopped up all the trees and branches outside the house. Norman could not see him in the dark but when he was through he called Norman who came out and saw the destruction in the daylight. Norman woke up when someone entered his house and was frightened because he did not know what the dream meant. He feels that being in the dark house is like being under water without goggles so that one cannot see; this spells trouble in the future and possibly disaster at sea. The man was chopping when Norman could not see in order to worry him. The darkness and the daylight may be related to religious teachings of good and bad in Norman's opinion.

One of the dreams which Norman had dreamed several years before has the appearance of a folk tale, involving his climbing a tree which did not reach the ground of a small island in the middle of the sea; he fell out of the tree and awoke when he hit the ground. The tree he says is the road to heaven and the dream means some people will leave the Protestant church on Romonum; several people did leave the church at that time.

In another old dream "I was in my house and died. Then I came to life and sat up again and there were two pigs and two cats who were about to eat me. I woke up and was very frightened." This signified the death of Norman himself or a relative; a lineage mate of his died later. The pigs were ghosts, come to make him sick; he did become sick later. The cats signified Protestant church members about to commit a sin—they were women with whom men were going to sleep.

*Discussion.* Like Edward it would appear that Norman was brought up for a number of years without a father. Unlike Edward, however, he succeeded in rebelling against his mother's restrictions and was even openly aggressive toward her; by the same token we may assume that his mother acted in her turn with more consistent aggression (punishment) toward Norman. Norman in his entire account mentions, other than in passing, only his mother and brother, Ida (his wife), Arthur and Frances (his children), Norma (whom he avoided), and the woman with whom he slept while he was "married" to Norma. In response to a question he also mentioned four women with whom he slept. Although it is apparent that he can deal adequately with his fellow Trukese we might conclude from his failure to mention other relationships that he did not find them very important or perhaps rewarding. This is again similar to Edward's case; we concluded that Edward, lacking a father, had no adult figure with whom he could identify in attempting to form a picture of appropriate social behavior. It is very possible that Norman suffered from the same handicap, although we cannot state this with confidence not knowing the composition or location of the household in which he lived.

Certainly, however, his mother was of more importance in Norman's childhood than in that of most children and the relationship between Norman and his mother was characterized by very considerable hostility—although we must not forget that due to Norman's physical dependency as a child his mother always held the whip hand. It is thus that Norman presumably came to look upon men (i.e., himself) as submissive to and dependent upon women who are rejecting, self-centered, undependable, and, significantly, neglectful of their children—the picture he presented in the TAT. To his childhood picture of women he added as a man their sexual role (if we ignore possible sexual fantasies in childhood) and they became more specifically *sexually* undependable and aggressive. Insofar as Norman's idea of the nature of women is in fact modeled on that

of his mother we must conclude that his sexual role presented him with more anxieties than it does to most Trukese men; he was, however, able to surmount this anxiety and, like Edward, sexuality was probably of unusual importance to Norman. Now, he is growing old and his sexual activity is perforce declining in importance; he places more emphasis on his relations with his wife and adult children who he hopes will provide for his old age. With his sexual anxieties no longer having to be faced in overt behavior he is more free perhaps to express his feelings about sexual women in fantasy and thus presented on his Rorschach the type of record which Edward may possibly produce twenty years from now.

It should be noted that while now Norman expresses his consideration for his wife's hardships, in the past he was able time and again to leave her with the children while he took jobs elsewhere. He is also the only man to make explicit his belief that his wife has had and still is having affairs outside of their marriage. Thus his view of his wife probably takes on more of an ambivalent nature than he would have us believe.

One other aspect of the Rorschach interpretation should be mentioned. It was concluded there that his sexual fantasies were an inadequate substitute for Norman's inability to find sexual satisfaction in actual life. Here, however, we have concluded that Norman experiences severe conflict in his relations with women, centered in his adult life in the sexual sphere, but that their expression in the Rorschach is a function of declining interest in sexual activity which makes the conflicts less pressing and therefore more readily brought more or less into the open. This view would appear to be more compatible with the evidence from his life history and is supported by the fact that he appears to have no dreams involving sexual fantasies (as compared with the younger Edward). On the other hand we have no assurance that Norman did not simply fail to report his sexual dreams.

### KENNETH

#### AGE 46. POPULARITY: LOW

Kenneth's father died when Kenneth was a baby; his mother did not remarry, and died when Kenneth was adult. Five of their children grew to adulthood: a woman who is dead, a man of fifty-two, a man somewhat younger who now lives on Moen, Kenneth, and a woman of forty-one (the mother of Edward). Kenneth's lineage is large but that of his father fairly small. Kenneth has one living child, a son, by his first wife who is now dead. He and his present wife have had three children: a girl of seven, a girl of two, and a boy of seven months. (The genealogies show another wife between these but for a number of reasons this does not appear to be correct.)

At the time of his interviews Kenneth was completing his apprenticeship to his older brother (the lineage head) in the building of paddling canoes.

### RORSCHACH

Kenneth does not fit the hypothesis that the older male is somewhat less inhibited about self-revelation than younger ones. He is very cautious, constricted and personally unrevealing. He tends to be rigid in the sense that his approach to problems will be relatively inflexible. However, Kenneth differs from a younger person such as Mike in

that his uncertainty and fearfulness in the face of new situations will not have so interfering an effect on what he can or does do. He does not withdraw to the extent that Mike does; but strives harder to adjust to external requirements. When one considers how much older Kenneth is than Mike and that the test situation was probably also more novel and strange to him, it is surprising that Kenneth did as well as he did. Although Norman comes out with more, in a quantitative and personal sense, Kenneth appears to be more discriminating and to have better judgment. One would expect Kenneth to have a more effective, or constructive, or productive relationship with his environment than Norman. There is little in this record to indicate Kenneth is a deviant person. If he were to deviate from the norm it would be in a positive rather than negative way.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Kenneth could not give an adequate story to any of the pictures. Although he tried very hard and was very apologetic, he could not fulfill the requirements of the task. Unlike some others whose possible evasiveness was considered, there is no reason to suspect it here. This writer does not feel that any conclusion about Kenneth based on this kind of protocol is warranted except that he appears to be a dependent, unaggressive soul who tries hard to cope with problems but is generally ineffectual. Concreteness in thinking was probably a factor contributing to his difficulty, although even this is presumptive.

#### LIFE HISTORY

Kenneth's life history is rather short and a large part of it is devoted to a detailed discussion of his present work activities. After mentioning that he does not remember his father and listing his living brothers and sisters he launches into a brief but consistent account of his childhood, helped by a few questions.

My mother used to go out fishing and bring back fish for me to eat and also fed me at the breast. [?] I actually remember that—I was about three at the time, and did not want to any more. She also used to take me out and bathe me; when we were through she would carry me back to the house. [?] She also beat me when I was naughty.

When I was a little bigger I used to go out by myself to bathe for by then I understood about this; when I was through I would return home all by myself for I understood. I would stay home for a while and then go back and bathe again. I bathed very often for I did not want my body to be messy. I used to take care of my hair myself too, dressing it with coconut oil and the like.

I also used to go swimming and play in the sea, for I knew how; when I was through I would go back to my mother and eat. I did not like to wear clothes and went around without them for some time after my companions began wearing them. My mother wanted me to but I did not, for I did not yet think about those things.

When I was about fourteen I started working for my mother; I pounded breadfruit, picked coconuts, put away breadfruit for preservation and the like. I was small to be doing this but I knew how. [?] I also started going to a woman at this time. I went lots of times because I was going to the woman I later married though she is dead now. She was the mother of one son. She died and I had only this boy left. [?] My mother was still alive at this time.

When I married I had been having her as a sweetheart for some time and I was grown up when I decided to marry her. I went to her first and asked her and then to a brother of hers who is dead, two other men in her lineage, and her father who is dead. We lived in my wife's house.

Later when my first wife died I was a man and I looked for another wife. I married my present wife. She has had a lot of children: two girls and a boy.

In response to questions he described rather perfunctorily his wife's death and his sorrow. He mentions that he waited a year to remarry, and lists the relatives of his second wife whose approval he obtained. Another question elicited a slightly less perfunctory account of his mother's death.

After this Kenneth described his various activities of food production—gardening, fishing, getting food from another island, etc.—and his canoe building. In each case he was very careful to specify which relatives of his own or his wife's he was doing this for, with particular emphasis on his older brother; portions of this rather long account are excerpted in the chapter, "The Trukese Adult." He mentioned in two places the inconvenience his interviews with me were causing him in disrupting his work, although at the same time noting how anxious he was to come faithfully to them. The second such reference was rather shrewdly concluded with, "My wife told me before I left home this noon to be sure to come back soon because there were two breadfruit I had to fix for the children." This of course terminated the day's work somewhat early.

His account the following day was episodic, skipping from past to present and back again, but again with an emphasis on relatives and work. He discussed a men's house in the old days, his young male relatives who lived with him in it, and a night when they fished with torches; weeding their taro patch at the request of his older brother; having the engine fail on a motor launch when they were returning from fishing and almost drifting away; preparing the two breadfruit the previous night by moonlight because it was so late; dancing by firelight in the men's houses in the old days; how he failed to receive enough in return from the man for whom he built his first canoe; why women cannot prepare breadfruit, with an account of all the steps in preparation; and then an account of preserving breadfruit. He was asked for the events of a single day or two days, and mentioned playing tug o' war on the sand spit, men against women. This was followed by a long account of his troubles in thatching his house with ivorynut fronds, step by step. As Kenneth seemed determined to stick to technology he was asked for his views on his present status.

He said he was happy to have lived so long, a result of his trying hard at his religion, including going to the Protestant church morning and evening. He feels he will not live much longer for he is growing old and weak although he can still work.

*Dreams.* Kenneth told of only two current dreams, both very brief. He could not ascribe any meaning to either. "I dreamed a man whose name I do not know came and scratched my lower lip. I woke up and told my wife about it but she did not know its meaning." His lip had been swollen and inflamed for some months. In the second, "I was sleeping very soundly and then was frightened. I climbed a breadfruit tree and when I was high up it began to fall over. It fell and fell and I with it; it finally crashed to the ground and I too hit the ground. Then I woke up and was frightened."

*Discussion.* We must conclude that Kenneth's brief account of his childhood is



somewhat idealized; he does not even mention that he was beaten until asked directly. It seems most unlikely that any Trukese parent would be as permissive and nurturant as the mother Kenneth describes. On the other hand, we must not assume that the picture he paints is entirely false; it is by no means a completely stereotyped account of an "ideal" childhood. Kenneth even suggests some rebellion in that he did not wear clothes when his age-mates had already begun to do so—even though, as he puts it, his mother wanted him to. It is probable that Kenneth did in fact experience a rather warmer relationship with his mother than do most children. If this is true it implies a rather lesser amount of frustration in his childhood, which would perhaps account for the notably unaggressive nature of both his TAT and his life history. That this lack of aggression at least in his life history is not entirely a result of rigid control over its expression is seen in his account near the end of how he was given a poor return for his labors in building his first canoe. He spoke rather scathingly of the man who he felt had cheated him and showed no particular anxiety over having made these accusations, although we should note that it was after this that he became determined to talk only about technology. We may therefore conclude that Kenneth can express feelings of hostility, albeit not completely freely, but that he finds less occasion to do so than most; it is reasonable to suppose that his less aggressive approach to life is due at least in part to the comparative security of his relationship with his mother in childhood.

On the other hand there is a negative feature in Kenneth's life history: although he places great stress upon his relatives, and particularly his brother, he scarcely mentions any non-relatives in any context. The only play activities he discusses spontaneously are sailing toy boats and swimming, both of which can be done alone, although we are not justified in assuming from this that he did in fact always play alone. It does, however, appear that he neither was nor is as outgoing and perhaps effective in his relations with his contemporaries as are some. When we remember that Kenneth was also brought up without a father we cannot help comparing his behavior with the similar social inadequacy of Edward and Norman. These three cases taken together would appear to provide rather stronger evidence than we were able to adduce in the last chapter for the belief that the ability of the Trukese child to identify with a parent of the same sex is of considerable importance in determining the degree to which he will be able to form an adequate means of behavior for dealing with his fellows. We see here that even though the mother is the more important of the two parents (if both are living) from the viewpoint of the child, for a boy identification with her alone is not enough—to develop full social maturity and adequacy (even by Trukese standards) he must also have, and be able to identify with, a father.

Despite the similarity of reduced social effectiveness which appears to have resulted in the cases of all three of these men from their lack of a father, it is evident that Kenneth's relationship with his mother was different from that of either Edward or Norman. Edward's mother was restrictive and Edward responded by being submissive; Norman's mother was also restrictive and punitive but Norman was in constant rebellion. In Kenneth's case, however, even if we discount appreciably his description of the freedom and warmth of his relationship with his mother she remains a far more supportive figure than that described by Edward or Norman. This would presumably have affected Kenneth's view of women in general, and very possibly accounts for his ability to undertake



a sexual liaison (albeit with only a single woman) at an age rather younger than most. Although Kenneth had no reason to be any less inhibited in his day-to-day behavior than others (and now as an old man is increasingly so) the fact that he did not find women as such to be very domineering or threatening people presumably permitted him to approach them with less anxiety. Kenneth and, as we shall see, Warren are the only men who were able to say that they went to even one woman "lots of times" fairly early in their adolescence.

Not only did Kenneth lack a father to use as a model and guide in developing his own modes of behavior but there is at least a suggestion that he adopted from his mother rather more of the feminine attitude than is usual in boys. This is seen in his unusual observation that he bathed very often in order that his body not be "messy." Both girls and adult women bathe fairly frequently, but boys are more apt to have to be told to go and bathe and men rarely bathe more often than once a day. If it is true that Kenneth has a somewhat feminine attitude this may further help to account for his essentially unaggressive approach to life, for the Trukese woman is expected to be at least superficially more submissive than a man. Going further, we might speculate that Kenneth in some degree recognizes his femininity and therefore has to assert more strongly than most his competence to fulfill the tasks expected of him. Thus in describing his childhood accomplishments he points out at every turn that he knew how to do these things, as if this ability were somehow rather noteworthy. Only Kenneth and Norman feel it necessary to point out explicitly that women cannot do the work that they as men are able to do in preparing breadfruit.

#### WARREN

##### AGE 56. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Warren's mother and father died when he was adult; he had only one younger sister who grew to adulthood but she is now also dead. The lineages of both Warren's parents are fairly small. Warren has two children; his wife died when his son was seven and his daughter fully grown. Warren did not remarry. His son is in his thirties and married, but has no children. His daughter is in her forties and has had four children, only one of whom, Susan's husband, survives. It is more than probable that Warren is appreciably older than his listed age of fifty-six but no accurate estimate of his age is possible. Warren's lonely life, spent largely in his house separated from the rest of Winisi by the taro swamp, has already described in the chapter, "The Trukese Adult."

#### RORSCHACH

That he is the oldest male in this series is not Warren's sole claim to fame, he is also in certain respects the most responsive and least inhibited. At the same time Warren is one of the most uncritical and unrealistic thinkers in the group. His thinking suffers not only from concreteness, but from the relative absence of the Trukese habit of delaying and reflecting about the adequacy of one's response. His initial tendency is not to respond in terms of the objective or external stimulus situation but rather in terms of personal history, that is, story-telling. To a certain extent Warren fits our stereotype of the aged person for he is prone to respond to the situation by launching into long and irrelevant

discourses. He is like so many Trukese in that, despite his relatively easy and uninhibited way of responding, he reveals little of what is truly personal or private. He gives a lot but tells little. Doubtless fantasy, in the sense of story-telling, plays an important role in his adjustment but there is little evidence that this tendency is a reflection of some pathological process.

But Warren is more complicated than this description indicates. He is capable of an adequate, realistic, and even original way of responding particularly when he has become accustomed to a situation or when his aspirations are modest. There appear to be in Warren strong needs to be liked and recognized, but when he attempts to gratify them the adequacy of his responsiveness is lowered. It is as if he bites off more than he can chew and is unaware of the unrealistic nature of his responses. But, as the strength of these tendencies is reduced, the quality of his adjustment increases while the quantity decreases. One might deduce from this that Warren has been capable of a better quality of adjustment than he now shows.

Warren certainly would fit in with the hypothesis that the older Trukese are not so inhibited or constricted as some of the younger ones. Such an hypothesis, however, is hazardous because of the small number of cases and the selective manner in which they were chosen. In any event, it is doubtful whether the variable of advanced age can in itself be a convincing explanation for the degree of difference between Warren and the others. It is inconceivable to think of Warren in his youth as being like Mike or Tony.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

As one might expect from the stories of the oldest male, he appears to be much concerned about death and physical disability. What is perhaps most distinctive about the stories is that they reveal Warren to be an extremely concrete individual who found it difficult to tell a story without bringing in or paying attention to irrelevant aspects of the stimulus pictures. Although he was apparently trying to meet the requirements of the situation, he found it difficult to do so. It is probably revealing of Warren that he apparently did not try to be evasive and retreat, but was motivated to respond.

Warren obviously has no pleasant association or anticipations about death for it is always associated with sickness and pain. If one makes the somewhat dubious assumption that Warren's attitudes toward death are probably representative of the society, then Truk is not one of those societies in which death is welcomed or stoically approached as a means of entering an all-satisfying heaven. From one of his stories (12) one might surmise that aged Truk individuals are dependent on the younger folk for security and the person who does not have children to fall back on is in an extremely precarious position. Such a possibility is in line with the hypothesis that the Trukese develop in the course of their lives a separation anxiety. If they learn to fear isolation, separation from, and loss of close kin, then one would expect old age and approaching death to accentuate the anxiety. Add to this the Trukese concern about an adequate food supply, and the hazards of old age must indeed be severe.

As with so many of the other males, aggression is present in many of his stories. In two stories aggression is a reaction to someone who is stealing; in another, it is to men who try to woo his wife away from him; in another, it is toward naughty children.

The interesting thing is that there is little evidence that aggression can be overtly expressed by Warren. For example, in one story (1) one man is *set* to strike another but the story ends without any actual aggressive display. In another story a woman is angry with her husband and the latter "is not saying anything because he is very fond of her." In still another story (11) three men are fighting "in a war" but again the story ends without any development of the aggression. In only one story (5) is aggression carried out, but even here the story does not represent his spontaneous reaction to the picture but to the examiner's prodding. One concludes from this that Warren is like most of the other Trukese males in that aggressive display is not characteristic of him although aggressive feeling is.

The story in which parents kill bad children should be compared to several stories in which parents take a protective and somewhat sympathetic attitude toward their offspring. It is this kind of ambivalent attitude which seems characteristic of the Trukese.

### LIFE HISTORY

Warren's life history is somewhat shorter than the average and tends to ramble off on a variety of tangents. Like Kenneth, Warren gives long discourses on technology, although in Warren's case there is no indication that this is a means of avoiding more "difficult" topics of discussion.

Warren begins his account with a rather long and highly favorable description of his treatment by his parents who cared lovingly for his every need; it is remarkable, however, in that it clearly pertains to his early infancy when he was being fed at the breast or given premasticated foods and could not yet walk! It is, in other words, a description of an ideal childhood in Trukese terms and Warren's application of this to his own case must be viewed as pure fantasy. This is not to say it may not be true in whole or in part. But in contrast to Kenneth's somewhat similar account Warren's description deals with a period in his life which he could not be expected to remember irrespective of whether it was pleasant or unpleasant.

Warren also says he can remember the birth of his younger sister which took place when Warren could walk but not yet talk. He says he was very happy that there were then two children in the family, although he and his father then had to leave the house and stay in a men's house. He notes that his father returned to sleep at home at night after the birth of the baby, but Warren spent four months in the men's house. As there is no cultural requirement that the other children leave the house after a birth (and we should also question in this case Warren's ability to remember the event) it is possible that this stay in the men's house occurred somewhat later and was unrelated to his sister's birth. Certainly Warren did not wait until his adolescence to enter the society of the men's houses; he says that when he was seven or eight he used to spend most of every day with a "brother" in the "brother's" men's house, going home only at night to sleep. The availability of food was evidently a major inducement to Warren to remain in the men's house:

They prepared breadfruit and other sorts of food and sometimes went out to the barrier reef on a paddling canoe and brought back fish. The women, their wives, used to come and leave fish they had caught and take away starch food to eat. I ate there and stayed around most of the day; in the evening they would tell me to go off and sleep at home.

Thus Warren by going to the men's house was able to escape such frustrations as he might have experienced at home in regard to food and was also able to identify with the group upon whom the women (their wives, but Warren's "mothers") were dependent for *their* food. He was able not only to be independent of his mother for food but even feel that she was in some measure dependent on him (through the group of men with whom he was associated) for her own food. He also mentions another "brother's" men's house where he stayed and on one occasion ate so much that he developed a stomachache and could eat no more.

Warren says (in reply to a question) that he was beaten when he was naughty "until I learned to do what they told me and do it quickly. [?] Only my own parents beat me; if anyone else had my father would have beaten them." Thus although Warren did not of his own accord mention being beaten he is able to give even these beatings a somewhat positive flavor: it was the right of his parents alone which his father would defend. One gets the feeling that Warren achieved a rather strong identification with his father.

Warren says little about his play with other children of his age, but the one activity he mentions specifically is a far cry from playing alone with a little canoe:

We boys used to fight, throwing rocks at each other. The Winisi and Chorong boys used to fight against each other—sometimes one side won and chased the other, and sometimes it went the other way. On occasion our fathers would be angry because they were afraid we would cut each other with the rocks; then they blew the conch and we all stopped.

We should note that Warren pictures the two groups as fairly evenly matched; in contrast, Roger, for example, describes such fighting between villages as episodes in which his group (also Winisi) was always beaten, chased, and stoned by the others.

Warren's entry into adolescence was marked by his having his ears cut. His rather detailed account which was offered spontaneously emphasizes (as did Theodore's) the pain involved, but also stresses how handsome he looked afterward. Warren was hesitant at first but then acquiesced and the operation was done by a "father" of his who was a specialist while his own father held his head. Five days later his hair was done up in a knot as a sign of manhood and "after my ears were healed I put ornaments in them that hung down to my chest and the effect was very striking."

After this Warren stayed in his father's men's house where he not only ate well but now himself helped to get the food. He describes in an episode quoted in the chapter, "Youth," his pride in bringing to his mother an enormous fish he and the other men had speared. During his adolescence Warren made a number of trips to various islands to cut copra, get food, and the like, always visiting a "brother" on one island or another. Asked about his relations with women during this period Warren said, "I did not go to any women before my ears had been cut because my father did not want me to; he felt I would have been sick because I was too small. But when I started I went to lots of women. Some liked me and when I came in they would let me sleep with them; the ones that did not like me I did not stay with." He also describes the handsome figure he cut when he was all decked out with a comb and coconut oil in his hair and spondylus shell ornaments on his legs, neck, and waist.

Warren says he told his father that he was going to look for a wife for himself



but his father told him to wait because he was going to arrange a marriage for him. Warren does not indicate that he either resented or resisted his father's decision. The account of his marriage and married life is very perfunctory, but as we noted in the chapter, "Death," he describes his extreme grief at the death of his wife (at a rather early age), a grief considerably more severe than he reports he experienced when his parents died. He says, "I did not marry again because I loved my children; if I had taken another wife they would no longer have stayed with me. I am staying with them still for I love them." As we have noted, Warren actually lives alone, although his children do support him fairly well.

Asked about his disciplining of his children he said that he and his wife beat and lectured them when they were naughty and did not obey at once but as in his own case no one else was permitted to beat them. He also mentions threatening not to feed them if they were naughty although he did not refer to this sort of discipline by his parents.

Warren describes making a trip after he was married with his father to Udot where his father had some business with a "brother." After they had been there ten days Warren became impatient to return; when his father did not leave right away Warren was quite angry with him. His father's "brother" suggested they return to Romonum and his father come back to Udot after a while. His father, however, accompanied Warren to Romonum and then went back immediately to stay for some time on Udot. When his father finally returned Warren was still angry and did not visit him until his father had come and apologized and promised he would not take Warren on any more long trips. This episode is rather odd as Warren gives no explanation for his wanting to leave Udot except his homesickness for Romonum, and yet he describes his own rather more extended trips in which he was seemingly not accompanied by a relative at all. One suspects that there was more involved here than Warren has told us.

Although in his life history Warren tended to skip around and give an episodic account (which has been somewhat rearranged above) he told most of his story without being prodded or directed by any questions. It was near the end that he began to lean more heavily on accounts of food production, fishing, thatching houses, and so on, and he was then asked questions which are noted above. In regard to his present status he said (as quoted in "The Trukese Adult") that he was looking forward to dying for he was so weak it was useless to go on living.

*Dreams.* Warren reports ten dreams, all but one of them current, and all involving him in some sort of disaster. His interpretation in each case is that he will be killed or hurt or else that he does not know its meaning, although in one (in which he drifted away and was rescued) he felt that God had helped him. In one dream he was alone in a canoe and capsized; he tried to swim to land but could not reach it and drowned. In another he climbed a coconut tree, fell, and was injured. He was accused by a man of stealing his breadfruit; the man cut off Warren's head, beat on it, and cut it up. In his only dream reported as having occurred in the past Warren was bitten by a dog; he hit the dog but its owner came up and made the dog bite him again because he felt Warren should not have hit it. In discussing this dream Warren said, "I think that one day I will die. I think that having my head cut off and my body bitten and the like means that if I get in a fight with someone I will be killed. Therefore I do not think it is wise for me to speak forcefully to anyone. I will just say 'yes' to anything anyone tells me so that I will not get in a fight."



Continuing with his dreams Warren told of falling out of a breadfruit tree and being cut and injured when he landed. He was on a large boat and an American aboard thought he was stealing things; he shot Warren and threw his body overboard where it was bitten in two by a shark. He was again beaten, this time by a relative, for stealing breadfruit and although some relatives came and stopped the beating he says in conclusion, "If I don't die from falling from a tree I will die from someone beating or cutting me." In another dream a tree fell on his house and pinned him in the wreckage. Later that night a ghost threw a rock against the house but did not answer when Warren called; Warren fanned the fire and did not sleep the rest of the night after he awoke. In his last dream Warren drifted away with two other men on a canoe; this time, however, they reached a little island (which God had put there for them) and were later brought home by some men on a sailing canoe.

These dreams show clearly Warren's anxiety over his weakness and imminent death, a theme which was also apparent in his TAT. It is notable also that in four of the ten dreams his injury was the result of his trying to get food—either falling out of a tree or being accused of stealing food and beaten.

*Discussion.* It is evident that the weakness of Warren's old age has affected his entire approach to life: he is hesitant in his social relations and unable to get his own food. It is interesting in regard to the fantasy of a well-nurtured infancy with which he began his account that in describing his present debility he said, "I am just like a little child." We can readily see how Warren in his helpless old age could view as highly desirable the feeding and physical support received by a similarly helpless infant; by describing his own infancy in these terms he not only in effect negated any unpleasant memories he may have had of his childhood relations with his parents but also was able in fantasy to create for himself something of the feeling of support he describes. It is as if in fantasy he views himself literally as an infant enjoying the parental care to be expected in this state.

Despite his present difficulties it would appear that Warren's childhood left him if anything better prepared than most to deal with his problems as a younger adult. His childhood was (as far as we can tell) in most respects a usual one for a Trukese. Although he does not directly mention any difficulties over food the fact that he used this means to discipline his own children, and that he showed the usual concern about food, would lead us to believe that he also experienced deprivation and frustration in eating and in all probability his relations with his parents at home were of the sort we have described previously. Unlike the other men we have discussed, however, Warren was not tied in exclusive dependency upon his home and his parents for food or even a place to stay. He could and did find both in the men's houses even in his childhood. By staying there he was able not only to reduce the effectiveness of his parents' strongest sanction—food—but even to feel that in some respects he was turning the tables by identifying with the group which was supplying his parents. With this already rather positive association with the men's house it is safe to conclude that his banishment from home at puberty, while not necessarily to be welcomed, must at least have been far less damaging to his sense of security and belonging than it is for young men today. One wonders, of course, to what degree Warren's experience was typical of the children of his time. The men's house is not stated as having been the place where young boys typically spent

their time and it is possible that Warren (perhaps like Andy) was a "cute" child who appealed more than most to his elders and was thus taken in by the men for the amusement he was able to provide them. This is at least suggested by the statement that Warren at a very early age (even if not on the birth of his sister) slept in a men's house while his father returned home at night. If he slept there it can only have been because some older man was willing to take care of him. On the other hand all boys may have spent more time in the men's houses than our informants have indicated and the benefits Warren derived from this experience may thus have been shared by most of his contemporaries. This is a question we cannot answer. It is, however, an important point for it implies that the elimination of the men's houses may have had an even more important effect on the personality and security of Trukese men than we have indicated.

In any event in Warren's case it would appear that the lessened dependence upon his home, and particularly his mother, which Warren felt as a result of being able to escape to the men's house would have permitted him to form a picture of his mother and hence of women in general as rather less domineering and unpredictable than would otherwise have been the case. It was probably for this reason that he was able to undertake rather early a fully active sexual role. As in the case of Kenneth (although for a different reason) he did not find women in other respects as threatening and was thus able to approach them sexually without so much anxiety as others experience. This must not, however, be taken to mean that Warren was without anxiety in a sexual or any other context. We should remember that even as a child he was presumably as dependent as most Trukese upon his "brothers" and other relatives, and even his escape from the inconsistency and frustration which he presumably experienced at the hands of his mother could only have taken place after the crucial years of infancy.

Warren's ability to find a place other than home where he could stay and be fed does not by any means imply that he was thus able to be really independent of his parents, for it is evident that his departure from home was only to stay with male relatives and therefore presumably required his parents' permission. We also note that as a child he was punished not only if he disobeyed but even if he did not obey quickly. His submissiveness is apparent in the seeming meekness with which he accepted his father's decision to arrange his marriage for him. On the other hand his father's selection cannot have been too unacceptable for there is reason to believe that Warren became very dependent upon and presumably somewhat devoted to his wife if we may judge from his despair at her death.

In sum, then, we may say that although Warren's present effectiveness is severely limited by his physical weakness and his consequent desire to please and not offend (as we saw in his Rorschach performance) his adequacy in the past was not only better than it is now but may well have been in some respects rather above average.

## ELEVEN TRUKESSE WOMEN

### KATE

AGE 14. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

KATE'S mother and father are both living, although her mother is, and has been for several years, more or less an invalid confined to her house by an unidentified illness. They have had seven children of whom four are living: a boy of sixteen, Kate, a boy who died at eleven, a girl who died at six, a boy now nine, a girl who died at four, and a girl in her infancy. The lineages of both of Kate's parents are large.

Kate was attending the island school conducted by Charles (from which she was excused for her interviews) and otherwise spent her time almost entirely with a slightly older friend, Andy's childhood sweetheart and later wife. She appeared anxious and embarrassed in the few fleeting contacts she had with the anthropologists and was under obvious tension throughout her tests and interviews.

Subsequent to this time she married Roger's younger brother. She became appreciably more self-assured and was sexually notably receptive to all of her husband's "brothers."

### RORSCHACH

When one compares this fourteen-year-old girl to thirteen-year-old Sam the differences are indeed striking. In the face of uncertainty or a conflict situation she becomes dependent, anxious, and tends to inhibit responsiveness. Although this way of responding is not unusual for the Trukese, what is unusual is that Kate responds with stronger emotion to such situations. Although she tries to protect herself from the expression of such emotions, it appears that the strength of her emotional responses tends to render her defenses somewhat inadequate. She appears to be a girl who consciously experiences strong feelings. However, the evidence indicates that her initial tendency would be to inhibit such feelings and to respond in the conventional way, with inhibition of response being the prepotent tendency. Although in this respect she resembles Mike, one would expect Kate to show more overt signs of conflict and anxiety.

Kate, however, gave such a sparse protocol that the above statements are not given with much confidence. The fact that she appeared unusually anxious in the situation, that one, and possibly two, of her five responses involves distortion of sexual areas, and that she appeared afraid to respond, raises the question whether the Rorschach situation (her relation or attitude to the examiner) contained factors which were particularly disturbing to her. Even if this were so, Kate's reaction is still an unusual one and somehow sets her apart from most of the others. In addition, it would indicate that she does not have particularly adequate ways of handling novel, strange or conflictful situations.

## THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Kate's stories are so sparse that it is difficult, if not hazardous, to offer conclusions with much confidence. That the examiner had to tell her to do "more thinking" about her stories suggests that Kate may have been evasive.

There are indications in her stories that Kate feels frustrated by parents who limit her activities. The fact that such a theme is the one which frequently occurs in this very sparse record suggests that it may be of more than superficial significance. There is also a hint that Kate feels resentment toward boys who have greater freedom than girls. In one of her stories (3) she says: "These boys are going to carry their boat into the water and go for a ride, for all the work they ever do is playing around." This story might be interpreted (tenuously) as indicating envy of boys, and when taken together with stories about parents and children suggests that Kate feels frustrated and confined. That Kate identifies herself with aggressive children is indicated in a story (11) where a child wants to play with "bad" children but is prevented from doing so by the mother. Another story (18) suggests that Kate has strong assertive tendencies. One might conclude that Kate experiences much more hostility and aggression than the sparseness of the record indicates. There is little evidence that Kate would be capable of expressing directly or characteristically her hostility.

## LIFE HISTORY

The paucity of data in Kate's test records is matched by that of her life history. In shortness it is only exceeded by the accounts of the three old women, Nancy, Norma, and Ruth. It is episodic and follows no particular sequence. Nearly half of the life history is devoted to descriptions of games Kate played with other children. While she mentions the friend noted above and one or two other girls as her particular companions it is evident that Kate was and is able to play satisfactorily with all of her agemates. She describes only one instance in which her parents restricted her and it appears that their efforts were neither very severe nor effective:

When I was about six I just wanted to go out and play. One day I asked my parents if I could go out and play and they said no. They asked me if I didn't want to eat but I said no, I just wanted to play and be happy. I went out playing on the sand spit at the other end of the island [Kate lives in Chorong] with three other girls. We played the ghost game with other children, both boys and girls, and came home late. We slept in the cookhouse outside our house that night and the next morning my parents were angry with me. [?] They did not beat me.

Kate's reply that she would rather "play and be happy" than eat makes one wonder whether she had actually been forced to make a choice of which she does not tell us—i.e., whether her parents said if she went out and played she could not eat. This is of course conjecture, but without making an assumption of this sort her statement seems rather unusual.

When Kate was seven she went to Udot and stayed there for several years while her mother's younger brother and sister (Kitty) went to school. Their parents (Kate's grandparents) went over to be with them and apparently took Kate's mother and the rest of the family along. When Kate's mother returned to Romonum for the birth of

Kate's younger brother, Kate remained on Udot. In regard to her feeling of being restricted by her parents it is interesting that she replied to a question about her remaining without her mother, "I wanted to stay there because I wanted to be with my grandfather, for he did not mind when I played around."

Later Kate stayed for some time on Dublon with the wife of a cousin of hers (her mother's sister's son); this couple spent most of their time on Ponape but had returned to Truk for a visit. She notes that her cousin's mother died the night he left to return to Ponape; Kate heard (but did not see) her spirit grieving for her son because he was not with her when she died. Kate had good reason to believe in ghosts for she mentions that one night when she was small a ghost came and sat on a rock by the house. Everyone in the household was terrified and fled inland, an event which must have been both frightening and convincing to a small child.

The remainder of Kate's spontaneous account, except for straight descriptions of games, consists in a scattering of episodes: a boy stuck a fish spear into Kate's friend's leg when her friend dared him to, after which she was bandaged and he was beaten by his father; Kate took her little brother to bathe and almost let him drown but her parents did not find out because he could not yet talk; on two occasions she got sick from eating different kinds of fruit while playing inland.

Her comments on her present status follow, with the many questions required to elicit these omitted.

I am happy when I am out walking and playing—which I do most of the time—as long as my two companions are with me. I don't do any work—I just go to school. I like school because it is worthwhile. I don't know whether I am going to marry or not; I don't want to marry because it is difficult being married—a woman's husband beats her.

Nobody has slept with me yet. I don't want anyone to because I am still too young. But I still will not want anyone to when I am older—I just don't like the idea. One boy tried it while I was sleeping with my girl friend. He was sleeping in the same house for he was with my mother's brother. He came over to where we were sleeping and went twice to my friend and twice to me but each time we chased him away. We told Paul [the policeman—and sleeping with Kate's friend on occasion at the time] and the boy went to the calaboose. No one else has come to either of us while we have been sleeping together.

It is to be noted that it is somewhat unusual for a girl of fourteen not to be doing *any* work. This did not appear to be strictly true, but it seemed that Kate did less work than most girls her age, perhaps because she lived in a large household where there were plenty of older people to do the daily tasks.

*Dreams.* "Yesterday I washed my mother's brother's trousers. Last night I dreamed about them: when he came to get them they were very dirty and I wondered why. He asked me why they were so dirty after I had washed them and I said I did not know." This was Kate's only dream. She did not want to tell it at first because her friend told her it was "bad." Kate herself did not know what it meant.

*Discussion.* Kate's life history is so fragmentary that we have little basis for drawing any conclusions as to her actual life experiences to date. We can only infer that she has perhaps experienced the withholding of food as a sanction against playing; she does not,



however, reveal any anxiety about food. There is some reason to believe that she has not suffered as much restriction as some children and at least had the benefit of a fairly long period of freedom on Udot.

That Kate appears to have been successful in her adjustments to her agemates is attested by her level of participation in play groups. The readiness with which she is able to leave Romonum even when without her parents also suggests that Kate experiences less of what we have referred to as separation anxiety than do many Trukese.

### SARAH

#### AGE 21. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Sarah's parents are both dead; they died recently, her father before her marriage and her mother after. Sarah has one living older sister; we do not know if any other siblings have died. The lineages of both her parents are comparatively small. Sarah has not been married long and has no children.

### RORSCHACH

The distinctive feature of Sarah's record is that it indicates that, unlike many of the others, she can respond to her environment in a rather sensitive and differentiated way. One would expect her to be aware of and respond to situations in other than a concrete, superficial manner. Like so many of the others, however, the subjective or personal aspects of her reactions or thoughts would not too easily reach overt expression. Whereas Kate would have difficulty keeping her feelings under control, Sarah is able to do so. Whereas in the face of uncertainty, conflict or strong feeling Kate's initial tendency is to inhibit and retreat, Sarah is able to continue to respond and although the adequacy and quality of her responsiveness is reduced, the important point is that she does not passively retreat. Sarah's defenses against strong or unacceptable feeling are more adequate than Kate's. Relative to Kate, Sarah appears to be self-confident and resourceful. It might be better to say that Sarah is capable of a direct and somewhat productive relationship with her environment.

Although there are elements of concreteness in Sarah's thinking they are not so pronounced as in that of some of the others. In fact, her ability to analyze and integrate seems to be of good quality. That she is able to function in this manner is probably a function of her capacity to handle strong feeling (uncertainty, conflict) better than Kate or Frances. Put in another way, in terms of overt behavior Sarah would be more calm and less temperamental than Kate or Frances.

### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Sarah's stories reveal her to be an individual who is essentially conforming. Although she harbors aggressive and hostile feelings, her tendencies to conform to her cultural role appear adequate to avoid any particular conflict about such feelings. It is as if she has learned to receive satisfaction from conforming. Although she is ambivalent toward authority and parental figures, the positive feelings seem to be the stronger. The hostility which Sarah does feel seems at present to be directed toward men, although

it should be emphasized that Sarah would not be expected to be overtly aggressive. For example, in Picture 9 where the woman is usually described as assertive over the man, Sarah also tells of an assertive woman but in the end it is the man's will which prevails.

Although it was tenuously deduced from Kate's stories that she felt envious of the greater freedom which boys enjoyed, a similar deduction is more justified in the case of Sarah. In one story (10), the father advises his son to take care of his sister, not to beat her, for when she grows up a little she will do his work for him. From such a story it may be inferred that rather early in their lives restrictions are placed on girls, and that they are not always treated kindly by brothers for whom they are expected to work. It should also be pointed out that in the one story (11) in which a girl is clearly the chief character, she is prevented by her mother from watching men who are playing.

There is also evidence in these stories that men are considered "lazy" by the women. In one story (13) a man decides not to work the next day but changes his mind when his wife says, "You may be tired, but what are we going to eat?" In another story (9), a "popular" for both men and women, it is the man who wants the wife to carry the child and the food, and he presumably would carry nothing. In still another story (8), a father is described as happy that his boys were no longer playing but were thinking about work. That Trukese men may be rather lazy would fit in with the fact that more than a few of the males gave stories in which people were relatively passive: playing, relaxing, eating, and so on.

It is probably not accidental that Kate, who gave little evidence of conforming tendencies but rather of strong hostility, had difficulty in this test situation while Sarah, who does show such tendencies, had no difficulty adjusting to the requirements of the task. Whereas in the case of Kate the possibility of evasiveness was raised, there is no reason to raise it with Sarah.

### LIFE HISTORY

Sarah's life history is considerably above the average in length (omitting the very long accounts of Eleanor and Rachel) and, while episodic, reveals a good deal about her childhood relationships with her parents, sister, and others.

Sarah begins her account, "When I was small I used to go out playing and then come back home to eat. My mother would tell me to go out and bathe; I would, and then come back and eat again. I used to eat many times a day when I was small." The remainder of her life history appears to bear out the observation that Sarah ate freely and whenever she wanted to. Although she mentions being beaten several times, she only describes one episode in which food was withheld; this occurred in her late childhood and was the result of Sarah's refusing to help her father as much as he wished in the preparation of some breadfruit—it was this particular batch of breadfruit, rather than food in general, which he refused to let her eat. The withholding of food we have noted is most commonly used as a sanction to keep the child from spending too much time away from home playing. It would appear that Sarah experienced a minimum of this sort of restriction. She tells of many occasions on which she played for extended periods both in the daytime and at night and does not once indicate that she incurred any parental displeasure as a result of these long absences. When questioned after recounting one episode in which she and a close friend of hers had gone out to play at night after

Sarah's mother had refused her permission, Sarah denied that her mother was angry on her return.

Sarah says that she was sick many times in her childhood with a variety of illnesses. "My parents would pick me up and hold me because I could not sleep night or day." As most children have a number of illnesses we cannot tell whether Sarah had more than most or just places more emphasis than others on a normal amount of sickness.

Whether she was sickly or not it is apparent that Sarah had some difficulty in holding her own among her playmates. "I used to go out playing and lots of boys and girls would beat me and I would cry because I was afraid of them." While the specific episodes she relates do not indicate that she got the worst of all her fights we must remember that having only her older sister and a rather small number of other close relatives to call upon for help Sarah was at a disadvantage. As a matter of fact Sarah does not mention being supported in a fight at any time by an older "brother" or "sister"; she did, however, once come to the aid of her older sister when her sister was fighting another girl and was bitten on the shoulder. Sarah beat the other girl across the legs with a stick and broke up the fight. The girl's father came up at this point and, after seeing Sarah's sister's wound, beat his daughter. On another occasion she was beaten by Arthur (Frances' older brother) but then hit him over the head with a bowl and made his nose bleed; Sarah was beaten by her father for this, although at least by her account it was not she who started the fight. (It appears that a child who draws blood on another is usually in the wrong regardless of the circumstances.) On the other hand Sarah had another fight with Norman's younger daughter (Arthur's sister) and cut her with a knife; Norman intervened and chased Sarah in order to beat her, at which Sarah's father came up and almost had a fight with Norman. That evening Norman came and apologized to Sarah while she in turn apologized to him. It would appear that in this case Sarah's guilt in wounding the girl was less than Norman's in attempting to beat someone else's child. Sarah even had a fight with her girl friend, a result of her friend's eating all the meat out of a coconut they were sharing; this time her friend's father intervened and beat his daughter for not sharing the meat.

There is some suggestion of rivalry and hostility between Sarah and her sister. This is most evident in the following episode, in which we should also note the stress Sarah puts on the rewarding nature of her relationship with her mother. Sarah and her sister decided to join their mother who was fishing on the reefs offshore.

We found her and walked out to her on the reef. She told us to go back lest we fall in the water and drown but I told her I knew how to swim. She told me to show her, so I did. We stayed out with her until she was through fishing and then we all went in. I took out a big fish for myself but my mother told me I could not have it; she said my sister should have it because she was older. I cried at this so my mother got out another fish for me and we went home. I broiled my fish and asked my mother for some breadfruit to go with it; she gave some to me and I ate. I went to sleep where I was and after a while my mother woke me and told me she was going to fix my sleeping mat and the mosquito netting. She did and then I went back to sleep again. Later when my sister came in under the netting she stepped on my leg and I cried. My mother asked me why I was crying and I told her my sister had stepped on my leg; my mother took a stick and beat her. I went to sleep again but later woke and cried because I was thirsty. My mother asked me what was the matter and I said I wanted some water; she got me some and I went to sleep again.

There is a suggestion that Sarah actually enjoyed a closer relationship with her mother than did her sister: Sarah tells of her mother's grief over the death of Sarah's grandmother (Sarah's mother's mother) who lived with them. When they returned home after the funeral Sarah's mother suggested that they both slash themselves with a knife as women occasionally did in the past. Sarah said she could not do it, but her sister overheard the conversation. Her sister asked what they were going to do but her mother would not tell her, insisting that she and Sarah had not been talking about anything of importance. Whether or not Sarah was actually closer than her sister to her mother it appears that she and her mother had a rather warm relationship. The night following her grandmother's funeral Sarah awoke after dreaming of a ghost; her mother tried to persuade her that it had just been a cat but when this was not successful "She just held me in her arms until I fell asleep. Later she fell asleep and we slept until the morning." Sarah mentions several episodes similar to the one above in which she woke during the night and her mother brought her some water or got out some food if she was hungry. On the other hand once in her later childhood Sarah had been playing all day and in the evening felt like singing; her mother wanted to sleep and told Sarah to stop. Sarah kept on singing until her mother hit her with a fan. "I was angry and told her she should just go to sleep and let me sing, but I did not sing any more because I was afraid of her."

Sarah's father could also be kindly and protective. We have already mentioned his threatening to fight Norman when Norman chased Sarah. Even on the occasion when Sarah's father beat her for making Arthur's nose bleed, later the same day she accompanied him inland where he picked some coconuts and oranges for her and later carried her around on his shoulders, something which all Trukese children appear especially to enjoy. However, Sarah's father appears more often in her account in a hostile or punitive role with Sarah and her mother aligned more or less defensively against him. This was the case in the episode we have already mentioned in which Sarah's father refused to let her eat breadfruit; she had at first helped him prepare the breadfruit but then had grown tired and gone away to play. When she returned her father beat her and was apparently very angry indeed, at which time he told her she could eat none of the breadfruit. He later told her mother Sarah was not to have any because she was lazy. Her mother asked if he had not told Sarah to do a number of things at first which she had done. He said he had and she upbraided him for making Sarah work all the time. He replied that he had no one else to help him, but she was not satisfied with this. When he conceded the point, however, Sarah would not eat until her father had left.

It is interesting that her father later that day told Sarah's mother to take some cigarettes to a "mother" of his (Andy's mother). Sarah went with her and while they were talking her father's "mother" asked Sarah to play more often in her house. Sarah went home and then returned the same day; while she was playing at her father's "mother's" her father came up and told her "that from then on I was not to live in our house but just stay with his 'mother.'" Sarah remained there for some time until one day in rapid succession she was bitten on the leg by Andy (who resented her taking him home from swimming) and stepped on a broken bottle, cutting her foot. These calamities made her "homesick" and she returned home. Although it is considered gratifying when children stay for long periods with various relatives of their parents, we may wonder whether coming as this did right after a family crisis involving Sarah as the central character her visit was not a means of resolving the tensions created by the dispute.



Sarah does not indicate that any steps were taken to resolve another family crisis which apparently took place when she was younger (although Sarah rarely differentiates between events which took place in early or late childhood or sometimes even adolescence).

I remember one day when my mother and father had a fight. I cried too [i.e., with her mother] because I felt sorry for my mother whose arm was bleeding. My mother picked me up and we went over to the other side of the island. We had been there for some time when I began to cry because I was hungry. My mother found a ripe coconut, cut it open, and gave me the meat to eat. But I still cried because I wanted to eat breadfruit. But she said she was too afraid of her husband to go home. That night we returned and my father called me. But I did not go to him because I was frightened of him. He told me he did not want to beat me but only to pick me up—he said I was bad because I just paid attention to what my mother told me and ignored what he said.

In contrast to the episode previously described, this time Sarah's mother was routed but Sarah makes it very clear that her identification was strongly with her mother. On another occasion (perhaps in Sarah's early adolescence) she again shows her mother and herself acting together, this time to shame her father. They were supposed to go to a meeting and feast but Sarah's father left without taking any of the household's contribution of breadfruit. Sarah at first refused herself to carry any but then agreed to take half. They arrived late and were scolded mildly by the chief. Sarah's mother said they were slow because the breadfruit was so heavy (although each carried two packages totalling probably not over fifteen pounds). The chief asked why her husband did not help and Sarah's mother said "he was very bad because he just wanted to walk along without carrying anything." If she really said this, it must have been a cause of acute embarrassment not only to her husband but to all present.

When she was nine Sarah began attending a school conducted by the Protestant teacher on Romonum, who taught the children religion, writing, and food preparation. Sarah says little about the actual school work but mentions a number of the children's work activities—planting manioc, cutting copra, preserving breadfruit, and the like. Sarah apparently found these tasks arduous and on one occasion her mother took her place while Sarah played. The teacher saw Sarah playing and discovered that her mother was substituting for her; he disapproved and her mother left. Asked about this Sarah said, "She helped me because she felt sorry for me getting worn out making the preserved breadfruit."

While Sarah was in school her parents made a three-day trip to Uman. They asked to have Sarah excused from school to accompany them but the teacher would not permit it. They left her behind and Sarah says she "missed them terribly." She refused to eat the night they left and could not concentrate on her school work. When her parents returned laden with food "I asked them why they had not tried harder to have me go with them because I wanted to very much, but they said it would not have been a good idea because I was in school. They did not say anything more about it." As an incidental note Sarah mentions that the night their parents left she and her sister went to bathe "and a man spoke to my sister. I told her not to say anything more to him so she would not get in trouble and go to the calaboose, so she just went on and did not speak to him any more."



After the Protestant school on Romonum Sarah went to the Japanese school on Udot. Her parents did not accompany her; she hated it because the Japanese teacher beat her all the time and she was terrified of him. After three months she went home to Romonum. Only one letter was sent over telling her to return; she ignored this and simply stayed at home.

Sarah worked for a while for the Protestant teacher cooking and keeping house for him but after two weeks she tired of the work and quit. After this she just helped her mother fishing and doing household tasks. One night when Sarah had been fishing she was too sleepy to eat on her return; her mother cooked Sarah's fish and put them away for her, but not in a high place. A pig came and ate the fish and in the morning Sarah was angry but her parents said to forget it because it could not be helped. That night Sarah again went fishing and, having caught only a few fish, returned and ate them all herself. She refused to give her mother any and her mother admitted this was justified. This is a rather neat example of the use of food as a means of expressing aggression.

Sarah did not yet help her parents with the heavy work in the gardens; while they were inland she played. Her parents would not let her stay with them inland because they felt she should stay home to see that no one stole anything from the house; Sarah did not like this for she was thus alone in the house. On one occasion she mentions going out to play in spite of her parents instructions to watch their house but her parents were apparently not angry when she told them. Although Sarah did not work in the gardens she did a lot of fishing on the reefs; on one occasion when she had caught only one octopus she was obviously reluctant to part with it but took it to her mother's "brother" when her mother told her to. "So he ate it and we did not."

When Sarah was about eighteen a man came to her and wanted to marry her. Her mother chased him out of the house two nights in a row and he was discouraged and did not return. He tried to persuade Sarah to intervene on his behalf with her mother but she said she could not for her mother would beat her. After the second time "I asked her why she made him leave and she just said it was a bad thing for him to come to me." Sarah offered no comment on this episode and we cannot know what either her own or her mother's reactions were to the situation.

Later her parents attempted to force her to marry another man who was ill and also somewhat older than Sarah. Sarah refused, was beaten by a "brother" and finally ran away to her father's "mother's" house after which the man gave up. This episode is quoted in the chapter, "Marriage."

Some time later Sarah went to stay with a "sister" on Dublon for six months. On her return another man came and asked to marry her. This time her mother approved and they have been married since. He beat her once and Sarah ran home to her mother, in whose house they were living. When her husband came home late and embarrassed, "She asked him why he beat me. He said because I was disobedient and did not come when he called. I said I had not heard him. He said that was a lie and then my mother just told me not to be disobedient any more. [?] He has not beaten me since, because I obey him when he calls me. He obeys me too. He told me that if I disobeyed him just once more he would beat me again but I have not been disobedient."

In reply to a question Sarah described the death of her parents in a passage which appears in the chapter, "Death." While she does not describe at length her grief she appears to be reporting a greater sorrow over her mother's death than her father's.

Questioned about her present status Sarah said, "Some days I am happy and some days I am not. If there is something to be happy about I am happy but if there is not I am not. I am happy over goods, clothes, and the like. I am happy with my husband. I have no lover—I have never slept with anyone but my husband. . . . For the future I only want people to like me, to give me things, and to talk to me. I just want to be able to do my own work."

*Dreams.* Sarah's only current dream was as follows:

A big dog chased me and I ran away. I tried to run fast but I could not; I would start running and fall, then get up, run, and fall again. I tried to shout or cry out but I could not do that either. This is all, for I woke up in a fright. [?] The dog did not reach me.

Sarah said the old people had told her that dreaming about a dog meant she would be sick or in trouble.

*Discussion.* Although Sarah's failure to make clear the chronology of events does not permit us to define any sequence of changes from early childhood onward, we are at least able to see rather clearly the structuring of her relationships with her parents. Both could on occasion mete out fairly arbitrary punishment and at other times be kindly and supportive. However, at least in her account, Sarah's mother tended as far toward the positive side as her father did toward the negative. It was only her father who precipitated real crises by his anger, and on these occasions Sarah and her mother presented a united (if not always successful) front against him. It is apparent that Sarah had a very strong identification with her mother who not only sided with Sarah against her father but herself seldom became angry over what would for other children probably have been considered serious misdeeds. It is to be presumed that it was this essentially rewarding and responsive relationship which laid the foundation for the sensitive, productive, and adequate approach to her problems seen in her Rorschach.

With her contemporaries, on the other hand, Sarah had less happy relationships. It appears that she felt some rivalry with her sister and, although Sarah may have enjoyed an advantage here as far as her mother was concerned, her sister was one of the few people upon whom Sarah could rely when playing with other children. She does not mention her sister helping her, but it appears to be characteristic of most of the life histories that the informants prefer to recount episodes in which they were undefended in their fights or else were helping someone else—although if they defended others they must in turn have been defended themselves. From her account it appears that Sarah was, at least on occasion, able to acquit herself successfully in a fight, but at the same time she must also have had to rely, as others do, upon her "brothers" and "sisters" as well as her own sister for support. Because she had so relatively few of these "siblings" it is reasonable to suppose that she felt rather more than most the necessity of retaining their allegiance. If this is true she presumably was even more careful than most not to offend them and hence became rather unusually conformist in her relations with her peers. This was perhaps easier for her than for others because of the peaceful and secure relations between her and her mother—not coming from a frustrated and restricted life at home she did not have to "blow off steam" among her playmates. If she was attacked she defended herself but otherwise she created few disturbances.

She tells us little of her married life but it appears that she has applied the same technique of complacent conformity described above to her relations with her husband and, as far as we can tell, it has been successful. While her sex activity may have been limited, as she says, to relations with her husband we should note that her father was of the same lineage as Andy. Andy's "brother" relationship with me thus made her my "daughter" and precluded her telling me of any other sexual activities if such did exist.

### FRANCES

AGE 21. POPULARITY: LOW

Frances' parents are Norman and Ida, the records of both appearing elsewhere in these chapters. As noted in the description of Norman's background Frances is the second of eight children five of whom survive. Her older brother Arthur is mentioned in a number of the life histories but was not interviewed or tested for this study. The lineages of both Norman and Ida are large.

Frances' present husband came to Romonum from Uman several years previously and at the time of Frances' interviews was employed by the anthropologists. The son of one of the more famous of Truk's master magicians, he is unusual in that he shows a high level of both aggressiveness and intelligence held in check seemingly more by a conscious sense of expediency than by any generalized anxiety over the expression of his feelings. He apparently felt himself unwanted on Romonum and persecuted by the chiefs of both Romonum and Udot, a persecution to which he occasionally responded with defiance. He laid considerable stress on being a "brother" to the anthropologists, presumably hoping thereby to deflect the consequences of his sometimes rash acts. Frances, as my "brother's" wife, was therefore sexually available to me and she was doubtless aware that her husband had made a guarded offer of this sort. One can only conjecture whether she considered such a relationship desirable or not but in view of her relations with a number of Japanese (also of the administrative caste) it is probably safe to say that she would at least have been willing.

### RORSCHACH

We know from the examiner that this woman was under mounting tension as the test progressed. We do not know why she was experiencing tension and Frances does not tell us in any direct way. Whatever is felt strongly should not be expressed is, however, a Trukese characteristic. Since it appears that situational factors of some kind were affecting Frances, one must be careful in generalizing from her Rorschach performance.

Although the Rorschach situation was a novel and strange one for the Trukese and engendered uncertainty in them, very few reacted so strongly or strangely as Frances. In the face of such uncertainty their usual tendency is to inhibit responsiveness or to give answers with an impersonal content, whereas Frances gives subjective but disguised content and responds in an extremely concrete manner. She not only responds very concretely but is unable to refrain from perseverating content. Not only is the tension behaviorally manifest, it is reflected in the anxious content of some of her responses. Bringing together the facts of mounting tension noticed by the examiner, the anxious content of her responses, the nature of her responses, and the suggestions of sexual symbolism con-

tained in the record, there is a strong possibility that this situation aroused sexual thoughts in Frances. It does not seem plausible to explain her reactions merely by the uncertainty aroused by the test as a strange, puzzling situation. Other Trukese were uncertain without being so emotionally aroused. There is little doubt that Frances was uncertain but this alone does not explain either the extremeness of her reaction or its interfering effect on the quality of her performance.

Whatever the explanation, Frances is distinctive in that an emotional response is more easily engendered in her than in most of the others and that when this happens the adequacy of her adjustment suffers. In a sense her reaction to strong feeling is characteristically Trukese: whatever one feels strongly one must not or cannot express. Although she would be able to hide or disguise such feeling, as required, it would not be without much difficulty and perhaps with occasional mishaps.

If the hypothesis of sexual arousal or fantasy is valid, one might further deduce from the record that her reactions in this area are compounded of anxiety and aggressiveness—either she was being sexually aggressive or she feared the examiner would be. Since the latter reaction is unusual and unrealistic it would indicate that she was actually projecting. But the content of some of her responses suggests that Frances is probably no shrinking violet.

There are indications in the record that Frances, when not under tension, is capable of a more flexible and adequate way of responding.

It is thus clear that Frances and Kate are far more like each other than either is like Sarah. In general, Sarah is a more controlled, calm and consistently adequate person than either Kate or Frances.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Frances found it difficult to make up a story and barely succeeded in giving one in which people are really interacting. A possible explanation of her sparse stories may be found in the sequence of stories she gave. To the second picture she gives no real story but ends by saying, "They have always liked having bare skins; they don't like clothes. . . ." To the third picture she gives an initial sentence and then, "When they left, his child was naked . . ." and is unable to continue the story. To the fourth picture she can make up no story and the only real interpretation of a character is, "Later, this child wanted to defecate." She was unable to say anything to Picture 11, which contains a nude and some barely dressed people. To Picture 12 she describes an old woman who is thin because she has had five children. On the basis of this sequence of responses one might conjecture that these pictures aroused sexual thoughts which Frances could not talk about. Her story about the old woman who is thin because she gave birth to five children suggests that Trukese women do not look kindly on large families. If one assumes that Trukese women are preoccupied with sexuality—as the men certainly seem to feel—and are not unaggressive in seeking out sexual mates, then having children might be looked upon as an irritating restriction. In any event, Frances' stories suggest that sexual thoughts are not particularly difficult to arouse in her, but their expression or communication to a foreigner is strongly inhibited.

The one story in which there is clear interaction between people concerns a wife



who scolds her husband for having returned slowly with food. Significantly, the husband only becomes a "little angry"—a response which might have been predicted from the men's stories. That the story with the clearest interaction should involve an assertive or aggressive woman attaches special significance to it for our conception of Frances. Besides, Frances gave two stories (3 and 7) in which the theme of superiority is present. It is as if being in one or another way superior to others is highly valued by Frances.

In the stories of several of the Trukese previously described it was occasionally mentioned that it was not right for children to be nude. Taking stories number 4 and 5 together, Frances could give no story to the nude boy in Picture 4, but to the nude girl in Picture 5 she could respond. Since Sarah had no difficulty with these pictures and Kate responded minimally but with no allusions to nudity, one concludes that sexuality is a central problem and/or interest for Frances. It is as if she is set to be aware of it.

### LIFE HISTORY

Although Frances' life history is quite long much of it is devoted to a description of events surrounding her various marriages in adolescence and later. We therefore do not have very much information on the developmental years of her childhood and can furthermore derive little in addition from the life histories of her parents. Her account is, however, well organized and proceeds from childhood onward with a description of her experiences always in proper sequence. It is also possible to check the reliability of her account at a number of points by comparison with data derived from her husband, her parents' life histories, and the like. The correspondence with her description of events is in most cases very high, divergence being noted only in small and unimportant details.

The greatest discrepancy appears in her opening statement that she was born on Uman and did not come to Romonum with her parents until she was seven. Both of her parents agree in stating that she was born on Romonum and we are probably safe in concluding that she is referring to a stay of several months on Uman which is described by both Norman and Ida as having occurred during Frances' early childhood. As it is likely that her first childhood memories stem from this period (although she says she does not remember anything from this time) it is not unreasonable that she should have arrived at this conclusion if she did not ask her parents directly. Her saying that she was not born on Romonum may, however, represent somewhat deliberate fantasy the motivation for which we cannot determine.

Frances describes (as quoted in the chapter, "The Child") her difficulty in obtaining food if her parents were busy or tired when she came in from playing; she does not, however, indicate that food was deliberately withheld from her. Although she says that she was beaten when she cried if she was not fed, Frances shows a perhaps unusual sensitivity to the troubles also experienced by her parents in noting that a beating was more likely if her parents were "tired and on edge from their work." She also mentions that she was beaten for playing in the water. These are Frances' only general statements about her childhood and as far as they go indicate that her experiences were in most respects those we have described as typical for a Trukese child.

One day an older lineage "sister" who was married was going inland to meet a man and asked Frances to go with her in order to make plausible her story that she was going



to bathe. When they reached the spring her "sister" swore Frances to secrecy and told her to wait. Frances waited while her "sister" met her lover; then they returned, Frances reaching home first. Their respective mothers were suspicious and asked Frances where she had been. Frances remained silent even when they began to beat her. At this point her "sister" arrived and their mothers asked her why she had taken so long bathing. Her "sister" was also silent but this was taken as an admission of guilt and the older woman advised her not to have any more affairs lest her father or husband hear of them and beat her. The fact that Frances was beaten while her sister was not probably does not indicate that her guilt was considered greater but only that she was a child who *could* be beaten. This sort of episode also demonstrates that in some respects a girl or woman can be dependent upon the good will of a younger as well as an older "sister" and that therefore restraint in expressing aggression can be rewarded in respect to all "sisters," not merely older ones.

Frances also describes, in a passage quoted in "The Child," the severe beating she received from her father when she was discovered permitting a boy to play with her genitals. Her mother was angry also but after Frances had fled "She came up to me, still a little angry but crying too because she felt sorry for me [because of the beating]."

At nine Frances was still playing much of the time and mentions playing the ghost game on the sand spit and a fight with the Winisi children whom the members of her Chorong group were able to beat. But she was also helping her parents in running errands and the like. Once when she was inland with them while they were gardening she was surprised and threatened with a beating by a group of Winisi children. She ran to her parents, and Norman went off to confront the children. They said Frances was lying when she said they had threatened her; Frances in turn said they were lying, and the episode was closed.

It was also at about this time, when Frances was nine, that she went to school on Udot, Arthur entering the school with her. Although Norman states that he and Ida were with Frances and Arthur all the time they were there Frances says that her parents came over only at intervals to bring food. In this case it would appear that Frances is probably closer to being correct because Ida, who places great emphasis in her life history on her solicitude toward her children, does not mention having stayed on Udot at all. Frances did very poorly in school and was beaten all the time. Finally during her third year Norman was able to persuade the teacher to let her out of school at least until her ear, which had been injured by a beating, was well. Frances feels the teacher permitted this largely because Arthur was at the top of his class and slated to go to the advanced school on Dublon.

When Frances returned to Romonum there was a fairly large number of Japanese on the island. Shortly after her return—when Frances was about thirteen—one of these, a "very handsome" man, wanted to marry her. He tried to persuade Norman and Ida but they felt Frances was too small; then he tried (in Japanese) to get Frances just to go off and sleep with him but she refused. He began courting her and bringing presents to all of them; after a while he tried again to persuade her parents. When they refused again he became angry and threatened them all with beatings. Frances finally married him but hoped they would just sleep together without having intercourse. He would not agree to this and Frances says she cried from the pain of their first sex relations. After

they had had intercourse four times Frances began to menstruate; this prompted Ida to ask whether she had had intercourse and Frances said yes.

Frances' husband was a carpenter and also did the cooking for construction crews. After two more months on Romonum he and Frances went to Dublon. His job there was finished in two months and they went to Moen. Norman and Ida missed Frances and worried about her; on one occasion they came over to bring food (Ida says every day, which is patently impossible) and tried to persuade her husband to let her return to Romonum for a visit. He refused "because he thought if I once left I would not come back." Frances does not indicate whether his suspicions were well founded.

One night a card game in which her husband was playing was raided by two Japanese officers. All the players were tried the next day and those with Trukese wives told to get rid of them. Frances' husband was beaten throughout the day; Frances left his house and spent the night with a "sister." Her husband found her but she refused to return to him lest there be further trouble. He went to a higher ranking officer he knew on Dublon and obtained permission to keep Frances. They remained together for three more months; Frances' younger sister came over to stay with her. One night he tried to get them to do his early morning cooking for him and when they refused he beat them. Frances told him she was leaving, said goodbye to her "sister," and she and her younger sister took a launch for Romonum. The launch stopped at Dublon; while Frances was waiting for it to leave she encountered her husband's officer friend. He was very disturbed to hear she was leaving and persuaded them to return to Moen with him. The officer lectured her husband sternly and Frances remained with him again. Later he was again transferred to Dublon where they remained for five months, during which time the bombing of Truk began.

Frances and her sister returned to Romonum for a visit; after two weeks Frances returned to Dublon alone. She notes that while she was on Romonum "a number of Trukese men wanted to marry me but I could not because I was married to my Japanese husband." After a while her husband began beating her a lot and she left him to take a job in a store on Dublon. Her parents heard of this and came to Dublon; they persuaded her to return to Romonum.

Frances describes singing for a group of Japanese officers who were having a party; she and some other Trukese girls got drunk on sake (while Paul and two other men waited outside for the girls to hand them some too) and Frances finally got sick and passed out. Norman and Ida came and tried to take her home but the Japanese would not permit it until a Japanese friend of Frances' (a friend "because we exchanged a lot of gifts") arrived and upbraided them indignantly. She awoke in the morning with a hangover, bathed, and ate rice and salmon with her Japanese friend.

Later her friend asked her to round up some men in her family to go fishing on a Sunday ("they did not pay any attention to the day of rest"); this was a trip described by Andy and others in which the boat was strafed and sunk. Arthur was aboard as well as other members of Frances' lineage; Frances and the other women lined the shore and watched the boat disappear. Several men in her lineage were killed but Arthur was not injured; an injured "brother" he was towing toward the island of Yawata slipped off the plank he was on and drowned.

The account presented thus far comprises slightly more than half of Frances' life

history. The remaining half is devoted almost entirely to Frances' marital tribulations covering a span of probably little more than three years up to the time of her interviews. This will be summarized as briefly as possible; while interesting, these recent events can tell us little of Frances' development from a psychological standpoint.

Frances had a lover whom she wanted to marry, but meanwhile another man (who was later to marry Sarah) approached Norman and Ida. They agreed to let him marry Frances; she objected but they finally persuaded her—"they thought if I married him he would get me all sorts of things." They were married and Frances was miserable. Three weeks later her husband discovered her sleeping with her lover. He was furious but did not beat her nor fight her lover. Frances thought Norman would beat her but instead he agreed to her terminating the marriage. Her lover, however, had married another woman, Kitty. He in turn found Kitty sleeping with Arthur, and Kitty knew that her husband had been sleeping with Frances. The whole thing was brought before Theodore who was then still chief; Kitty and her husband (Frances' lover) were reconciled in the face of strong pressure from both their families who opposed a divorce. "So that was that; they got together again, and I did not do anything bad for a month."

Two other men were trying to marry Frances, although she cared for neither of them. One of them enlisted the aid of his sister's husband and presented a formal request to Norman and Ida. They acquiesced and Frances apparently submitted without protest; their married career of several months was spent mostly at her husband's house. However, Frances also worked at the house of a "mother" of hers (related through an artificial "brother" relationship between Arthur and another man); her "mother" was married to a man who had come over from Uman some time before. Despite the fact that they were both married he asked Frances to marry him.

She did not take him seriously at the time nor later when he announced in public that he was going to sleep with her. He came to her that night, however, and later did so with such frequency that everyone knew about their affair. But Frances' husband raised no objections and neither did her lover's wife, so the situation was at a stalemate. Her lover decided to go to Guam to work, feeling that his wife would tire of waiting for him to return, but then had to withdraw when the quota for workers on Guam was reduced. To resolve their dilemma her lover decided they should run away. One night they got their things together, borrowed a canoe, and went out to a little island a half mile west of Romonum. Everyone searched Romonum but of course did not find them. They had little to eat and after a few days set out on a calm night to paddle to Fefan where her lover had some relatives. However, their canoe swamped as they were passing the reef of Romonum and was damaged as they hauled it over the reef. They spent the night in the interior of the island where they were discovered in the morning. After a hearing both went to the calaboose on Udot for several months.

After a couple of months an interisland track meet was scheduled and all the policemen and the district chief bet large sums on the outcome. Since Frances' lover was a renowned pole-vaulter he was excused from work (although Frances was not) in order to practice for the meet and the district chief furthermore promised that if he won he could marry Frances. On the day of the meet he did his best, to the discomfiture of his "brothers" from Uman who of course felt he should be loyal to the island of his birth. They were, however, mollified when he told them what was at stake and went on to

win the event. Frances and her lover were released from the calaboose and returned to Romonum husband and wife; they were still married at the time of her interview. Some of her relatives disapproved but later became resigned to the fact of their marriage. The assistant district chief also felt the procedure was highly improper but could do nothing about it (although later he became her husband's greatest "persecutor").

Frances concluded her account with a rather detailed description of an affair between the storekeeper's wife and a man who worked for the storekeeper; when they were discovered both were stripped of their clothes and beaten into unconsciousness, the man being beaten with a baseball bat. The man involved was from Moen (and returned there after he had recovered and served time in the calaboose) but was of a lineage affiliated with that of Frances. Several of Frances' lineage "sisters" went to the calaboose for having acted as go-betweens for this couple.

Asked about her present status Frances launched into a long account of a recent trip she and her husband made to Uman where she met and was interrogated by her husband's relatives. She was apparently able to satisfy them that she would make him a good wife. To further questions she said she was happy with her life, wanted children "to care for me when I am sick and take my place when I die," and had not slept with anyone else since her recent marriage (which was not entirely true). She said she did not want to go to Uman but if her husband decided to live there she would go with him.

*Dreams.* Frances remembered only two current dreams which occurred together in one night. In the first two men were fighting with knives; one of them (the husband of Frances' lineage "sister") wounded the other severely on the shoulder after which he in turn received a less severe cut on the wrist. Some people came and stopped the fight; the less wounded man was asked why they were fighting and he said the other man was bad. Asked for the meaning of the dream Frances said it occurred because she did not say her prayers that night—"if we don't say our prayers we dream a lot."

In the second dream her husband returned from the calaboose (where he had in fact been serving a short sentence) "but he did not come to our house right away. First he went to a girl and slept with her and then came to me. I was very angry and told him to get out—we were through. He left and I awoke, so weak I was almost dead. I think I was weak because if we don't pray at night before going to sleep Satan comes to us." Asked for a further meaning to the dream and whether it represented any actual event Frances said among other things that her husband might actually have slept with the girl in question. While discussing this she was under extreme tension and in fact almost pulled out a heavy metal hook screwed to the table where she was sitting. (Frances was markedly jealous of her husband and several times during our stay on Romonum precipitated violent scenes on the basis of no more than a suspicion of his infidelity.)

*Discussion.* For our present purposes Frances' life history is more interesting than it is informative. What little she tells us of her childhood does not reveal anything unusual with the possible exception of her relationship with her brother, Arthur. There is a suggestion here which finds further support in the life histories of Norman and Ida that Arthur is, to a degree more pronounced than in most Trukese families, a favorite child of his parents. In their accounts Arthur's troubles and accomplishments receive far more attention than those of their other children. Certainly during Frances' three trying years in school she was overshadowed by her brother who was at the top of their class.



The life history itself differs from that of most other women in the extent to which Frances enters into discussion not only of her affairs but of the sexual aspects of these. This becomes less remarkable when we note that of the five younger women in our series Kate had had little or no sexual experience when interviewed and the fathers of Sarah and Susan were of Andy's lineage so that they were "daughters" of mine. Eleanor as we have seen did not hesitate to mention sexual details when they appeared relevant. Nevertheless it appears that Frances brought in such details when there was seemingly little reason for doing so, as for example in discussing her early relations with her Japanese husband.

In any event it is apparent that Frances has had a rather active sexual as well as marital career which began—although not entirely of her own volition—at an early age. While one gathers that her Japanese husband was not of a very high status he had some friends who were. We may speculate that after a not too rewarding Trukese childhood overshadowed by her favored brother, Frances found her sexual attractiveness the one means whereby she could enhance her status and her own self-esteem. Although she does not at any time intimate that she had any fondness for her Japanese husband she stayed with him through considerable tribulations for quite a long time even though he himself recognized that his hold over her was precarious. At least from what she tells us this marriage can have offered to Frances few rewards except a place on the fringe of the ruling caste. The marriages arranged for her on her return to Romonum she did not enjoy until she exposed herself to hazard and the censure of her family to marry probably the most aggressive and resourceful man on Romonum. Having married him she became anxious lest she lose him and quite possibly feels that she holds him only as he finds her sexually attractive: a suggestion that he is unfaithful is a suggestion that her power to keep him is weakening. Although based on rather slim evidence this line of reasoning would appear to provide an explanation for the high degree of sexual anxiety Frances revealed in her tests.

## SUSAN

### AGE 23. POPULARITY: HIGH

Susan's mother is living. Although Susan does not mention him it appears from the genealogies that her own father separated from her mother, remarried, and later died; he was of the same lineage as Andy. Her mother also remarried and her present husband appears to act in all respects as if he were Susan's own father. As far as we know Susan was her mother's only child by her first husband; she had two children by her second husband but they died in early infancy. The lineages of Susan's mother and step-father are large but that of her own father is small.

Susan has had one child, a girl of one, fathered by her first husband who divorced her shortly before the child was born. She and her present husband have had no children. They live in a household headed by Tony because Tony's wife (Roger's older sister) is a lineage "mother" of Susan's.

## RORSCHACH

What sets Susan off from the previous women is that she can respond in a more overtly aggressive manner. This does not mean that she is characteristically aggressive but



rather that when she is under pressure her control over strong feeling is not so strong or effective as that of some of the others. When experiencing strong feeling her initial tendencies are typically Trukese: evasiveness and inhibition. But these strong feelings are more likely to "leak out" in Susan than in the others. In addition to evasiveness and inhibition, Susan manifests another Trukese characteristic: dependency. In Susan, however, her hostility appears when she feels dependent. There is some evidence that Susan is sexually aggressive. Although this conclusion was arrived at deductively in the case of Kate and Frances, in this instance there is more direct evidence.

It should be emphasized that in terms of overt behavior Susan would not appear hostile, volatile, or emotional. She, like so many of the others, has too many defenses against the display of such tendencies. On those occasions when the culture permits such expression, Susan would probably show them more strongly than others.

Although Susan is more like Kate and Frances than she is like Sarah, she differs from the former in that in the face of conflict she is not likely to be so concrete or ineffective in problem-solving. She shows a degree of flexibility and adaptability not found in Kate or Frances.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Although Susan was able to say more to each picture than Frances, the stories are not very revealing and in several instances are puzzling. On the first day only two pictures could be given her and she had great difficulty responding. It is interesting that one of the stories concerned a *frightened boy who cannot talk*. Two days later when the remaining pictures were shown her, Susan apparently talked much more easily. Interestingly enough, the first story on this second day of administration concerned an *aggressive boy who cannot talk*. It is difficult to account for the change in her behavior between the two days. There is a possibility that Susan may have been better able to be evasive on the second day of the administration. The examiner's comments about the way Susan handled two stories (16 and 18) suggest that more was going on "inside" than she was revealing. In this connection another story (13) given by Susan should be mentioned because of its unusual content: a woman meets a man who only wants to help her in her work and when after they have eaten she suggests that he rest in her house while she works, he insists on helping her. The writer must frankly state that he considered this "happy" content "too happy" and wondered whether Susan was responding deliberately in a superficial, non-revealing manner. If one makes this assumption then account must be taken of the fact that Susan was able to overcome her initial difficulty and to respond more adequately in a quantitative sense, although not in a qualitative one. Whereas Kate and Frances were unable to recover, Susan was able to do so. On the basis of these considerations one concludes that the themes in Susan's stories may not be representative of her, but rather that she is a somewhat resourceful, hostile, evasive woman who doesn't easily assume a passive role.

Again, the "nudity" problem appears in her stories. The only time she could not respond to a picture (8) was when it contained several nude children, usually described as boys. The nudity theme appears in Picture 5, but unlike Frances, Susan was not only able to respond but gave the longest story in the protocol to that picture. It probably is revealing of Susan that in this story the woman adopts a "moral" attitude toward the child's nudity but in the end gives in to the child's demands.

Since the possibility of evasiveness in three of the four women so far discussed has been raised, one striking difference between the stories of the men and the women should be mentioned: whereas men frequently talk of sexuality and male-female conflicts, these women barely allude to it. It is strange that the women do not talk of the matter (sexuality) with which the men feel the women are preoccupied.

### LIFE HISTORY

Susan's life history is fairly short and was not given freely. Constant questions and urging were required to keep her going. It was not realized at the time of her interviews that her own father was of Andy's lineage (so that she was my "daughter") and questions about her sexual liaisons may have increased her resistance. However, her reluctance or inability to talk freely about even her childhood appeared at the very beginning of her account before there was any possibility of sexual topics being raised.

Susan's first recollection is of staying on a little island near Uman with her parents and some other people when she was about six. She amused herself chasing the many pigs on the island but could not catch any. Later they returned to Romonum; the remainder of Susan's account of her childhood on Romonum is concerned with episodes of her play with other children, in most of which she was accompanied by two of her lineage "mothers," Roger's sister and another. Both are a little older than Susan. Occasionally Natalie, another older lineage "mother," is also mentioned. They played tug o' war or broiled breadfruit on the sand spit on moonlight nights; Susan said (in reply to a question) that her parents did not care how late she got home. When she was eight Susan was playing with her two "mothers"; they climbed a tree and her "mothers" shook the branch Susan was on, causing her to fall and hurt her legs. Susan was angry with the younger of her two "mothers" (although even in reply to questions she could not say why she was not angry with both of them) and they fought, pulling hair. They both cried and then returned home, as they were living in the same house; when they told their parents they laughed.

Susan went swimming with her three "mothers," another girl, and a boy. The boy was the only one who knew how to swim and the girls were almost drowning when they were rescued by an older woman. They returned home and ate; their parents felt sorry for them. By the time she was nine Susan could swim. (It appears odd and rather unlikely that Susan's "mothers," several years older than she, could not swim when Susan was eight.) Susan and Roger's sister went out on a paddling canoe shortly after Susan had learned to swim and were seen by Roger's sister's father; he got a stick and swam out to beat them for playing on the canoe but they abandoned the canoe and swam for shore, making good their escape. They hid in the bush until nightfall and were not found; then they returned home and nothing further was said of their misdeed. By the time Susan was ten her parents gave her permission to play with her "mothers" on a canoe.

Susan, her three "mothers," and another girl went into the house of the chief of Winisi (Mike's father) and played there while he was away, having mock fights. The chief suddenly walked into the house and "we were scared and all jumped out of the house and ran, but one girl fell and twisted her leg and could not run any more. The rest of us ran and hid in the bush; later we returned and the chief told us never to play

in his house again. We said we would not." Later a group of girls were playing and got in a fight, ganging up on one girl Susan says was being insolent to them; one of Susan's "mothers" cut the girl slightly with a broken bottle. After this they went to bathe and returned to fight again. When they went home their parents merely asked them why they had been fighting. Another day the girls were playing on the beach when an older boy in his teens (now Sarah's husband) came up to them and pushed them down, one by one, hard enough so that it hurt. The girls all cried until Natalie's father came along and threatened to beat the youth. He said the girls were lying and Natalie's father believed him and did nothing more. Susan also mentions being bitten by a ghost when she was about twelve, an episode quoted in the chapter, "The People Today."

In these episodes, which comprise all we know about Susan's childhood before she went to school on Udot, it will be noted that Susan never mentions being beaten by her parents or that they were even angry with her. Asked about this, she said, "My parents never beat me; when I was bad they talked to me but they never once beat me. [Episode when you were bad?] I got into an argument with my two 'mothers': they used bad language to me so I talked back to them. When my parents heard about this they were angry with me and told me I should not be fresh. They said they would not give me any food but an hour or so later they gave me some. I was about ten at the time."

Susan was eleven when she went to school on Udot.

I did not want to go but a Japanese came here and said that all the girls and boys from Romonum should go to school, so we went. I stayed there three years, going to school during the day and staying at the house of a "sister"—not a real sister—at night. I was fairly bright but they used to hit us on the head with a small stick. I was hungry most of the time I was there; I used to go to the house and just go to sleep I was so hungry. Sometimes I did not eat all of one day. Then my parents would come over bringing food and there would be plenty—but then this would be gone and I would be hungry.

A year after Susan returned from school a Japanese man on Romonum was anxious to marry her. She refused him but he kept coming back and she had to flee the house each time. Her parents were frightened. Meanwhile Susan as well as the other people on Romonum had to work every day in various projects around the island. "After the Japanese left I did not have to work any more."

Susan's first (and by her account only) premarital affair was with Paul. This occurred when she was twenty; she had not permitted any men to sleep with her prior to this time because "if they had slept with me when I was little I would have been sick. . . . Paul kept coming to me but my parents did not want us to be married; I wanted to marry him but they were opposed, although I do not know why. Then another man came to me and we were married." This man, her first husband, requested permission of her family to marry Susan before he asked her. "I agreed because my parents had already approved, but I wanted to marry him myself also." After they had been married for some time and Susan was pregnant her husband got drunk and in an argument with her father used the curse "have intercourse with your mother." This did not precipitate the fight which this phrase usually calls forth but her husband realized even in his drunken state that he had gone too far. He told Susan their marriage was finished and left.

About a month later my present husband went to my parents and asked them if he might marry me. They told me about his approaching them and said they wanted me

to marry him. I cried and cried because I did not like him and did not want to marry him, but when I was through crying I told them I would. [?] They probably felt sorry for me but they were still determined that I marry him. [?] I like him a little now.

A month later my daughter was born. My "mother" [a midwife] and my husband's mother [Warren's daughter] were there. She started coming in the early hours of the morning and was born by six that morning. [?] I was frightened, although not very greatly.

The remainder of Susan's life history (except for the final questions) consists in a series of recollections of episodes in her adult life. When she was twenty-one Susan and a number of other people went to Tol to cut copra for two weeks; they were hungry because although there was enough starch food there was no fish or other protein food to go with it and they had to substitute coconut meat. After telling of this copra-cutting trip Susan recounted the following, which is typical of the inconclusiveness of much of her account:

Later a girl came to me and said she wanted to fight. She is dead now. I said I did not want to fight. She went away but later she came back and again she wanted to fight. So I asked her if she really did want to; she said she did so we went out and fought, pulling hair. She lost. [?] I don't know why she wanted to fight—she just wanted to fight me. [Did she dislike you?] I guess she did.

It is difficult indeed to believe that Susan does not know why the girl wanted to fight her.

Susan worked for a month for a Trukese on Dublon but left him and returned to Romonum because there was not enough food and she was hungry all the time. Later an Uman man approached Susan's parents to ask for her in marriage; they approved but this time she was able to refuse successfully because she did not want to leave Romonum even intermittently. Another girl (whose father was of Susan's lineage) married an Uman man and went there to live with him; Susan went with them when they left Romonum. However, she cried and could not eat from homesickness on the boat going over and stayed aboard to return to Romonum the same day.

In regard to her present status Susan said, "I am happy except when there is no food—then I am not happy because I am not strong. If I do not have enough imported goods I am also unhappy; otherwise I am happy." She has no particular hopes for the future. She has no lovers at present because of her baby, and had none before because she thought only of her husband.

*Dreams.* Susan reported three current dreams which are best quoted as given. She could offer no interpretation for any of them. The last two were told consecutively and occurred in one night.

I was in a house and some men were playing cards; I played too and won three towels. [Normally only men play cards although women may watch.] A small child was there, the daughter of a "mother" of mine [Tony's wife]. She was very sick and vomiting. Then her mother came and gave her some water to drink. Then someone woke me; I was frightened and don't remember any more.

I went up on a mountain and picked up a mango off the ground and ate it. Then I went back to my house. A ship came—a Japanese ship. I went aboard and walked around a while. They gave me some cloth. I went ashore, back to the house, and put the cloth away. Then I went back and bathed. I don't remember any more.



Later a woman relative of mine [who now lives on Udot] and I went out on a paddling canoe. When we were quite a way out the canoe capsized. We sloshed out the water, got back aboard, and went on to Udot. We talked to some women—I don't remember who—and told them we wanted to go over to the other side of the island. But they said this was not possible for it was bad, so we came back here to Romonum. I went to the house of a woman who had died—I don't know who it was. I cried. I went to my mother and another "mother" [Tony's wife] and they said we should bring some gifts, so we got some things and brought them to the house. We put them down and the people in the house asked us why we had brought them. We said they were gifts for the dead woman and they thanked us. Later a tall, tall woman came—I don't know who—and said we should go out for a walk. I said I could not go because my clothes were dirty and I was going to wash them. She went off by herself. Then I woke up because my baby was crying. [Susan had difficulty remembering parts of this dream and may have fabricated some portions.]

*Discussion.* It is apparent that Susan was holding back more than most in telling her life history. She was not only reluctant to talk but many of the things she told seemed to be only partial accounts, as if she were deliberately omitting much about which she did not want to speak. For this reason any conclusions we might draw from her life history must be even more tentative than usual. In lieu of other information, however, we have no choice but to accept what she has told us and are probably safe in assuming that at least in its major outlines it is a fair approximation to a true picture of part of her life experiences.

Susan is the only person who has been able to state that she was *never* beaten by her parents, although in the one example she offered of a time when they were angry they threatened her with a beating. The substitute sanction in this case was the withholding of food. Judging by the number of times she mentions her anxiety and distress on later occasions over not having enough food we might conjecture that Susan was disciplined in this fashion rather more frequently than are most children. There is no evidence from her account, however, that she was ever refused food in an attempt to keep her home or even to prevent her from swimming. If this is true she was probably more free than many children to spend her time playing.

Her situation in the play groups was also favorable. Susan not only had a large number of relatives but had two and sometimes three "mothers" as her almost constant companions. Although these girls teased and sometimes fought with each other they seemingly stayed together most of the time and were able to present a united front in the face of trouble and the many fights which studded Susan's childhood. Susan thus had adequate support when she needed it and at the same time did not have to exercise the restraint toward her "mothers" that most children exercise as the price of the help they receive. Thus there is probably good basis for the conclusion derived from her tests that Susan feels less need for the suppression of strong and especially aggressive feeling than most Trukese.

On the other hand, although we might conclude from Susan's account that in her childhood she could do almost anything she pleased it is apparent that she learned to obey her parents, for when they presented her with a husband whom she disliked, in contrast to some other women in this situation she abandoned her objections and submitted. We do not know the means whereby this submission was enforced but we can



at least conclude that more restraints were placed on Susan by her parents than she has told us about. The dependence coupled with hostility shown in her Rorschach might suggest that the withholding of food was in fact a primary sanction applied by Susan's parents to assure her submission to their demands.

In spite of whatever degree of compliance Susan accorded her parents it is evident that her unusually assured status in the children's society would have given Susan a greater feeling of confidence in dealing with her fellows than most children enjoy. If this is true it leads us to wonder why she was so obviously reluctant as an adult to express her feelings in telling her life history. The explanation may perhaps lie in this very assurance: as we have noted, most Trukese find it difficult to talk about themselves and particularly to engage in introspection. Recounting their life histories, then, was trying for our subjects but finding themselves faced with a presumably important foreigner they did their best. It is at least possible that in contrast Susan felt herself sufficiently secure in her own status that she did not consider it necessary to bother presenting more than an absolute minimum of personal experience. At the same time any possible sexual attraction toward myself which may conceivably have motivated some of the women to do their best and perhaps feel more free in talking could not have applied in Susan's case due to our "incestuous" relationship.

#### ELEANOR

AGE 24. POPULARITY: HIGH

(Facts about Eleanor's parents and other details appear in the chapter on her life history.)

#### RORSCHACH

Although this protocol reveals this woman to have strong aggressive feelings, she differs from some of the others in the way in which she expressed them. Whereas Susan would express aggression in a rather direct, and at times diffuse way, Eleanor would more likely express it in an indirect and diluted form and after strong inhibitory tendencies were overcome. From the record, Eleanor's aggressiveness appears to be reflected in assertiveness and a degree of self-confidence. She differs from Kate and Frances in that her anxiety is better controlled and does not result in so strongly concrete an approach to problem-solving situations. However, when strong feeling is aroused the adequacy of her responsiveness is reduced, but not in so marked a way as in some others. When not in a situation which arouses strong personal and/or unacceptable feeling, Eleanor's functioning should be more than adequate. In fact, there is evidence that her intellectual capacity or problem-solving behavior may be better than that of any woman so far discussed. Taking together Eleanor's assertive tendencies, her good control over strong feeling, the relative absence of manifest anxiety or dependence, and her good abilities—the conclusion is that Eleanor is an unusual Trukese woman.

There are indications that Eleanor's aggressive drives are in some way related to sexuality. Since this relation has also been mentioned in the description of some of the other women, it might help explain something that was hypothesized about the men: that being aggressive sexually presents problems to them. It may be that the women's

sexual aggressiveness arouses, for some unknown reasons, anxiety in the men. From the records so far described, it is this interpreter's conclusion that Trukese women are emotionally more volatile than the men. Not that overtly they would react in a markedly emotional and affective manner; they have strong inhibitory tendencies which would not permit such a display. Although in this the women resemble the men, the discrepancy between strength of feeling and its overt expression seems greater in the women.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Although Eleanor's stories are shorter than Susan's, they contain more action and there is little indication of evasiveness or undue blocking. Add to this the fact that she was able to respond to every picture given her (something Susan, Frances, and Kate could not do) and was not bothered by the "nudity" problem, one concludes that Eleanor is probably a more direct woman with fewer conflicts than the other three. However, compared to the protocols of some of the men, Eleanor's record is sparse and relatively unrevealing.

Eleanor's stories reveal her to be an individual in whom there are strong aggressive tendencies. In fact, they contain more such themes than those of any other woman so far discussed. But she also has tendencies opposing aggressive display. Perhaps the best example of the presence of aggressive and submissive tendencies is Eleanor's story to Picture 15: a man who has made another angry by saying something he did not like attempts to soothe the angered man, "I will not say this sort of thing any more because you don't like it." In stories involving husband and wife it is the latter who generally adopts a passive role.

Comparing Eleanor to Susan, Frances and Kate, Eleanor possesses a better combination of aggressive and submissive tendencies than the other three. Certainly she is more expressive than they and, on the basis of the test situation, she is in general a more adequate individual.

#### LIFE HISTORY

Eleanor's life history appears in full in the chapter, "Eleanor: A Life History."

*Dreams.* Eleanor reported three current dreams, the first two being recorded before beginning her life history and the last three days later. As these dreams are rather complex they are reproduced verbatim.

I did not dream last night but I remember a dream from three nights ago. A young man, a "brother" of mine who died during the war, came to our house with a lot of companions. They lined up in front of the house and started dancing. I was watching and saw a young man among them who was very handsome; I liked him very much. He also noticed me and liked me, and called me to come and join them. But I could not because I did not know that dance. But he told me to come on anyway and he would teach me. So I joined in and he taught me and taught me. But then my "brother" came over and asked me why I was joining in when I did not know the dance. I told him this boy had taught me and the boy said so too and I kept on dancing. But my "brother" got angry and told me to get out so I stopped dancing. The boy stopped too and went over to Thomas' house which is right by mine. He went in and climbed up on the ridgepole; he lay down with his chin on his hands and looked out. He called

me over and asked me to join him; I came over but I could not get up there so he gave me his hand and helped me up. Then my "brother" came in and asked me why I insisted on staying with this man. He said he just wanted to take me for a sweetheart so he could eat me. But I said it wasn't that—I just liked him and he liked me. My "brother" was very angry. His father came in, and my "brother" protested to him that I insisted on taking this man for a lover although the man just wanted to eat me. Actually the man was a ghost. But his father told him to forget it—if I wanted to have a man who was going to eat me for a lover it was my business. The young man was wearing a wrist watch, just like yours. His father went out again but my "brother" did not. He was very angry and told me to get out of the house. So I left and the young man got down, too, and went out and joined the dance again. I stood within an arm's length of him while he danced. He told me to join him again but I did not dare. But he pointed out it was dark and no one would see me, so I joined in again. But a woman who was dancing told my "brother" to come and see; he came over and was furious. He asked why I was dancing with this man again when he had told me to leave him alone because he would eat me. Then he took a big stick and hit me on the shoulder with it. I started to run and he chased me, but I could not get away, try as I might. He kept hitting me and I kept trying to run and could not. Then I woke up and was shaking with fright because I thought it was real. But it was just a lie.

Eleanor interpreted this dream as demonstrating that the spirits of her dead "brother" (who was Roger's older brother) and his father were still watching out for her, protecting her from Satan represented by the young man and the dancing. Her "brother" beat her because strong measures were required to overcome her temptation; it was also the attraction of the young man which kept Eleanor from being able to run away from her "brother." Asked about the wrist watch she said, "I don't think it was really a watch but actually dance decorations which looked just like a watch. I looked at it and liked it very much."

I also dreamed last week. It was a long dream but I only remember part of it. I suggested to Richard, my husband, that we go on the launch to take Communion with the priest. He said that was fine and told me to pack our things in the bag and get ready. So I packed the bag. Then he said he would carry the bag and our older boy and I would carry the baby. We set off, arrived at the pier, and got on the launch—I don't know which launch it was, but it was not the storekeeper's launch. Then we went to that pier on Moen. We got off the boat and I told Richard to take the bag and one of the children. But he told me I was to take everything because they had told him he had to work on the boat. I told him I could not take them all but he said I could carry the bag on my shoulders and the children in my arms. He said he would help me load up, but to hurry because the people had said Mass was about to begin. So he loaded me up and I started off—but I did not believe him about the work on the boat—I just thought he was thinking passionate thoughts of Susan. When I was about halfway down the pier I put the children down and went back to the launch. I looked in the cabin window and there they were, the two of them lying down together. I was furious but ran away quickly, for I was embarrassed lest they would see me and know that I had been peeping at them. I got the children and went on, finally coming to a house and going in. I no longer thought of going to church. I was very angry at Richard and thought I would have a fight with him when he came.

After a while he came in. I asked him why he was late and he said the work on the boat had taken a long time. I asked him if this was really so and he said yes. Did

he do anything else? He said no. Then I told him he was lying for I had seen him lying down with Susan; I was very angry with him. Then he got angry with me and called all his relatives in; he told them indignantly that I was angry with him for sleeping with Susan although she was like a "sister" to me [in Eleanor's father's lineage]. Then I was very embarrassed because they too started talking about me and I could hear them saying I was very bad to be angry that way when Susan was my "sister." Then Richard asked me why I was angry and I told him it was because he had lied to me and had not told me about his wanting to sleep with Susan. That is all I remember of the dream. It went on after this but I don't remember it.

Eleanor has the typical Trukese interpretation for this dream, that Richard will take some other woman, not Susan, as his sweetheart. The launch was the road to heaven but Satan came and turned Richard and Eleanor back because they sinned.

I dreamed last night but it was not a long one. I was out fishing with my father on a paddling canoe with hook and line. I caught a great big fish and pulled and pulled and finally got it to the boat. But when I came to lift it aboard it turned out to be just a small one and I lifted it in easily. Then my father caught one on his line; he hauled in the line but the fish got away; I told him if I did it the fish would not get away—I thought he had not done it fast enough.

We were fishing near an island with beautiful white beaches without any rocks on them, and I looked up and saw lots of people on the beach and in the water. We came in and landed; as we were coming in we saw a procession of people hurrying down to the beach, led by two men with flags. When we landed, they came toward us, pointing the flags at us. They said they were going to kill us and kept coming on with the flags pointing at us. My father said we should flee and we started to, but they caught us. They held my father by the arm and cut him all up; they cut his head off, and his arm, and chopped his back up. I cried hard and someone caught me and asked me why I was crying—he said he was going to cut me up, too. They got ready to spear me in the chest and I was very frightened. Then I woke up terrified; I was weak and shaking, thinking it was real and true. But it was only a lie.

My questions and Eleanor's interpretation of this dream were as follows:

[What does your dream mean?] In regard to my father, I think it means they will catch a very large fish and cut it up. In regard to my pulling in a fish, I will get some sort of goods from a sister or somebody from another island, because that is what we think about pulling in fish if we dream about it. [What else?] I think a boat will go out fishing and get a lot of fish, and people will come in large numbers to buy them. [You got fish but father did not?] I will get things from another island but there will be none for my father. [White beaches?] Not just the beaches—among the coconuts and everything there was just sand. It was very neat looking. . . . I think it was a ghost's island because it was so neat. [The two flags?] Flags of Satan. [Why?] Satan came to us and they killed my father because he lost to Satan.

*Discussion.* Little need be added to the comments which were made concurrently with the presentation of Eleanor's life history. Ample documentation was available there for the conclusion reached on the basis of her tests that Eleanor is a woman of unusual ability whose approach to her problems is adequate, direct, and rather aggressive. We concluded that this was essentially the result of a presumably inherently good mind which Eleanor, thanks to her mother's support, could employ to good advantage without the high degree of anxiety which inhibits the self-expression of many Trukese.



We also observed that Eleanor portrayed her father as ineffective both in helping and in hindering her activities but were unable to determine whether this picture was actually true or was in large part colored by her hostility and resentment occasioned by his betrayal in forcing her to marry Richard. Although Eleanor emphasizes her dominance over her father (to a degree it is hard to believe any Trukese father would permit his daughter) it is apparent that he could be quite kindly to her and let her accompany him in a number of activities wherein she was more of a hindrance than a help. In her account, however, Eleanor almost invariably devaluates her father's kindness by indicating that she was able to join him only through her own assertiveness and against his will. Her hostility toward her father is very clearly shown in her last dream; although much of the aggressive content of the dream was deflected in her interpretation it should be noted that even there when people get things from another island her father will not, and he was killed because "he lost to Satan"—i.e., because of his misdeeds. In considering the symbolism of the flags we should remember that flags are an importation by foreigners, and Richard belongs to a family (that of the storekeeper and Paul) which is in some important respects foreign in its orientation. It is thus not too long a step to equate Richard with the flags and conclude that this dream represents Eleanor's father suffering tortures and death as a result of his deal with Richard.

Although Eleanor did not want to marry Richard or later be reunited with him and states quite frankly in concluding her life history that most of the time they are angry with each other, we have nevertheless seen that they maintained an outwardly stable relationship over a number of years. In large part this undoubtedly represents a realistic submission to the inevitable—a type of response again predicted on the basis of her tests—but at the same time Eleanor shows in her second dream a real anxiety over Richard's fidelity even though she herself makes no pretense of being faithful to him. Although we have no evidence that Frances is as active as Eleanor in carrying on extramarital affairs they are otherwise quite similar in respect to their attitudes toward sexuality. Both had rather early and presumably socially as well as physically satisfying relations with various Japanese members of the ruling caste, relations which we may assume made particularly clear for them the equation between sex and mastery in the social sphere. Both had unusually checkered marital careers—and both reported dreams in which they were very upset over their husbands' infidelity. Even if we discount the greater amount of sexual material in the life histories of these two women (for the reasons given in discussing Susan's life history) it is apparent that both have had occasion to develop, and have in fact developed, sexuality as a means to achieve dominance over men, a development which is in both of their cases probably rather above average in intensity. In addition to the positive social rewards they discovered in their relations with the Japanese both women had special reasons to seek retaliation against men: Frances because of her position, always in the shadow of her favored older brother, and Eleanor because of the treachery of her father. Although both have extensive liaisons outside of marriage (in Frances' case at least in the past) it is not surprising that they also seek to hold and dominate their husbands sexually and become appropriately alarmed at the prospect that this dominance may not be complete.

In regard to Eleanor we have yet to consider the reasons why her life history was so free, revealing, and voluminous (although it should be noted that Frances' life history

was also fairly long, second only among the women to those of Rachel and Eleanor). In large part both the quantity and quality of her life history are probably due to her lack of general anxiety, her intellectual ability, and the fact that she was not inhibited by any "incestuous" relationship with me as the interviewer. However, in Eleanor's case there is some reason for believing that the fact that I was a man—and perhaps even that I was a foreign man—made the interviewing situation more attractive to her. One reason was my unverifiable impression that on a number of occasions she was being deliberately coquettish during her interviews. Another was her spontaneous observation that the highly attractive young man in her first dream was wearing a wrist watch just like mine: although we cannot tell whether the association between his wrist watch and mine was part of the dream or an afterthought (and she later changed it to dance ornaments) it would appear to indicate that Eleanor made some sort of an identification of me with the young man of her dreams. This evidence cannot of course be taken as more than a suggestion, but at the same time it should not be ignored (although this appears to be customary in the anthropological literature) for if true it has an important bearing on our interpretation of her performance—a point brought out by Sarason in his discussion of Frances' Rorschach. If Eleanor (or any of the other women) interpreted the interviewing situation in fantasy as in some measure analogous to that of lovers' relationship it would lead her not only to view it as more attractive than would otherwise be the case, but also perhaps to adapt her mode of responding to the less inhibited type of interpersonal behavior which we have concluded is characteristic even of the non-sexual aspects of the lovers' relationship. This, then, may in part account for the ease and freedom with which Eleanor recounted not only happenings but her reactions to and feelings about these happenings. This was not so apparent, however, when she was responding to the strange and more difficult task of performing the tests (which also came at the beginning of her interviews).

### IRENE

#### AGE 30. POPULARITY: HIGH

Irene was the first of the two children adopted by Rachel and Thomas, Roger being the second. Irene is Rachel's own sister, adopted at birth when Rachel was in her early twenties—it is probable that Rachel is somewhat older than the forty-eight years listed in the island records. Irene's own parents died some time during her childhood. They had six children who grew to adulthood: Roger's father, now dead; a man, Warren's son-in-law; Rachel; Andy's father; a man married to a lineage "sister" of Frances; and Irene. The lineages of both of Irene's own parents are large; that of her adoptive father Thomas is small.

Irene's first husband was at the time of her interviews a helpless invalid, largely paralysed by a degenerative nerve disorder. Her present husband is Charles whose case we have discussed. Irene and Charles adopted a nephew of Charles, a boy of seventeen.

Irene receives frequent mention in the life histories of Eleanor, Charles, and Rachel; reference will be made to these sources of information as appropriate.

## RORSCHACH

This is the most unusual record, thus far, in the female series. Whereas in all the others there was much evidence for strong inhibitory tendencies, Irene shows this least of all. She is more impulsive than the others: there are few indications that she is as capable of delaying a response, mulling it over, and suppressing it as the other women are. In addition, her standards of judgment are poor and even, at times, unrealistic. Although she is like the others in having a strong interest in sexual matters, even here she differs in important respects. There is some evidence that her conception of her own femininity is different (and perhaps more unrealistic?) from that of the others. She is so concerned with sexuality that one would suggest that she considers herself to be in some way or other inadequate. Another way of putting it would be that, for some reason, Irene is or feels sexually deprived.

One implication of the above picture is that Irene is not so successful in restraining strong feeling as the other women: she is too uncritical and impulsive. At times, however, she can spontaneously exercise control and improve the quality of her responses—but this appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

Irene's performance differs so markedly from the others that one might assume that there are factors in her life history which are unique or unusual for the Trukese in this series. Where her performance differs most is in her uncriticalness, unusual sexual attitudes and relatively weak inhibitory tendencies.

## THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

A distinguishing feature of Irene's stories lies not so much in what they contain but in what is missing, that is, it is not always clear why some of the characters in the story do what they do. For example, in one story a child asks the mother where they are going and the mother replies: "Never mind, just come along." In another story a woman refuses to join a group but no explanation of her refusal is given. In still another story a husband hides from his wife but it is not clear why he should engage in such an activity. In Story 8 some children are described as being "naughty" but it is not clear why they should be. From these examples this lack of motivational clarity would seem to be associated in some way with aggressive action. Two possibilities are, (a) that Irene lacks more than the others the ability to understand or identify with the actions of other people, and (b) that her own aggressive tendencies are inadequately controlled by reflection or self-appraisal. This does not mean that Irene is an overtly aggressive woman, but rather than when she does express aggression it is not likely to be well focused or directed. Instead, Irene is probably a submissive woman who feels too inadequate to justify overt expression of hostility. With the exception of one story (9), which is "popular" for the Trukese, Irene's stories about husband-wife relations describe a woman who is either afraid of her husband's anger, or uncomplainingly does nothing but work for him and the children, or is "fooled" by a subtly aggressive husband. When one adds to this the last story in the record, what emerges is the picture of a woman who is inadequate.

## LIFE HISTORY

Irene's life history is quite short and lays stress on a very few episodes with little or no mention of anything else. The many discrepancies between the descriptions given

by Irene and by others of certain episodes lead us to doubt the accuracy of her account as a whole, an impression which is strengthened by the, at times, obviously artificial and incorrect chronology of events she presents. Thus, on the first day of her life history interviews she gave a spontaneous account of all the events she apparently felt were of significance in her childhood; these episodes all took place within a period of a few consecutive days when she was three years old and were terminated by a long illness. Then she mentioned that she went to school when she was twelve (a statement she later denied) and after this skipped to her first marriage at eighteen. In a few more sentences she described her divorce and remarriage, said she was happy with her present husband, and felt that her account was complete. It was only with great effort that she was persuaded to discuss the years which intervened between three and eighteen.

We know from Rachel's life history that Irene was adopted from birth but nursed by her own mother (with whom Rachel lived) for several months. She was, however, weaned before she could sit up. Irene's own account begins with the death of her own father and indicates the degree to which she was confused by living in the same household with both her own and her adoptive parents, her adoptive father being also her brother-in-law.

When I was about three my father died, but that is all I remember about him. One day an old woman came to me and told me to come home, my father was dead. But I hardly thought of him as my father because from the time I was very small Thomas and Rachel took me and they are really the ones who have been parents to me.

The day my father died I was out playing quite a way from the house. This old woman called me and told me to come home because my father was dead and they were going to put him in the grave. I came in and went to the house; he was lying out on the floor on his back and I thought he was just asleep—and said so. But they told me he was really dead. I did not believe them and went out to play again. I played until late afternoon and then came back. I asked where my father was and they pointed to the grave and said they had buried him there. I started to cry and dug at the earth. I asked them why they had buried him in the ground where he would no longer be able to breathe—the dirt would get in his mouth and nose. They assured me he was really dead. I was angry at them for burying him and cried some more and tore my clothes. Then Thomas came to me and told me not to cry. He said he was my real and only father, and Rachel my mother, and I should not worry about it any more. I asked why they had lied and told me that man was my father and Thomas said to forget it: he was my father. I was happy and did not give it any more thought.

Whether fact or fantasy Irene's statement that she felt in effect that her adoptive parents had murdered her own father is interesting, particularly when compared to Roger's expressed attitude on this subject. It will be remembered that Roger was at some pains to disavow any obligation to or even real connection with his own parents, seemingly feeling that they had given him to Thomas and Rachel because they did not want him. Irene on the other hand believed that Thomas and Rachel had taken her away from her own parents—and then completed the severance of the ties by murdering her father. It is perhaps significant that it is Thomas rather than Rachel who in Irene's account makes the final and authoritative denial of her real parentage.

The only play activity mentioned by Irene she describes as occurring the day after her father's death, and she was not able to carry it out. She asked Thomas if she could



go and play "with all the other children" on the beach. He said she could not because she would drown but Irene left anyway. She was, however, intercepted by Rachel near the grave of her father. Rachel beat her on the arms and legs with a stick and asked her why she was naughty; Irene promised she would not go out again.

The next day was Sunday and Irene wanted to go to church. She describes arguing with Thomas because he wanted her to eat and bathe first whereas Irene wanted—for unexplained reasons—to go at once even though it was well before the services began. She only remarks that "I was very naughty when I was small." She submitted, however, and ate and bathed before going to church. There she heard the preacher tell everyone to maintain their church attendance and the children to go to school. She went home and asked Thomas what school was; he told her and she decided to go although Thomas pointed out that she was too young to be able to learn anything.

Irene then describes in detail her difficulty in making a place for herself among the schoolchildren: asking for and finally taking by force a pencil and piece of paper from another girl, the teacher's refusal to accept her and his ridiculing her belief she could learn anything, her embarrassment and resentment when the teacher stood her up before the class and showed her she did not know how to write, and her feeling that she was being discriminated against because she was so young. The teacher finally let her try. He taught her numbers and addition the first week and then went on to writing. In three weeks Irene entered the youngest grade with four boys and two other girls. She studied in the afternoon at home, and in the evening by firelight. One morning after studying late the night before Irene woke up with a headache. It grew worse; she could no longer work and later could not eat or sleep. She cried out with pain all the time and after a month became deaf. Her illness was acute for five months after which she began to respond to Trukese medicine—sea spirit medicine for her ears and chicken medicine for her head. After a year she was better, could hear fairly well, and her head hurt very little. She continued her account, "But I did not go to school again until I was twelve. When I was eighteen. . . ." and she went on to describe her first marriage.

Irene's life history interviews were resumed three days later with a request that she tell of the years which intervened between her childhood illness and her first marriage. Although it is virtually certain that she understood the request after it had been repeated once she began three times to describe again her first marriage. She finally reported the following:

Once I got well I just took care of myself so that I would be strong, and made things. I used to make fish nets and clothes. When my mother started making a fish net I sat down with her and began to learn. Making a fish net the Trukese way is very hard—we use a plant from the sea. I think I must have spent four months just learning how to make a fish net. And I learned how to make clothes, to sew and embroider them; I spent a year learning to make clothes. [?] I played very little, perhaps going out to play once a day. [?] I did not want to play a lot with other children because I listened to what my parents had to say. Thomas told me I should not play all day with the boys and girls—I should just watch what the adults were doing and learn to do it too, because if my parents should die early and I had not learned these things I would not know how to take care of myself. I went out and joined the other children in their happiness a little bit but Rachel and Thomas beat me with a stick; after that I no longer went out to play but just listened to what they had to tell me.

When I was about nineteen I started helping my parents in the gardens and in cutting copra.

It is evident that Irene's struggle for freedom from restriction was short-lived and unsuccessful. Irene does not, however, mention one avenue of escape described—and apparently resented—by Rachel: when Irene was about nine she stayed for an unspecified but rather long period with Thomas' mother (apparently his own mother although this too is not specified). Thomas' mother felt that Irene was too young to be learning all the woman's skills which Rachel wished to teach her, and Rachel ascribes what she considers to be Irene's ignorance at the present time to her prolonged stay with her "grandmother."

Although Irene said earlier that she went to school when she was twelve when asked about this she said it was not correct: she did not go to school after her first attempt at the age of three until Charles came to Romonum when Irene was probably twenty. However, we saw in Eleanor's life history that Irene was attending the local school on Romonum during Eleanor's early attempt at an age of seven—when Irene would have been fourteen. As there is no apparent reason why Eleanor should have falsified her account to mention Irene if she had not in fact been in school we are probably correct in concluding that Irene did attend school. Why she should have denied this, particularly in view of her first statement, is not clear.

Irene's account of her first marriage is also at variance with the versions presented by both Eleanor and Rachel. It will be remembered that Eleanor told of her husband-to-be coming to sleep with Irene prior to their marriage; Irene was staying with Eleanor's family at the time but left when Eleanor was too talkative. Rachel says that Irene married without her or her husband asking permission in advance; Rachel was very angry, beat Irene, and berated her for marrying so young. Irene, on the other hand, states that her husband's father approached Rachel and Thomas and her older brother (Roger's father). When the marriage had been arranged at the parental level, Irene was advised. Irene contended she was too young at eighteen to marry and Rachel told her they would just be betrothed until Irene was twenty-two. So they were betrothed and when Irene was twenty-two there was a little feast and they were married. Although Irene does not mention having actually resisted the marriage she remarks how much happier she feels now that she is married to one of her own choosing, Charles.

Irene says that during her first marriage she spent a year with her husband on Dublon; he held an unspecified job while Irene was employed in a Japanese house doing housework.

Irene at first said she divorced her first husband after having started an affair with Charles; they decided that each would get rid of his spouse and later they would marry. When asked to describe her husband's illness, however, Irene told of his initial paralytic attack and his begging her to help him; he was stricken at noon and that afternoon "I told him he could stay in his house and I would go to mine, and I left." This was the end of their marriage; this second version coincides with Rachel's account.

Some time thereafter Irene and Charles were married. Charles was forced to abandon his job as Catholic catechist and the priest on Udot was furious; I have the impression from the comments of several people that this was a matter of some moment to the people of Romonum at the time and that most of them considered the marriage of Irene

and Charles to be scandalous. Rachel says they again did not ask anyone's permission and gives a possibly exaggerated account of her reaction:

I beat them both; I held Irene by the hair and beat her head. Charles asked me what right I had to do this and I inquired whether he thought I should love him—or perhaps he felt I was scared of him? He replied that if I did not approve of their marriage he would call it off. I told him that he could leave because I certainly did not approve. But he was just lying because he called Irene and said they would leave together. So they left and no longer stay with Thomas and me.

Asked about her present status Irene said that since she had been married to Charles she was happy and at peace. On further questioning she said she regretted that she had no children of her own, and was concerned over the fact that due to her divorce she could no longer take Communion in the Catholic Church. Asked if she had any lovers she said, "Since I have been married no man has come to me at night—I have no lover. I think they are frightened of Charles." She was then asked whether she liked being a Trukese woman in comparison, for example, with being an American woman or one of another nationality; she replied, "I think I would like very much to be an American woman although I don't know what I would be doing if I were. But I have seen them and I think their life must be a good one. Here women are constantly changing—one day they like someone and the next day they dislike the same person."

*Dreams.* Irene remembered only two dreams, both of them current. In the first she went with Charles and their adopted son to Moen to a store. Charles bought some white cloth to make trousers for their son and they all left the store. Irene became increasingly angry as she thought of her old wornout dress which she could not replace because Charles had spent all their money on their son's trousers. They came to a little house with two doors; Irene went in one and the other two in the other door. It was completely dark inside and Irene could see nothing. After a long time Charles called her; she could not see him and asked where he was. He said he was near her. She asked what he had and he replied he had all sorts of things including combs, dresses, and trousers. Irene was still angry and told him to come to her. He replied sharply, "Come here!" and she went to him. He put her hand on his knee. At that point Charles actually rolled over in his sleep and bumped Irene, waking her. She could attach meaning only to the white cloth which reminded her of a shroud. Their going in by two separate doors perhaps meant she and Charles would have an argument and later be reconciled.

In her second dream Irene was fishing with a spear and goggles; there were a great many fish and she was anxious to get a large striped one to bring to me so that she could be photographed with it. Although she tried many times she succeeded in spearing only two small fish. She brought them home and a woman broiled them for her. However, the woman did not watch them and they burned in the fire. Her only association to this dream was with the colors of the striped fish, which reminded her of the colored cards of the Kohs and Rorschach tests she had taken previously.

*Discussion.* Irene's life history contains so many obvious and apparently deliberate inaccuracies that it is seldom possible to separate fact from fancy with any degree of certainty. It is probably no coincidence that the person who has so far shown this same tendency toward fantasy most consistently in his life history is Roger, who succeeded Irene in the status of Rachel's and Thomas' adopted child. There is, however, a difference

in the way in which Roger and Irene manipulated their accounts. In Roger's case we saw that although he showed himself to have been left to make his way alone (particularly in school on Udot) he emerged in some episodes as the rather heroic and aggressive victor in his battles—in other words, he told the story as he would like it to have been. Irene on the other hand portrayed herself as persecuted by her parents almost at every turn: she omitted any mention of her presumably free life with Thomas' mother, and declared that she was forced into her first marriage when in fact we may be quite sure she was not. We do not know whether there is any substance to her account of being ridiculed and impeded in her attempt to attend school, although we may be fairly sure this did not take place when she was only three. She laid emphasis on her parents' demands that she work and not play; this is verified by Rachel's account. Thus she told approximately correctly (as far as we know) of those events or periods in which she was in fact badly treated in comparison with others by her parents, and modified or omitted those others wherein her experience was more favorable.

The difference between the accounts of Roger and Irene can probably be traced to their differing response to the apparently shocking discovery that they had been adopted. Roger took this to be a rejection by his own parents and, severing connections as much as possible with them, identified himself with Rachel and Thomas. He thus placed himself in the position of having to defend their actions—although Rachel mentions Roger's many beatings at the hands of Thomas, Roger himself does not include any in his account—and could only express his resentment toward them indirectly by saying for example that they left him alone on Udot. Irene in contrast recognized that her adoption was a result of the request of Rachel and Thomas and her resentment and hostility was directed toward them; she therefore paints them in as bad a light as possible.

It is evident that Roger's interpretation of his adoption made his adaptation to life with Rachel and Thomas easier than did Irene's. In her case she had to live with the very people she hated and whom she accused at least in fantasy of having murdered her father. She was therefore poised to resent everything they did without the necessity of examining whether it was in fact reasonable or not, a tendency shown in the episode when she argued even with Thomas' perfectly sensible suggestion that she eat and bathe before going to church, and also reflected in the TAT stories wherein people do arbitrary and often aggressive things without any clear motivation for them. Her resentment, however, could not find expression in real life because she was beaten into submission—she found herself powerless before the very people upon whom her hostility was most sharply focused. In this dilemma it is hard to see how she could form even the minimum identification with a parental figure which most Trukese achieve. Her resulting inadequacy is shown not only in her tests but in the very small extent to which Irene and her husband participate with other members of the community. It was very unusual during our stay on Romonum to find Irene joining any casual group of adults anywhere on the island; rather she was apt to be at home working on a fish net—she was one of the few women on the island who could make a large throw-net. It was similarly appropriate that she should have married Charles, socially the most isolated man on the island, who could not afford to leave her and thus make himself entirely alone and who would furthermore not be likely through kin affiliation or gregariousness to force her into constant contact with large numbers of other people. Charles is also in many respects un-Trukese and thus



possibly reminds Irene less of the inconsistent behavior which she singles out as the thing she would most like to escape by becoming an American woman. In her first dream, however, Irene shows that she views her husband with the same combination of hostility and submissiveness which characterized her relations with her parents.

Having been in her view deprived at birth of the parents who were rightfully hers it is to be expected that Irene would feel little obligation toward others. She was cut off from the support and affection she felt she deserved and would have received from her own parents and therefore sees no reason to offer such support to others. This attitude makes her even less adapted than she otherwise would be to life in a society based on the solidarity of cooperative kin groups, and received its clearest expression in her abandonment, callous even for a Trukese, of her first husband the very day he became ill.

We have no information on Irene's attitude toward sex, for her brother is Andy's father and she was therefore a "mother" to me and unable to speak of such matters. It is not unlikely that her social maladjustment extends to the sexual sphere and results in her feeling deprived on this score as predicted on the basis of her Rorschach. This is, however, pure conjecture and based on no evidence. Eleanor mentions Irene's adultery as the precipitating cause of a fight between the women of two lineages but this was a case of a man sleeping with his brother's wife and would therefore not be considered a true lovers' relationship. It is, however, also possible that Irene's feeling of deprivation and bodily inadequacy is only indirectly related to sex and is rather a reflection of her failure to have any children. An anxiety of this order receives clear documentation in Rachel's life history and is reflected more strikingly in her Rorschach than in Irene's. Although we cannot assume that they are parallel cases it would appear reasonable to suppose that Irene would be anxious to surpass her inadequate "mother" in this ultimate expression of womanliness and would thus be more distressed than most by her barrenness.

## IDA

### AGE 40. POPULARITY: LOW

Ida's mother died when Ida was a young child; her father died in Ida's infancy. Ida's father was the second recorded husband of her mother; her mother's first husband was his older brother. Her mother had four children who reached adulthood; the eldest of these is a man who is now the head of Ida's lineage; he was followed by two women, now dead. All three of these were fathered by Ida's mother's first husband. Ida was the only child of her mother's second marriage of whom we know. Ida's own lineage is large but that of her father now has but two members who have joined other lineages.

Ida has been married only to Norman and has had eight children, five of whom are living. They are listed in Norman's record in the previous chapter; the oldest is Arthur and the next Frances.

## RORSCHACH

Whereas Irene was uncritical, impulsive, and *relatively* uninhibited in personal expression, Ida is quite the opposite; she is much more unsure of herself and expends more energy inhibiting personal expression. Irene was generally uncritical, Ida is uncritical particularly when faced with strong or unacceptable feeling and thought. In fact, Ida is

typically Trukese in that stress situations result in reduced adequacy of response or control. Her prepotent response in such situations is evasiveness and withdrawal but when she feels forced to respond her adequacy is markedly reduced. What adds to her difficulties, as it does to those of many of the others, is a concreteness in thinking.

In discussing Eleanor's Rorschach the comment was made that the discrepancy between feeling and overt behavior is probably greater in the women than the men. In the case of Ida such a discrepancy is marked, that is, Ida is even less likely than most other women to express feeling in overt behavior. She suppresses feeling more, and outwardly would appear more conventional and constricted.

As in so many of the others there is evidence of strong sexual interests in this record. Ida's tendency is to avoid mentioning sexual areas, men's or women's, and the fact that she only mentioned them after much resistance was one indication of the strength of her inhibitory tendencies. But this does not distinguish Ida from many others, it is the total effect it had upon her: marked indecision and insecurity, poor quality of response, dependence, a form of passive resistance, and a marked evasiveness. Although Frances may have experienced a similar conflict in the situation, she was able, despite her concreteness, to give several well seen responses although the majority of her responses were vague and undifferentiated. Susan did not have so much difficulty as Ida in responding and was able to be aggressive in a more direct way than Ida in the situation. Eleanor gave rather good evidence of good use of ability whereas Ida does not. The differences among these women are ones of degree rather than kind. The point is that Ida becomes more constricted by conflict than most of the others.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

From the examiner's comments and the nature of her responses it is quite clear that Ida was having difficulty in the situation. It is hard to determine what factors were responsible for this but two possibilities not mutually exclusive, may be mentioned. The first lies in Ida's concreteness: the inability to divorce herself from the initial impression that the pictures did not contain "real" people. As a result she felt helpless to comply with instructions and resorted to description rather than to interpretation. A second possibility is that the pictures aroused "threatening" content. Several stories concern man-eating ghosts, one expresses her bewilderment at "nudity," and several concern aggressive action. It is probably not fortuitous that in the one story involving a husband-wife interaction, the former is angry because the latter "did not pick up their children: she is just annoying him." In connection with this second possibility, her denial that the people in the picture were "real" might be interpreted as one way of evading the necessity to interpret the picture. It should also be pointed out that her denial was selective—she was able to respond to certain of the pictures even though they contained figures no more "real" than those so labeled in the "unreal" pictures.

This writer does not feel justified in attempting an interpretation based on these stories. The only hypothesis that might be advanced is that her difficulty in the situation was probably due to threatening associations which she could not suppress and which had an interfering effect on her productivity. Whereas Susan could somewhat overcome such a difficulty, Ida did not possess the resourcefulness, flexibility, or self-confidence to do so.

## LIFE HISTORY

Ida's life history is quite short and contains little detailed information on her childhood. She states that she does not remember her father because he died when she was very small. "Just my mother remained. She took care of me and every day went out and caught fish and brought them back and I was very happy." Ida's brother and two sisters lived in the house with them along with other members of the household.

When Ida was about four she and her mother went out fishing one night in the rock weirs and on the way home saw a ghost. Her mother became ill that night and died two nights later. "They were all asleep—only I was awake. My mother was sitting up; I reached out to touch her and she toppled over for she was dead. I cried. I woke up my two sisters and told them our mother was dead. They picked her up and cried too. [?] She was sick from going into the ocean every day to fish—the sea spirits made her sick. The next day all the people came and brought cloth and perfume. For a day and a night I just slept because I was so unhappy at the death of my mother."

After this Ida was cared for by her two older sisters. "They were just like my mother and took care of me well. [?] They beat me a few times but not much." Ida describes the usual play activities which she says occupied all of her time until she was "big"—playing on the sand spit, tug o' war, catching land crabs by moonlight. This is all Ida tells us of her childhood and most of this was elicited by questions.

She was then asked to tell of her puberty beginning with her first menstruation. She said that Norman came to sleep with her before her menses began—she was scared and did not want to have intercourse, but did. Other men had been coming to her sisters for some time but Ida was too small. It appears from her account, which is somewhat confused at this point, that Ida became betrothed to Norman but did not marry him for some time thereafter. Arthur was born shortly after they were married. In response to further questions Ida said only a midwife was present to assist her but "I was not scared with Arthur for it did not hurt much. With the rest it hurt a lot and I was scared."

Asked about her married life Ida said, "When we were first married Norman used to beat me somewhat but he does not any more. He objected to my going walking with friends for he thought I was seeing men." Ida said at this point that she had never slept with anyone but Norman, although later she indicated otherwise.

After this no further questions were asked prior to the final ones on her present status and Ida recounted spontaneously a series of episodes all concerned with her children. Ida had a hard time after the birth of Frances for she was born only ten months after Arthur, and Norman was away on Angaur at the time. When Arthur was able to walk but Ida was still carrying Frances they went with Norman and another man and his son to Uman to cut copra on Uman's reef islands: Ida mentions Arthur's insistence that they go out and look for the men one day, followed by his tears when they had gone a little way and he found that Ida could not carry him as well as Frances.

When Ida's next son (now thirteen and crippled) was born all the men had gone to Moen to work and Ida was alone with her sister. Although he was only nine or ten Arthur helped by getting firewood and climbing coconut trees to get drinking nuts. "I was scared when he did this but loved him for it because he was so small and yet took care of me. When my last son [now eleven] was born Norman was on Angaur for a

second time and Arthur and my older brother were the only ones taking care of us. When Norman was due to return Arthur went to Dublon to meet him. He brought back a chest and some cloth."

Ida describes an illness of her younger daughter (now sixteen and married). Ida's older brother tried to cure her but was not successful so Ida took her on a launch to go to the hospital on Dublon. She became worse on the way, however, and when she turned black Ida asked the launch captain to return to Romonum. Ida's older brother prepared some more medication and her daughter recovered.

Arthur went to Tol with Norman and an older "brother" of Ida's but they were caught in a typhoon on the way. They reached Falabeguets where a coconut tree fell on the roof of the house in which they took refuge. Ida was very worried lest something befall Arthur and asked her older brother to divine; her brother determined that Arthur was alive and Ida was relieved although she was still concerned over Frances and her little brother who were with her because they were crying with fright. She does not mention being worried over the fate of her husband or "brother." Later Arthur was on the boat which was strafed and sunk near Yawata; two of Ida's "brothers" were also aboard. Ida was distraught and again asked her brother to divine; he said that Arthur was alive but the other two dead. "But I was still very worried—I wasn't sure my brother was right." Arthur was later picked up "half crazy from exhaustion. The next day a launch came over from Dublon to get them and brought them here. I went out on the pier and saw Arthur. He had no clothes left but I took hold of him and cried on him. I would not have been so upset if he had been a man but he was still so young [about nineteen]."

When Frances was on Dublon and later Moen with her Japanese husband "Norman and I went over all the time to see her. We would go over, spend a couple of days with her, and then come back to make more food and return. Frances did not like rice and other Japanese food—she could only get full on Trukese food. Once we went on a motor launch but practically every other time we went in a paddling canoe. The rest of the children just stayed here." As we have noted previously this does not coincide with the accounts of either Norman or Frances; making the ten-mile trip over open water to Moen (Dublon is farther) in a paddling canoe is only done under the most exceptional circumstances.

In reply to a question Ida described her present status as being in the hands of God (this passage is quoted in the chapter, "The Trukese Adult"). She concluded: "I am happy now because I am getting old and I no longer want men to come to me. [?] They used to come to me and I did not say anything—I just did it and was bad." She mentioned one man she did not like because his thoughts were "bad"—"he just thinks about going to women but I don't like him." This man, Edward's older brother, is thirty and unmarried; he is the butt of many jokes over his inability to persuade women to let him sleep with them. For the future Ida just wants "to try very hard to live up to my religion so I will be at peace."

*Dreams.* Ida could remember only two current dreams. She could think of no meaning for the first: "Two birds came down from heaven, one big and one small; they were very white. They flew down and then the big one flew up and away again but I caught the little one and kept it." Her second dream was as follows:

I was living with my youngest boy [eleven] in a little house—not a real house, just a place under a rock. I brought the mosquito netting and went out and cut three pieces



of rope to use in hanging up the netting. Lots and lots of people came and went all the time and stopped in to see us. That is all I remember of it—I remember half and have forgotten half.

Asked for the meaning of this dream Ida's first response was, "I don't know. . . . Don't you know the meaning?" Asked for her own opinion she equated the objects in the dream with a funeral: the rock is a grave, the rope is used to make a shroud, the mosquito netting one stays under during a serious illness, and all the people were coming to the funeral.

*Discussion.* Ida's life experience—or as much of it as we know—differed from that of others principally in that she was orphaned early in her childhood and, instead of being adopted by an older relative, was cared for by her own sisters. She thus had her physical needs satisfied but presumably lacked any adult parental figure with whom she could identify. She was furthermore dependent upon her sisters not only for her food and care at home but presumably also for her support outside in the play groups. Since we have concluded that the concreteness and inflexibility of the Trukese approach to their life problems is largely a function of their difficulty in forming an adequate parental identification, and that their inhibition of the expression of strong feeling is primarily a generalization of the behavior they have to adopt in order to maintain the support of their brothers and sisters in childhood, it is not surprising that Ida should show in her tests an extreme of both concreteness and inhibition. She had no parent with whom she could identify as she grew up and was more than most dependent upon her brother and sisters. We are not, however, able to spell out with any more precision the manner in which her attitudes developed.

It is possible that Ida's preoccupation with her children, and her emphasis on her concern over their welfare, result from an increase in her overall anxiety and sense of inadequacy as she grows older. As a child she had no parents upon whom she could depend, and after her marriage Norman was often away just when she needed him the most. Now she approaches old age and Norman, never very reliable, is growing older with her. She thus sees her only hope of support in her children and is trying to assure herself (and them) that she is deserving of their help in return for the help she gave them in the past.

### NANCY

AGE 42 (?). POPULARITY: LOW

Nancy is probably at least fifty although her age is given in the island records as forty-two. Her parents died when she was a young adult. She had one older sister, now dead, who grew to adulthood. Her father's lineage is large but that of her mother small. Her husband is also dead; he fathered three children: a woman now thirty-two who lives on Udot, a boy who died in his first year, and a boy now sixteen. Nancy has a harelip, considered to be a very ugly deformity by the Trukese.

### RORSCHACH

The distinctive feature in this record is that the usual signs of conflict, evasiveness, and anxiety are only minimally present. Although she is uncritical and concrete, these

characteristics do not seem to be so closely related to conflict or stress as in most of the other women. One might characterize her as superficial and childlike. Whereas in many of the records there were some indications that one was dealing with a more complex person than was initially apparent, there are no such signs in the case of Nancy. She approached the test with a rigid and concrete set and did not appear to be bothered, or aware, or in doubt about the inadequacies and lack of realism in most of her responses. She gives little or no indications of self-expression but, unlike the others, this does not seem to be due to avoidance or suppressive mechanisms. Like some of the older men she tends at times to bring in irrelevancies. It is difficult to see from this record how Nancy would or could be distinctive in a positive sense. If one made any prediction it would be that Nancy stands out negatively.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Nancy's stories are short, almost exclusively concern eating and fishing, and with one exception never contain figures who express feeling of any kind. What is perhaps most perhaps distinctive in the protocol is that many of the stories either bear little relation to the stimulus picture, or aspects of the picture which are usually responded to are not responded to at all, or figures usually described as being of one sex are described by Nancy as being of the other. Since there is little evidence that she was being evasive or resistant, one concludes that Nancy's performance is that of a person with poor reality testing. Why her intellectual adequacy and reality testing should be inadequate is not possible to determine.

#### LIFE HISTORY

Nancy's life history is very short and she required almost constant questioning to produce even this scanty record. As her harelip made her difficult to understand, Andy was present at the outset to assist in translation. When, as will be seen, his presence interfered with her account, he left; by that time I was used to her speech and was able with occasional repetition to understand her. Her life history follows in its entirety; she offered no dreams.

I don't remember my childhood. I will start with now, when I am grown. [Insisted on childhood. What did you do every day when you were small?] I just played all day; I went in to eat and then went out to play again. I came in to eat again, and then went out again. My parents were angry with me because I was always out playing. [?] They wanted me to stay in the house; they didn't want me to go far away where they could not keep an eye on me.

[Remember one day when they were angry with you?] I was out playing and was late in getting back. They were angry at me and beat me. I was angry at them for beating me and picked up a stick and beat them. [?] I only beat them once but they beat me many, many times; I cried. [?] I was about three or four at the time.

[?] When I was a little bigger they no longer beat me—they just talked to me. I kept on playing a lot. [?] We used to play a game on the beach [in which two people take turns, one hiding stones in holes and the other looking for them; there are many holes but only one stone]. When my parents called me in I ate and then slept. When I was through sleeping I would go out and play, often very far from the house.

When I was big but had not yet had any children they stopped beating me entirely.

[Men started coming to you?] No men ever came to me because I am ugly; I just gave birth to children. [At this point Andy left.] I was married, but no other men came to me. I had a husband but you must not let people know about him. [?] He lived in my house with me until he died; it was quite a while. I became pregnant while we were still betrothed; later we were married. [?] He came one night, woke me up, and slept with me that night. He left the next morning. But the next night he came again and stayed. [?] He asked my mother and father first and they liked him a little; afterwards he came to me and I wanted him too. [?] They were my real parents.

[?] I was about fourteen when I was betrothed. My parents said we were betrothed, but he had not yet come to me. Later, when I was about eighteen he came to me. After we were married I became pregnant. My daughter [aged thirty-two, now living on Udot] was born, later a boy who died young, and then my son [aged sixteen].

[?] I don't want people to know about my being married to my husband because he is dead now and people don't know about it; his relatives would be embarrassed if they knew he had been married to me. [Repeated questions failed to elicit a statement as to the reason for this. He appears in the genealogies only as her sister's husband, and is of the same lineage as Andy's father.]

[?] I don't remember the death of my parents. [?] My father died before I had had any children, but my mother died after I had given birth to my second child who died. [Asked for what she did when her mother died.] I cried and could not eat that day any more; the next day I started eating again. I was very unhappy over this for a long time.

[?] When my husband died—later than my mother's death—I again cried and could not eat that day, although I started eating the next day.

[Present status.] I am very happy now that the Americans are here because during the war we were in constant trouble but now there is no more trouble. But I am a little concerned because there is no one to stay with my children: I have no husband, no mother, no sisters. [Her son does not live with her.]

[?] My daughter went to school on Udot and there she saw a lot of an Udot man. They decided they wanted to get married so he came to me and asked me if I would permit it. I said yes, and they were married. [?] I was very happy when she married; now they bring food over to me from Udot.

[?] When my daughter was small I fed her at the breast and with coconut water. When she was bigger and began to understand things I used to beat her a lot. I beat her whenever she was naughty, and she was naughty to me a lot; I would tell her things, she would disobey, and I would beat her. Then she would cry and I would feel sorry for her. [?] It was the same way with my son.

*Discussion.* There is little to distinguish Nancy's account of her childhood from the usual fairly restrictive pattern we have observed in others. It is apparent that something unusual was involved in her relationship with her husband but we do not know what it might have been. On the basis of this record it is impossible to draw any conclusions upon which we could place any reliance.

In regard to her tests it should be noted that there is a possibility that the inadequacy of Nancy's responses may have been due in part to faulty eyesight. Although an attempt was made to control this factor the Trukese look upon poor eyesight as a sign of senility and are hesitant to admit it. Nancy may therefore have been trying simply to

bluff her way through the tests without admitting a defect. It should also be borne in mind that a woman of Nancy's age has probably had little experience in looking at two-dimensional pictures and would thus be further handicapped.

### NORMA

#### AGE 43. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Norma's parents both died in her infancy. She has one living older brother; we do not know of her having had any other siblings. The lineage of her father is large but her own lineage at present consists only of Norma and her brother. Norma's husband died fairly recently; they had two children: a girl now nine and a boy who died at six months. Norma lives at present in Sam's father's household.

### RORSCHACH

This woman was more affected by the examiner's questioning than anyone else. In the first card she became insecure, fearful, and dependent and seemed to spend the rest of her time figuring out ways of stopping the examiner's questions. As one would expect, the adequacy of her responses suffered. It is, therefore, difficult to say very much about Norma. Unlike Susan, Norma could not respond aggressively to the examiner. She is clearly different from Nancy in that she is much more concerned about what is right and wrong and much more conscious of herself in relation to the examiner. She probably is not an aggressive person. The fact that she was able to respond despite her insecurity and dependence—that she tried to adjust to the task—might be taken as an indication that she is ordinarily capable of more adequate responsiveness. In a sense Norma is an example, perhaps an extreme one, of how the Trukese handle new or stressful or conflictful situations: they become submissive, dependent, fearful and constricted.

### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Norma's stories were too scanty and inadequate to permit any conclusions to be drawn from them. She struggled vainly with two pictures and the test was then abandoned as hopeless of completion.

### LIFE HISTORY

When I was small I used to play all the time; my parents would call me to eat, I would come in and eat, and then go out and play again. But I don't remember anything special because I did not understand things yet. [Asked her to start with when she began to understand things.]

When I was a little bigger and began to understand things I no longer could talk to my parents because they were dead. [?] They died when I was small and I don't remember their deaths. [?] Another woman and her husband took me over; both are dead now. [She was Norma's father's sister's granddaughter.] All I remember about her is her funeral, for she, too, died when I was small. I cried and cried. They dressed her body with turmeric and put on head ornaments and necklaces.

After that I stayed with various relatives, mostly with the sister of the woman who cared for me. [?] They loved me. [?] They did not beat me.



[Adolescence?] I just played. [Did men come to you?] No. [Why?] I didn't want them to. [Why?] I did not yet think about men. If they came to me I did not want to do anything. If I was out walking and they spoke to me I did not want to either.

[?] Up to the time I married my husband I had not slept with anyone. I talked to him at first when we met outside, but I did not sleep with him. Then later he and his father came to the relatives with whom I was living and asked their permission. [?] I had two children while I was married to him. A girl [nine] and a boy who died. We lived with my husband's mother.

[What do you remember from the time you were married?] Nothing. [Did you have a lover?] No. [?] My husband died a while ago. [?] I cried and cried. Later, after staying in his house a while I returned to my house. [What did you do every day after you came back to your house?] Nothing. [Did you work?] No. [?] Now I am not very happy because there is no man to do the work and to get food. [?] I eat with the members of my household.

*Dreams.* Norma reported two dreams which occurred the night before she recounted her life history. She was unable to ascribe any meaning to them.

I dreamed that a woman came to me and gave me a present of something. [?] I don't remember what it was except that it was red. Then I went to sleep again and a cat cried; I woke up again, thinking the cat was a ghost. I woke up my daughter and asked her to bring me a blanket because I had dreamed and at the same time a cat had cried so I was scared and chilled. I did not dream any more.

*Discussion.* The fairly extreme inadequacy which Norma showed on her Rorschach coupled with the fact that she was not brought up by her parents or even foster parents suggests that her case may be parallel to that of Ida's. Her record is, however, so meager that even this conclusion must remain tentative and inferential.

## RACHEL

### AGE 48. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Rachel's mother and father died when she was adult. Her brothers and sisters are listed in Irene's record; Rachel is the third of six children who grew to adulthood, Irene being the youngest. Rachel also mentions two births prior to Irene's: a stillbirth girl and a boy who died in two weeks. The lineages of both her parents are large.

After refusing a marriage arranged by her parents Rachel was married briefly to a man of her choosing and then married Thomas to whom she was still married at the time of her interviews. They have had no children although they successively adopted Irene and Roger as infants. Thomas is mentioned in several life histories but was not interviewed for this study. He succeeded Theodore as chief of Chorong but during our stay on Romonum this office was of little importance because the chief of Winisi was acting under the aegis of the administration as chief of the entire island.

## RORSCHACH

This is a woman who shows a somewhat unusual combination of characteristics. Despite the fact that her thinking is very concrete and that there are within her strong

inhibitory tendencies, she appears to be a rather spontaneous and assertive individual. Although there is an aggressive connotation to her assertiveness she is not hostile; rather, she appears to be more expressive and assertive than some of the others. But Rachel is not a reflective, self-appraising kind of woman. She is somewhat impulsive and diffuse and although she would probably not shrink so much as some others from a conflict situation it is doubtful whether her reactions would be effective.

There is in this record evidence to suggest that Rachel has some kind of bodily concern. A good proportion of her responses concerns animals which are "big," either being big and fat, or big and flat. It was in the giving of these responses that Rachel showed her poorest thinking. One possible hypothesis is that Rachel is set to see big things as a sort of compensation for some kind of real or imaginary bodily inadequacy. It might be, for example, that Rachel is small or skinny or perhaps sexually inadequate. That size is for some unknown reason of concern to her can be seen from the one animal response in which she did not mention bigness: here she was careful to point out the animal had a small snout and small legs.

It is, of course, possible that these responses are not a reflection of some kind of bodily concern but rather a direct reflection of Rachel's values: big things are better or more highly valued than small ones. It may be, for example, that Rachel views herself as bigger or better than others. It is extremely difficult to decide with much assurance among the various significances which can be attached to the unusual but consistent content of Rachel's responses. This interpreter favors the first hypothesis: Rachel has some kind of bodily (or sexual) preoccupation. What most strongly suggests that this concern is a dominating one is that Rachel's adequacy was poor when the unusual content was given.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

That Rachel could not respond to some pictures and gave sparse, superficial or inadequate stories to others does not seem to be explained by her poor eyesight. It is interesting to examine the sequence of her stories: she was able to give some kind of story to the first two pictures, to the third ("attractive woman") she could not give one, to the fourth ("no dresses on") she could not spontaneously make up a story, and with the fifth (nude children) she again had trouble. This selective kind of response suggests associations with nudity or sexuality may have caused blocking. In this connection it is important to note that to Picture 12 she describes an old, nude woman who is a little crazy. If this hypothesis is tenable then one might say that Rachel has some kind of sexual concern. It is as if she is set to be aware of sexuality and the effect of such awareness is interference with her functioning. Besides, on two occasions she describes women as neat and attractive. If neatness and attractiveness have some kind of sexual connotations, as is suggested especially by her comment to and blocking on Picture 5, then the fact that Rachel is presumably an "old" woman suggests again that in some way or other sexuality is a central problem for her. It is probably not fortuitous that in such a sparse record the majority of themes relate to sexuality.

Rachel's story to Picture 7 deserves mention. Spontaneously she says the women have no dresses on and are working, but as a result of examiner prodding she explains their nude or semi-nude condition as a result of games they are playing. This story is men-

tioned here because it suggests that nudity is not always taboo among the Trukese but only in certain relationships. The fact that women seem to be affected more than men by the theme suggests that the taboos work against the women more than against the men. This writer cannot refrain from a *speculation* based on a story told by Norman and one given by Rachel: among Trukese women there is some kind of relationship between nudity and sexual exhibitionism.

### LIFE HISTORY

Rachel's life history exceeds in length even that of Eleanor and is thus the longest in our series. It was given spontaneously with only a minimum of questions for clarification during six working days spread over a ten-day period. The account, however, contains several internal inconsistencies and other demonstrable inaccuracies which appear to be rather clearly intended to present a picture of Rachel's life experience which is at variance with the actualities. In cases of this sort it is of course far easier to tell the direction in which the story is slanted than it is to determine what the unbiased facts were in the first place. For this reason Rachel's account cannot be considered very reliable. On the other hand, it is by no means all fantasy and in general outline is probably essentially correct.

Rachel's account of her early childhood is worthy of extensive quotation if only as a good example of the lack of consideration of children's needs by authoritarian Trukese parents. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that she is reporting in great detail the events of some forty-five years ago when she was a child of three; we are therefore not safe in assuming that the events described took place exactly as reported although they very possibly are representative of her life at the time.

When I was small I wanted to go out and play with the other little children but my parents would not let me. They told me I would have to wait until I was a little bigger, so I just stayed around the house. When I started to go out they would call me back. They used to complain that I kept wanting to eat all the time, but I explained that this was just because I stayed home so much: other children were out playing and only came in occasionally to eat, but I was there all the time.

One day when I was about three or so my mother and father were fixing their food and I said I wanted some and started crying. I told them I was hungry and wanted to eat right then. My father told me to be quiet, that I was small and my elders would eat first and then I would eat after. He beat me for crying so much and speaking up and being disobedient and I just lay down and waited. When they were through eating they gave me my food. Later that day I said I wanted to go out playing and they refused to let me. I cried, and they beat me again. They told me if I went out some child would beat me but I insisted there was no one who would want to beat me. Finally I gave up; I realized there was no purpose in trying because if I went out I would just get beaten when I came back, so I stayed home. But it was a hard lot, and I did not like it.

Later when I was a little bigger my mother told me one day I could go out and play, but only for a little while and not far from the house, for if my father came home and found I was not there he would beat me. So I went out, just outside the house, and later went a little way away from the house. Some of the children called me to come along with them but I told them I had to go back or I would get beaten,

so I went back to my house. My mother was pleased to see I had come home when I was told to. Then my father came home with some breadfruit and they divided it up and gave me some while they ate the rest.

One day when I was small my mother told me to come along and bathe with her, and got ready to pick me up. She said she was going to rub my hair with coconut oil first but I said that was bad, I did not want it. She gave me a quick slap and told me not to use that kind of fresh language with her; she said it was proper she should oil my hair and she was going to. So she did, and then she picked me up and we went off bathing. When she got back she told my father to take me because she was going to fix some food. I cried again because I wanted to go with her and not stay at home with my father. But they would not permit that and she left. I wanted some food and took some but my father slapped me and told me not to grab food that way; if I grabbed it I would just get it all messed up and we would not have any left. I cried again and then went and lay down. I went to sleep, and after a while my mother was through and called my father to bring me along and they would feed me. I cried because I was still sleepy and did not want to get up. He told me to come along anyway or I would be hungry but I could not wake up. I went back and slept again; in the late afternoon they woke me and told me to get up and eat. I cried because I still was not through sleeping and my father told me to be quiet or he would slap me again, for it was not good to cry and eat at the same time.

Rachel says she was still nursing as well as eating solid food when she was five until one day her father said she was to stop. He put pepper and breadfruit sap on her mother's breasts and thus prevented Rachel from nursing. Not only is it most unusual for a child to be nursing this long but it is almost certain that Rachel's next younger brother was born appreciably less than five years later than she. It would also hardly be necessary to use repellents on the breast to wean a child who had already been talking for over two years. We can only conclude that here Rachel has falsified or fabricated her story, presumably to make her father appear more formidable. On the other hand she says that when she was six her father was still chewing up food for her until she told him she knew how to feed herself and he need not bother. Premasticating food is only done for children who do not yet have teeth so we must conclude that this episode is also untrue—but here it appears to be intended to show her father to be exceptionally nurturant!

When she was a little older Rachel says she was taught to do small jobs around the house. She describes crying frequently when she wanted something or wanted to go with her parents; sometimes they beat her for crying and on other occasions took her along or otherwise acceded to her wishes. Rachel was told not to go swimming with the other children but one time she did go. When she returned her parents were angry and beat her. "They told me I must not do it again for I would surely die and since I was their only child it would be terrible for them if they lost me." This is pure fantasy as Rachel at this time had at least two older brothers and probably one or both of her younger brothers had been born. Asked about this she launched into an account of the stillbirth of a younger sister and the early death of a younger brother; their deaths distressed her very much and led to her taking the next child, Irene, herself, so that she would not also die at the hands of her mother. At the end of this digression Rachel was asked more specifically about her other living siblings and she made no reply, returning to a discussion of her childhood.



"When I was a little bigger they started teaching me a little about work so that I would be able to take care of myself a little bit if they should die and so that they would not have to keep telling me what to do." At first this was just a matter of picking up firewood when she saw it and bringing water home from the spring. Then one night when Rachel was about eight her father brought home a big fish and told Rachel to broil it. He lay down and watched her as she struggled with the task. When Rachel had burned herself for the second time . . .

my mother felt sorry for me and told me to move away from the fire while she finished the job. But my father spoke to her sharply and told her if she helped me at all he would beat her. She was scared of him and just stayed where she was, so I did it myself. Finally it was all done and I had the fish wrapped up. Then my father told me to hang the package up. At this I cried because it was too heavy for me to lift up to the peg, and my father felt a little sorry for me. He told me I had done enough and he would hang it up so I could rest. I lay down and went to sleep; I did not eat because I was too tired and sleepy.

This was the first of a series of tasks Rachel describes being taught—baking or broiling large numbers of fish, making carrying baskets, broiling and peeling breadfruit, and catching small crabs for bait. She mentions being tired of working at food production all the time and showing her impatience one day, but her father said he was tired and "I felt sorry for him because he had not had anything to eat all day and was getting a little old so I worked hard at broiling some breadfruit for him." One day her mother was ill and Rachel bathed her, oiled her hair, and insisted that she eat. Her mother did not want to eat but did so at Rachel's insistence; when her mother had recovered, Rachel pointed out it was because she had eaten. Her mother in turn told Rachel that this demonstrated the value of all the tasks she had learned because she was now able to take care of her parents when they became ill.

Rachel was asked whether she did not play at all at this time. She replied, "I would have played if they had told me I should, but they wanted me to stay around the house and listen to what they had to say and do the things they told me to. When my father went to the house of a 'mother' or 'father' of his I went with him and played but that was all."

Rachel gives a long description (five typed pages) of her learning to make woven waist mats (*lavalavas*), a process which began when she was thirteen. In the initial phases of her learning her parents made her begin by herself several of the many steps in the manufacture of *lavalavas* from hibiscus and banana fibers. When she got into difficulties they laughed at her and then finished the job themselves. When it came time for Rachel to learn to make the basket in which the fibers are placed for weaving her father took her over to his mother's house in order to have her teach Rachel this skill which her own mother did not possess. Her father's mother was indignant that they should be teaching Rachel so much when she was so young. When her father insisted that his mother make a basket she did so; but she did it rapidly and refused to answer Rachel's questions. They thus acquired a basket but Rachel did not learn how to make one herself. Rachel then continued her learning—how to dye the fibers, set up the loom, weave, and so on. "Whenever I complained of being tired of learning these different kinds of work all the time

they would speak to me sternly; then I would just work on, afraid they would beat me." Finally when she was seventeen Rachel made her first lavalava. She told her mother she was going to play at her father's mother's house and stayed there two days making the lavalava. When she was ready to leave her grandmother cried and asked her to stay longer and not leave her alone. Rachel promised to return and brought her masterpiece home to surprise her parents. They were delighted; they congratulated her and her father said her mother would wear it herself rather than trade it to the men who came in from Puluwat as was customary.

It is interesting that in the middle of Rachel's account of her travails in learning to make lavalavas she mentions her father carrying her inland one day on his back. Since she was by her account at least thirteen at the time this appears most unlikely. She also digressed to tell of a lecture she received for no apparent reason from her parents on the subject of not repeating gossip. "I agreed with them and before I went to sleep that night I decided I would try very hard to remember what my father had told me so that I would not be spreading harmful gossip. I was afraid I might tell my father something sometime which would make him angry and cause him to get in a fight; this was my own idea."

When Rachel was eighteen a young man's father approached Rachel's father with the proposal that their children marry. Rachel's father approved but told Rachel he would not force her. That night the man and his father came; Rachel's father told her to go with them for just one night and see whether she liked him. Rachel departed in tears; she did not sleep, eat, or permit the man intercourse that night and in the morning left. She went to her father's mother's house where her father found her in the morning. His mother berated him for forcing Rachel into a marriage she did not want and told him to leave Rachel with her because he was not treating her properly. Rachel told him the same thing. Her grandmother said that if the man had been her lover first Rachel would have wanted to marry him but otherwise it was unfair to ask her. Her father left in embarrassment.

Rachel stayed with her grandmother a month, after which her father returned and apologized to his daughter, asking her to come home with him. His mother intervened and said Rachel would come in a week or two. Rachel said two weeks. She was anxious to remain because by then she had a lover. Within a few days they were married. They went to live in Rachel's parents' house but Rachel insisted that any food her husband brought they should take to her grandmother because she was so old and weak.

Within a few months, however, her husband began to suspect Rachel of having a lover. After a number of arguments he beat her and left the house. Rachel's father asked her what the trouble had been and after at first saying it was only her business she told him. He suggested she tell her husband her father had said he should not beat her any more. Rachel later did so and her husband was furious. He came home and fought with Rachel's father, beating him. "I felt very sorry for my father—it was as if my husband were beating me. Finally he left to go to his own house and I sat down by my father. I asked him if he was in pain and he said no, he did not want to be in pain. I asked him if it would be all right for me to get rid of my husband and he said it was up to me: if I wanted to get rid of him I should, and if I did not I should not. I was very happy and divorced my husband."

Shortly thereafter Thomas asked Rachel to marry him. Rachel points out carefully that she and Thomas had not yet slept together but at the same time Thomas was the cause of her former husband's suspicions. Rachel recounts a long conversation with Thomas in which she asked him if he would be good, not get angry with her or her father, and so on. He said he would be good and they were married after obtaining the approval of their respective parents.

From then until now Thomas has not beaten me once nor been angry with me. Later when my father was sick and almost dead he brought every kind of food and other things he thought my father might want. People ask us how we can get along so well together but it is just because he cannot get angry at me. If any of my brothers ask him to do anything he just does it and if there is something he cannot do alone I ask my brothers to help him and they do.

This ideal picture is documented by Rachel in a long account of the first years of their marriage; she places strong emphasis on the willing cooperation between themselves and their respective parents and other relatives. On the other hand, she noted that on one occasion she refused to cook some fish for her brothers on the grounds that they too had wives who could do their own cooking. Later Rachel rebelled against the amount of work Thomas and her parents were demanding that she do; Rachel went on working, however, when her father told her mother to do Rachel's work for her. Her mother was old and weak and Rachel was ashamed. The most striking illustration of the fact that Thomas was not in all respects the ideal husband Rachel would have us believe appears near the end of her account. This concerned a pig which was nominally Roger's; Rachel's older brother as lineage head wished to appropriate the pig to use in an inter-lineage food fight. Thomas flatly refused to let him have it unless he paid for it. As we have noted a man's brother-in-law is the one relative whose request he cannot refuse. Rachel's brother observed that he could either overlook the episode or else ask Rachel to terminate her marriage. He decided to overlook it but did not speak to Thomas for months.

It is not clear when Irene was born. Early in her account Rachel said she was sixteen at the time; later she said she and Thomas were married when she was eighteen and Irene was born some time later. The second version is probably closer to being correct. It was noted above that Rachel attributed her desire to adopt Irene to the death of the two children born before her. In this first description of the adoption Rachel stated emphatically that she would not permit Irene to be nursed at all by her mother, feeding her instead on coconut water and later moistened breadfruit. When she embarked upon a more complete description of Irene's upbringing, however, Rachel said that her mother nursed Irene for several months but stopped at Rachel's request before Irene could sit up by herself. Rachel mentions twice that her mother had to nurse Irene because she had no milk in her own breasts. She describes several times the inconvenience and loss of sleep occasioned by her taking care of Irene, but at the same time says she resisted all of her parents' suggestions that the baby was perhaps too much trouble. But Rachel says that her mother recognized that the baby would only stop crying if Rachel cared for her, and when Thomas also insisted that they were going to keep Irene her mother ceased to protest. Thomas also told her mother not to pick Irene up often lest she not know who was to be her mother. When the baby had been weaned and could sit up "she used to call me 'mama' and Thomas 'papa'—it never occurred to her she was not my own child."

At this time Rachel's mother went about her daily tasks but Rachel just cared for the baby. Rachel had a hard time weaning Irene who continually cried, "missing the breast," but they finally found she would eat broiled breadfruit satisfactorily.

When Irene was about a year old Rachel left her with Thomas and went to Foup on Tol to teach a "sister" of hers how to make lavalavas. Thomas came over later with the baby and Rachel describes her "sister's" surprise to find that the baby was not Rachel's own. After her return from Tol Rachel began doing a little work in the gardens but at Thomas' insistence she did not work all of every day.

When Irene was four she was "still very small and thin." Thomas told her to feed Irene well and Rachel said she would. This thinness of Irene's may have been a result of the illness she describes in her life history; Rachel does not mention it. About this time Thomas went away on a trip and Rachel went with Irene to stay with his mother. His mother wanted her to leave Irene with her after Thomas' return but Rachel would not agree.

When Irene was nine, however, she did visit Thomas' mother. This was to be for only two weeks but was extended an indeterminate amount of time at the combined insistence of Irene and Thomas' mother. As we noted in discussing Irene's life history it is for this reason that Rachel feels Irene does not know how to do anything as an adult. "She just eats but she cannot prepare any food herself. Now that she is older and married I have left her on her own to take care of herself because I cannot keep on worrying about her. But she knows very little, all because Thomas' mother would not permit her to learn." We have already described Rachel's indignation over Irene's marriages.

After Irene married, Rachel approached her eldest brother for a child to take in adoption. Her brother agreed because Rachel says he was very fond of Thomas for all the things he had done for her brother's other children. A month after Roger was born Rachel took him home with her. "I have had a hard time for I have brought up two children neither of them born from within me, for Thomas is bad and has not had any children of his own. But my brother told everybody not to tell him I was not his real mother." It should be noted that the failure to have children is usually ascribed by the Trukese exclusively to the wife, presumably in implicit recognition of the fact that the husband is not the only man with whom she is sleeping.

Roger was fed sugar cane and coconuts. Rachel's brother offered to take him back because Roger cried all the time but, as in the case of Irene, Rachel insisted she would keep him. Two months after Rachel took him Roger was very sick with a high fever; Rachel's brother and his wife stayed with them for three days until Roger had recovered somewhat. When Roger was three he was still crying all the time; Rachel says that he would cry when he wanted something without even asking for it first.

Roger finally stopped crying because Thomas beat him every time he did. Finally one day he told me he was not going to cry any more. I asked him if he realized he was beaten every time he cried and he said he did—that was why he was going to stop. Later he went to Thomas and apologized to him for having cried so much; Thomas said it was all right as long as he did not cry any more and realized that if he kept on crying he would just be beaten.

Rachel says Roger was about seven at the time her parents died, her father first and her mother soon after. It will be remembered that Irene stated her father (who is of



course also Rachel's) died when she was three; this discrepancy is unresolved by our data. Rachel's description of their deaths appears in the chapter, "Death"; after her mother's death "Irene and I cried and cried because we were miserable—both our parents had died very quickly and I was left all alone." Rachel also remarked, "Since my parents died things have been very hard for me for there is no one to bring me fish to eat. Thomas makes fresh or preserved breadfruit but it just sits there because there is no fish to go with it. I am thin, very thin, and from this I can realize how much I miss my parents—many, many times I do not eat all day because there is no one to bring me any fish. When I started working for you [i.e., Rachel's tests and interviews] last week and could not go out fishing I did not eat for two days." Rachel goes on to describe her valiant efforts to carry on alone until the present and Thomas' sympathy with her in her plight.

Two years later, when Roger was nine, he was on the list of children who were to go to school on Udot. Although Rachel was convinced that all her property would be stolen in her absence she undertook to go to Udot with Roger. Her brother was persuaded to move into their house, however, and was presumably able to keep the thieves at bay. Rachel, Thomas, and Roger moved in with a man who was lame and blind—his relationship to them, if any, is not specified. He could not get any food and they were thus dependent on a weekly visit from Romonum by Rachel's brother (Roger's father). However, one week there was a storm and he could not get over; they all ran out of food and Rachel says this was particularly hard for Roger for he was not used to being without food. However the wife of the local chief found out about their difficulties and invited them to live with her. After some indecision they all moved over to the chief's house. Rachel became a "sister" of the chief's wife and they gave Thomas a plot of land to plant to supply themselves with their own food in addition to that which they would obtain in the household. Rachel describes her "sister" as very generous, giving them more land to work at intervals and in general taking care of them very well. Most of Rachel's lengthy account of the years on Udot consists in a discussion of their work, including her occasional weariness. Rachel says she returned to Romonum twice during the three years Roger was in school, once to visit her brother and once to be on hand when a lineage "brother" died. It will be remembered that Roger says he was alone on Udot throughout his schooling; as far as can be determined, in actuality Rachel and Thomas remained with Roger through the first half of his three school years and then returned, except for visits to Udot, to remain on Romonum.

At the completion of Roger's schooling on Udot he went to Dublon. Although Roger says again that he was alone, Rachel describes in detail her travails while staying with him. In this case it appears that Rachel is correct; however, instead of the year and a half she describes, Roger actually remained in school on Dublon only six months prior to the outbreak of hostilities on Truk at which time the schools were closed. They lived with a "brother" of Rachel's younger brother and, although he was anxious to provide for them, they were chronically without food due to the lack of gardens in the village in which they lived. Thomas and the family of Rachel's "sister" on Udot made trips over bringing food as frequently as possible; this was practically their only food. Rachel described her difficulties during this time so repetitiously that she finally had to be requested to limit herself in this regard—her food problems on Dublon had already covered three typewritten pages.

On their return Rachel went with Thomas to Udot where they worked in the garden plots given them by Rachel's "sister." Then they returned again to Romonum and worked their gardens there. Rachel also made some lavalavas which they later traded for rope and other things brought by some men from Puluwat.

The remainder of Rachel's account consists in a series of reminiscences of various episodes in the past. It was at this point that she described the difficulties between Thomas and her brother over Roger's pig during a food fight. She also recollected a food fight a number of years before in which her older brother was the leader of their lineage group and overwhelmed the other lineage. At another time there was a typhoon; some Puluwat boats were at Romonum at the time and Thomas helped them out, providing them with food and helping them carry their sailing canoes inshore away from the waves.

Two of Rachel's brothers were sick at one time and she brought them food, massaged them, and otherwise was very solicitous. Later Thomas was sick and one of Rachel's brothers came to stay with them to care for Thomas. Quite a while later Rachel herself was sick; she recovered after her brother had called in and paid a man to divine for a cure and then brought the practitioner specified to the house. Rachel used her illness and Thomas' as an excuse to do less work, contending that they were wearing their bodies out by so much manual labor, but Thomas and her brothers prevailed upon her to keep on working. Eleanor, also in Rachel's lineage, was sick after the birth of her last baby and was cured by a practitioner Rachel suggested. "I just watch over them all; since then none of us have been sick." When hostilities were about to begin on Truk Irene was on Uman; Rachel sent for her and asked her to return so that if they died they would be together. After this Rachel was very active in seeing that all means were used to assure the family food supply. She does not mention any actual episodes during the war.

Rachel concluded by saying that when her mother died she realized she still did not know how to make a fish net; she asked the storekeeper's mother to teach her. After she had made her first net she brought the first fish she caught with it to the storekeeper's mother.

Rachel was asked what happened to her older brother. She described his last illness and death. Everyone gathered shortly before he died and "I told all the people in our family to take care of his children just as though they were our own." Rachel was very unhappy.

In regard to her present status Rachel said she had not been really happy since her brother died. "I was heavy-hearted over the loss of my mother and father but even more so over the death of my brother." She said she had no particular desires for the present or the future. She likes the members of her lineage but does not like anyone else and does not care whether they like her or not. "I don't mind being old for that is just the way things are—it is time for me to be old and weak and it cannot be helped."

*Dreams.* Rachel told of two current dreams; both were short and she could ascribe meaning to neither. In the first, Tony (Rachel's "child" because he is married to Roger's sister) brought her a long chain of a type often purchased by the Trukese to wear as ornaments. She wondered why he gave her such a long chain and then woke up. In the second dream she was chased by a cow; it almost kicked her but Rachel was able to reach a sloping breadfruit tree up which she could climb and escape; from there she shouted at the cow to go away and awoke.

*Discussion.* As we have noted before, Rachel introduced enough inaccuracies in her account to make any conclusions based upon it hazardous. We are, however, probably safe in saying that her treatment by her parents was inconsistent and restrictive to an unusual degree. It is apparent that Rachel resented this treatment, and the work she was constantly asked to do when she was a little older, but beyond this we cannot tell what her attitude toward her parents actually was, or even what sort of picture of them she was trying to present to me. This is especially true of her father; as we have seen in describing a single period in her life she deliberately distorted the facts (whatever they may actually have been) to show her father at one time unusually cruel and at another exceptionally kindly.

Rachel cried a great deal and one obtains the impression that she was a petulant, "spoiled" child. This raises the possibility that she was subjected to the same sort of overprotection we saw she extended to Roger. Her remark that her parents referred to her as an only child is puzzling. It is possible that her mother was very anxious (for an unknown reason) to have a daughter and when Rachel was born after two boys her mother "spoiled" her as perhaps her only daughter. In any event her parents seemingly had great expectations for her, teaching her at an exceptionally early age the skills most women do not even contemplate learning until they are adult—and many women even in the old days never learned to make lavalavas, for example, at all.

Although Rachel complained over having to work so much it is evident that she took pride in the knowledge she acquired. She was obviously bursting with pride when she surprised her parents with her first lavalava, later tried in vain to teach Irene her skills, and to the present is proud of her abilities. At several points in her life history Rachel refers contemptuously to the other women who cannot make lavalavas, and when during our stay we requested that some be made for collection purposes it was Rachel who organized the operation and made more than any other woman. She also stresses her knowledge of all the other crafts and food production techniques open to women. All of this points to a desire on Rachel's part to excel; more particularly her achievements are in the direction taught her by her mother, with the encouragement of her father. Thus, in spite of her obvious ambivalence toward her parents, it appears that Rachel was able to attain a fairly strong identification with her mother. But because of her restricted childhood she is rather inadequate in dealing with her equals; this is reflected in the inhibition shown in her Rorschach and more particularly in her own remark at the end of her life history that she does not like anyone outside of her lineage, which is fortunately large. Within the circle of her kinsmen she can afford to be assertive and in fact rather possessive, but beyond this group she draws the line and does not venture.

In spite of her knowledge, however, there was one area in which Rachel could not emulate her mother's achievements: Rachel bore no children. Her mother on the other hand was notably prolific. That this was a blow to Rachel she shows not only in her various remarks but also in her attitude toward her adopted children. She furthermore extends the possessiveness she shows in caring for her children to her other kinsmen—"I just watch over them all." Because she could not have children of her own Rachel has tried to be a mother to all her relatives. One might even surmise that her supposedly prodigious efforts in producing food were a substitute for not being able to produce children. Like the rearing of her adopted children these efforts are burdensome, but very important.

The reflection of Rachel's concern over her inability to have children is striking in her Rorschach. It is most probably this, rather than any direct concern over sexuality, which prompts her to see things as big and round (as she wishes her body were) or flat (as it is).

The most consistent theme in Rachel's life history is her persevering and winning out over a series of obstacles and trials, and maintaining an orderly life about her in spite of the inadequacies of her relatives and companions. It was probably the opportunity to present such a picture which inspired her to spend so much time (and, as she was careful to point out, to go hungry) in order to tell me her life history. I knew rather well a number of the younger men whom she had more or less taken under her care; they all described their relief at being able to get away from her restrictions and demands for work. She thus received little gratitude or recognition for her solicitude toward her various "children." Among these "children," however, was Andy, the son of her younger brother; as Andy's "brother" I was also a "child" of hers. At long last she had a "child"—and one of important status—who was not only willing but anxious to hear her out. Thus she became expansive and dredged from her memory (or imagination) everything she could think of to enlarge her story.

### RUTH

#### AGE 50. POPULARITY: AVERAGE

Ruth's parents died after she had married. We know of only one older brother, who is still living. The lineages of both her parents are of medium size. Ruth had six children by her first husband, of whom three are living: a boy who died in infancy, a man now thirty, a girl who died in infancy, a stillborn girl, a man now about twenty-five, and another son now nineteen. It should be noted that these data were derived from the survey made of living mothers on Romonum; both in the genealogies and in Ruth's life history only the older and younger of her sons are mentioned. Ruth was divorced from her first husband (who is still living) and married Roger's father, presumably after his first wife died. It should be noted that her second husband was therefore Andy's father's brother. She had no children during her second marriage.

Ruth at present has circulatory trouble in her legs and spends most of her time sitting down in a house connected with that of Rachel and Thomas. She is, nevertheless, one of the few women on Romonum competent to make high quality lavalavas. Her sons do not live with her; the elder of these is seldom on Romonum.

### RORSCHACH

We know from the examiner that Ruth was very readily discouraged. To what extent this was due to the examiner's questions is difficult to ascertain. We do know that her first response was acceptable but after the questioning about the response her subsequent performance tended to be very poor in terms of form quality and only two others were acceptable. The rest of her responses reveal intellectual impotence or inadequacy, with a strong unrealistic component. This interpreter is unable to say whether Ruth's performance reflects situational or some more serious factors. The fact that she can give some good responses indicates that at one time her adequacy was much better than it now



is. It is interesting to note that Ruth, who presumably has difficulty walking, gave the following content: a boat, a ship, an automobile, a submarine and a canoe.

#### THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Ruth was unable to respond to this test. After a long struggle she produced one sentence on the first picture. She gave up completely on the second and was covered with perspiration. The picture was withdrawn and the test terminated.

#### LIFE HISTORY

Ruth's life history is short and after the first paragraph reproduced below she required almost constant questioning to keep her going. Most of these questions were of the order of "What happened then?" or "What did you do when you were a little older?" These have been omitted and only the more leading questions indicated. Andy was present during the first portion of the interview to assist in translation as Ruth had a tendency to mumble and also had difficulty in understanding me. After a while we became accustomed to each other's speech and Andy left. Ruth's life history is as follows.

When I began to understand things, if my parents told me to eat, I ate: I did what they told me. When I was angry with them I would hit them and then they would be angry with me and hit me—whenever they were angry with me they hit me. [?] That happened many, many times. They would beat me and then I would run away. But I would come back because I felt sorry for them, having thrown them away [i.e., rejected them]. When I was somewhat older if they told me to do something for them, like getting food or a coal to light the fire, I did it; I no longer disobeyed them, because I had learned. [Asked for recollections of specific episodes Ruth thought for a long time but could not remember anything. Suggested we go on to a time when she was a little older.]

When I was about nine I used to play every day. I used to fight with the other girls, too, and then come home and my parents would beat me. [?] Both of them used to beat me. When I was a little older, about thirteen, I used to walk fast [i.e., be independent]; I no longer listened to what my parents told me and just came home at night—my father used to beat me.

When I was about seventeen my parents wanted me to stay home all the time and not go out, for I was old enough to have thoughts about men. I had started having an affair with a man but my father did not want us to be married so I married a different man instead. [?] I wanted to marry him myself, and my father approved. These were my only lovers; after I was married I had no more. I had several children while I was married to that man: my two sons and several who are dead. [At this point Andy left.]

After a while I began to sleep with another man [Roger's father] but I could not tell you while Andy was here. Now I am unmarried because my second husband is dead. It was because of him that my first husband and I separated. However, the two men did not fight.

My parents died while I was married to my first husband. My mother died first; she was sick and then died. I cried and was unhappy but I got over it because my father was still alive and I stayed with him and he fed me. But later he too died and then I was very unhappy, for I had no parents or sisters or anyone to feed me—I was all by myself. [As we noted Ruth has one living older brother.]

[Present status?] I have nothing to be unhappy about except my legs which hurt on occasion—then I am not happy. But outside of that there is nothing to complain of. I like some people and dislike others; some like me and some do not. I can tell by the way they talk to me—I don't care much whether they like me or not. If they don't like me I don't like them.

I don't like being old because I am weak. I am scared I will become so weak I will die; I am frightened and feel sorry for my children because if I die there will be no one for them to live with. [They do not live with Ruth now.]

*Dreams.* Ruth reported only one current dream for which she could offer no interpretation. She was chased by her older son who wished to kill her; she ran into a house to escape. Someone held her son and told her to run; she started to run but the person let him go to chase her again. Ruth ran to the beach and was going to get into a canoe there when Rachel called her and told her to come to her house. Ruth returned and Rachel held her hand. Ruth's son came in and was angry with Rachel for protecting his mother when he wanted to kill her. They argued and Ruth awoke because her legs hurt.

*Discussion.* Ruth appears to have had restrictive and punitive parents against whom she constantly battled. In this regard her case is perhaps reminiscent of Mike's. If this is true her inadequacy on the tests is probably not a result only of the impairment of age. She is, however, almost certainly older than her listed age of fifty and senility has undoubtedly affected her to an appreciable degree. Her dream depicts her son as anything but the supportive child she might desire; if this is a true reflection of her expectations from him she would be expected to have further anxieties from this source. These appear to be the only conclusions even suggested by her record.

## A REVIEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

IN the last two chapters we have presented case records of twenty-three men and women, a sample which comprised slightly over one eighth of the total population of persons thirteen years or older on Romonum at the time of our study. To be more exact, out of a total population of 230 there were 169 persons thirteen or over; our twelve men comprised 13.3 per cent of the 91 men among these, and the eleven women 14.1 per cent of the 78 women on Romonum. These figures are cited not to provide a basis for any statistically oriented conclusions, but simply to indicate that we have before us data on a significant segment of the total population of the island.

The records were presented partly because of their intrinsic interest as examples of the various ways in which people may develop within the cultural and social framework we have described, and partly to permit us to examine the conclusions reached in the general case and test their validity when applied to the analysis of a series of individual cases. Taken together the most striking feature of these individual records is their variability. While the sample of subjects was of course selected with the intention of achieving a maximum range of variation it must be borne in mind that this selection did not have as its objective the study *only* of deviants, and furthermore our putative deviants are not necessarily at an extreme. They do not include any psychotics nor any of the several people on the island suffering from neural disorders. Probably the most important thing we can say about them is that all twenty-three of the persons whose records appear in the last two chapters are to be considered active participating members of the island community of Romonum. With the exception of Charles they have also been brought up primarily within that community. If they accomplish nothing else these data should lay to rest once and for all the assumption that people in non-European societies are necessarily more homogenous in personality type than those found, for example, in a typical American community. If this study were extended to include the wider community of islands which is centered on Truk it is likely that local variations would be found comparable in order to the differences seen between the subcultural areas of the United States.

Before turning to a consideration of the bearing the conclusions drawn from the individual records may have on those derived in the general case it would be wise to make explicit the reservations implied by the frequent use in the preceding

two chapters of the words "apparently," "probably," and the like. In the first place, as we noted in introducing the individual cases, we are rarely able to supply conclusive verification of any of the statements made in the life histories. Not only is memory fallible but we have had ample opportunity to observe that in many cases the record has been altered by the informant. Whether this alteration is conscious or unconscious we of course cannot know and, more importantly, while we can often tell roughly the manner in which the alteration has been effected, we are seldom in a position to do more than guess at the nature of the original unaltered facts. Although the direction in which the person has slanted his account may in itself be of interest and significance to our understanding of his attitudes this knowledge does not help us to determine what actually happened.

The possibility of subjective error introduced by the informant is increased when he is reporting how he felt, or how others felt, in a given situation. While a report of overt behavior can sometimes at least be verified by checking the statements of other observers, a person's inner feelings are by their nature not susceptible to verification and are furthermore in general more likely of modification through the selective processes of memory. Yet a study of personality is in large measure a study of motivations and we cannot therefore ignore what our subjects tell us of their personal attitudes.

To these sources of error inherent in our data we have then added the greatest of all—that of interpretation. Much as the responses given to the projective tests become useful to us only after they have been interpreted and their broader significance determined, so the data given in a life history can be meaningful in understanding the individual only if a variety of separate facts can be integrated and related to one another. This we have attempted to do in discussing each case, but it was apparent there that these relationships between facts were by no means self-evident and sometimes could be stated only as guesses. When we remember that the "facts" to which we refer are themselves in most cases only statements of informants, subject to the errors noted above, we see that the entire process of reasoning we have employed tends to be speculative. Speculation, however, has value if it leads to fruitful hypotheses which are then capable of being tested. In the present case a test in the sense of conclusive experimental verification of a prediction is not possible. Our hypotheses, however, begin to take on some measure of putative validity when we find the same sort of life experience producing the same sort of adult psychological adjustment in two or more persons. For example, when we concluded that Edward's psychological inadequacy in dealing with his social equals was a result of his lack of a father we were advancing a rather tenuous hypothesis. When, however, we found that Norman in the same situation developed in much the same way and that both seemed rather above average in their preoccupation with sex and their relationships with women as compensation for their social inadequacy, then we could view our hypothesis as more than a guess. It is with this



sort of consistency among the various records with which we shall be concerned here. On the other hand, cases such as Roger's with his maternal overprotection and consequent oedipus complex, are unique in our series and, while interesting in themselves, will not be discussed here; with no supporting evidence from other cases upon which to draw we could only repeat what has already been said.

Probably the evidence from the individual records which is most significant from the standpoint of the general analysis of personality development contained in an earlier chapter is that referred to in the preceding paragraph: the importance to the individual of having a parent of the same sex with whom he can identify. It will be remembered that while we stated that the opportunity for such identification was probably crucial in determining the individual's social and psychological adequacy and flexibility, this hypothesis was advanced primarily on the basis that it would be expected in terms of psychological theory. We did not have any observational evidence to support the conclusion, and could not even state that such an assumption was essential to the explanation of the phenomena observed. The individual cases, however, provide us with a number of examples of different combinations of parents for different individuals and thus permit a reexamination of the question. Some of the records—including those of Mike, Tony, Frances, and probably Ruth—show both parents to have been punitive and domineering; it is not surprising that these people are inhibited and inflexible in their approach to their social problems, but at the same time we cannot tell whether one or the other of the parents was primarily to blame for their child's inadequacy. This is also true of Ida and probably Norma whose parents both died when our subjects were in their infancy. Turning, however, to Sam we find a boy whose mother was punitive but whose father was more supportive and came to depend upon Sam for his help; Sam is resourceful and adequate. Similarly Sarah and Eleanor, whose fathers were more or less unsatisfactory from their standpoint, had supportive mothers with whom they could identify and each in her own way made a successful adaptation to her environment. On the other hand, Edward, Norman, and Kenneth, who grew up without their fathers, are consistently inhibited and inadequate. This series of cases, while inconclusive when taken individually, in combination points to a conclusion that identification with a parent is not only important, but that for the Trukese as in our own society this parent must be of the same sex as the child in order to be effective in preparing him to deal with his adult problems. We do not have enough comparable cases to be able to make an adequate comparison between men and women in this regard, so our hypothesis that this identification is more readily achieved by a girl than by a boy cannot be tested here.

Another conclusion we may draw from a survey of the individual records is that the mere availability of a large number of close kinsmen is not enough to assure that a Trukese will feel himself psychologically secure in his social environment. Some of the people who are members of the largest lineages—including

Mike, Roger, Edward, Norman, Frances, Irene, and Ida—are among those whose mode of adjustment to their fellows is relatively poor. On the other hand, Sam, Andy, and Sarah belong to rather small lineages and in addition the lineages of Sam's and Sarah's fathers are small, yet they appear to feel more secure and adequate than most. It thus appears that in spite of the great importance of the kin group to a Trukese it is his relationship with his parents—and particularly the one of the same sex—which is of primary importance in determining his psychological security and effectiveness. The primacy of the parent-child relationship in our own society is of course obvious; on Truk, however, where the child finds so few rewards at home and is thus much more strongly oriented toward the company of his peers, this primacy is not so self-evident. It will be remembered that in the chapter on Trukese personality development we could only observe that both parental and peer relationships were important, but could not state that one was more important than the other. In our study of the individuals, however, we appear to have a fairly satisfactory answer to the question.

This must not, however, be taken to mean that the nature of a Trukese child's relationships with his age-mates, and particularly his "brothers" or "sisters," is of no consequence in determining his adult personality. We have repeatedly observed in the preceding chapters the importance of these relationships to the child and the effects they have had on his social adequacy as an adult. We saw a range from an inhibited Edward and Irene, whose play activities were at a minimum, to Susan who, with the constant aid and companionship of her slightly older "mothers," was able to feel fairly secure in almost any childhood crisis and as an adult was resourceful and relatively uninhibited. The reason, however, that Edward and Irene failed to participate extensively in the play groups was that they were unable to break away from the restrictions imposed on them by their parents; at the other extreme it will be remembered that Susan described her childhood as remarkably unrestricted and that she was the only one who said she was never beaten. In other words, in these cases it was parental treatment which determined the nature of the children's peer relationships; at the same time the resultant satisfactory or unsatisfactory experiences with age-mates extended the effects of the correspondingly good or bad parental relationship. Thus both factors were working in the same direction but the participation of these individuals in the children's society was secondary to, and a function of, their treatment by their parents.

The manner in which the three—Sam, Andy, and Sarah—who had relatively few kinsmen were able to surmount the problems which this presented is worthy of examination. We do not know what solution Sam evolved and the fact that he reports being frightened of most of his slightly older contemporaries would suggest that he actually found participation with them difficult; it will also be remembered that he described his mother as punitive and only his father as really good to him. If this is true, Sam's case provides a convincing demonstration of the crucial im-

portance for a child of being able to make a secure identification with a parent of the same sex: Sam's relationship with his father was the only one which he could feel was satisfactory, and yet this apparently enabled him to become a resourceful and adaptable person. Andy, on the other hand, created a number of artificial "brother" relationships and thus supplemented through his own efforts the inadequacy of the kin group into which he was born. Sarah adopted a different approach: she made a virtue of conformity and was able to keep out of trouble simply by not giving offense, a process made easier for her by the support and companionship she received from her mother—in spite of the aggressiveness of her father.

A review of our cases also permits us to examine more fully the function of sexual activity in adult Trukese life and particularly its value for the individual in permitting him to compensate for his frustrations through the exercise of mastery and the expression of aggression not permitted in other contexts. Five persons can be singled out as being above average in their preoccupation with sexual matters: Edward, Paul, Norman, Frances, and Eleanor. In saying that these people are sexually "preoccupied" we do not mean that they are necessarily more successful than others in their sexual exploits, but rather that they show more concern and anxiety than most in regard to their own sexual adequacy and effectiveness. Being sexually successful, then, is more important to them than to their fellows. In seeking a reason for this we see that all of them, with the exception of Paul whose family background is exceptional, had occasion in their childhood to look upon members of the opposite sex as particularly frustrating. Edward and Norman had no fathers and were under the domination of markedly restrictive mothers. Frances had fairly restrictive parents who favored her more capable older brother and left Frances more or less in his shadow. It is difficult to determine how Eleanor was treated by her father in her childhood but we do know that as an adult she feels he betrayed her into her marriage and has strong hostility toward him. Taking these four cases together we see that those people in our series most concerned over their sexual effectiveness are also those who have suffered their most severe frustrations at the hands of persons of opposite sex and could be expected to generalize the hostility so generated to others of that sex. The equation of sex with interpersonal mastery presented in the chapter on Trukese personality development as a plausible explanation for the observed importance of sexual activity in the Trukese society thus receives more direct confirmation from our review of the individual records, for it is particularly those people most preoccupied with their sexual adequacy who are also those whom we would expect to be most anxious to retaliate against persons of the opposite sex.

The use of life histories has also emphasized a point raised in the chapter, "The Psychological Data": that persons growing up at different times have appreciably different life experiences as a result of the historical change which is continually altering the social environment about them. The opportunities or difficulties encountered by one person may never be met by a person born ten or twenty

years later. We noted that Warren's childhood problems were eased through his ability to escape the restrictions of home by going to the men's houses; the men's houses were not available to the younger men in our series even in their childhood and they were thus in some degree at a disadvantage compared with him. We cannot determine precisely the nature and severity of the handicap under which these younger men have suffered, but it is evident that such a handicap exists. Charles happened to be born while his father was employed on the distant island of Nauru, a type of employment for which the people of the Trust Territory are no longer recruited; for Charles this circumstance rendered him in large measure incapable of making a satisfactory adjustment to the society of which he was born a member. Norman, on the other hand, undertook such off-island employment repeatedly; in his case we must assume this fulfilled for him some need which we cannot define, for otherwise he would not have made these trips. The Japanese administration made a strong impact on a number of our subjects through the medium of its schools on Udot and Dublon. In Tony's case we concluded that his years of working for a considerate Japanese master on Dublon had a favorable effect on his entire outlook on life. Similarly Andy had a rewarding relationship with a Japanese friend the psychological effects of which cannot be determined but must have been appreciable; the same could be said of his later relationship with me. Both Frances and Eleanor had extensive sexual relations with Japanese men, leading in Frances' case to marriage, from which both learned to associate sexual attractiveness with social rewards to a greater degree than most Trukese. In Theodore's case, on the other hand, we speculated that he found a substitute for the mastery others seek in sexual liaisons through the foreign money economy and political office under the aegis of the administration. Paul, who was by birth half-foreign, was able through his affiliation with essentially foreign interests to achieve a remarkably successful adjustment based on power rather than kin obligations. And finally we must remember that all of our subjects suffered under the deprivation and humiliation of the war years, although factors of age, sex, status, and pure chance made this experience unique to each. Thus in spite of the inherent stability and vitality of the Trukese culture and society we cannot assume that the Trukese children we observe today are sharing or will share quite the same experiences as those which the subjects of our study have known.

In concluding this chapter brief consideration should be given to the steps which might have been taken—and could be taken in a subsequent study—to improve the accuracy and adequacy of the life history as a record of actual life experience. As we have already discussed at some length, the accounts used in this study suffered from two major deficiencies, more severe in some than in others: (1) the lack, at certain points, of information essential to a proper understanding of the individual's development and (2) the alteration through conscious or unconscious processes of the subject's recollection and description of his experience. We often



cannot determine the degree to which either of these factors was operative in a given case but we have ample evidence that both types of distortion took place not once but many times. It is in fact easy to concentrate one's attention upon these discrepancies and soon find enough to arrive at a conclusion that the life history method is hopelessly unreliable. To counter this impression, however, we have only to observe the gratifying, if not always complete, congruence between the test results and our conclusions from the life histories—bearing in mind that when dealing with data on a single individual neither of these types of interpretation is as reliable or complete as it is when based on the records of a group as a whole. Furthermore, the consistencies we have noted in the preceding pages between conclusions based on one individual and the next, and also between these and the conclusions reached in the chapter on personality development, suggest that our data have more validity than we might at first expect. If, then, the data now before us have this degree of utility it is apparent that with some improvement the use of life histories in studying a selected sample of people in a community can be of very great value in furthering an understanding of the development of personality within that community.

We say "community" rather than "society" because, quite aside from the inherent advantages of community study as such, it is evident that one important means of controlling both of the factors noted above is to have life histories of individuals who are in continuing contact with each other. In this fashion one person reveals things about another which might never arise or be disclosed in any other context. This was true in our series not only where two of our subjects were intimately related but also applied not infrequently to non-relatives. However, although we found such overlapping of information valuable and often revealing, this procedure relies too heavily upon chance to be useful as a primary control.

The most obvious means of reducing the gaps in our information—although it does not prevent slanting of the account by the informant—is to have prepared in advance a schedule of questions or topics upon which we feel we should have data. Because some questions appear only after analysis of material derived in the field we cannot hope that such a schedule will be complete, and portions of it even though relevant will not be able to be used with some individuals, as we saw for example when I tried to find out about the sexual activities of women who were "incestuously" related to me through my "brother" relationship with Andy. This sort of limitation is likely to apply whenever participant observation is used. There are, however, many more questions which could have been answered which were never asked.

A schedule of this sort was not used in the present study primarily because of a rather naïve initial impression on my part that an autobiography had to be spontaneous to be valid. If all our subjects had been like Eleanor such an assumption, whether true or not, would have resulted in little loss of information. They were

not, however, all Eleanors and our data have suffered accordingly. Many questions were asked but because they were not thought out in advance they often failed to include important areas of information. There is, on the other hand, considerable value in knowing what kinds of experience the informant chooses to remember and report on a purely voluntary basis, and this can only be derived from a spontaneous account. It is not, therefore, recommended that the recording of a life history be reduced to the status of a question-and-answer interview. Rather the subject should be invited, as they were in this study, to tell what he remembers with only occasional efforts at encouragement until he has blocked. In this process he will have answered many of the questions on the schedule. Then, and only then, should we begin to introduce the questions, and even here they should as far as possible take the form of suggestions for new topics of discussion rather than specific questions of fact. In this fashion we can be assured of having attempted at least to obtain in the subject's own words a description of all the relevant phases of his life experience.

Such an account will, however, include only those experiences which the subject can remember; the years of infancy are thus automatically ruled out. In order to capture what information we can regarding these early experiences a schedule of questions should also be prepared for use in interviewing the parents of the subject (if they are living) or older siblings or other relatives. The answers to such questions are of course liable to the same bias as the subject's own report; this bias, in fact, is likely to be even greater unless great care is exercised in avoiding any suggestion of criticism of the parents' treatment of their children. Any answers we get, however, are almost certainly better than none at all. In the case of younger subjects the information given by their parents may sometimes be checked at least inferentially by observing the current treatment of their younger siblings.

The modification, whether deliberate or involuntary, of the subject's account is less readily controlled. If a field worker is fortunate he may be able to form a relationship with one or two informants wherein their mutual confidence is sufficient to permit the asking of revealing questions about other people, and the giving of reliable answers insofar as the informant knows them. Outside of this somewhat ideal situation, however, it is likely that more will be lost in rapport than will be gained in knowledge by the indiscriminate asking of questions about a person with whom it is known interviews were conducted. One is therefore more or less forced to take the subject's description of his experiences as it stands and attempt to evaluate its accuracy on the basis of the internal consistency of the account and whatever other bits of information chance and an inquiring outlook bring to hand. The opportunity to check the internal consistency of a life history can be materially improved if the subject is asked, particularly after a lapse of some time, to return to the discussion of a particular topic or period in his life. This device was used in the case of Norman (although I must confess more by

accident than design) and as we saw the disparity between his two accounts provided us with probably our most important clue to understanding his relationship with his mother and hence with women in general.

This necessarily brief discussion of means whereby the recording of life histories could be improved is obviously not exhaustive. Other possibilities exist and we have not explored in full the implications of those we have mentioned. It is, however, apparent that considerable refinement of the method used here is possible and advisable if the life history is to be used as an integral part of a psychological battery applied in the field. The utility of this method is, however, evident in the amount of information we have been able to glean from the life histories in spite of their inadequacies; this information has been essential not only to the understanding of the individuals in our series but has also provided an invaluable supplement to the more general data derived by conventional ethnographic techniques.

## THE TESTS: SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

By

SEYMOUR B. SARASON

THE reader has probably already become aware that in this study psychological tests were employed for several purposes. My own purpose in working with the tests might be stated in the form of a question: To what extent can the analysis of verbal behavior obtained through tests validly predict behavior in other specified non-test situations, and what are the relations among the verbal behavior, the psychologist's interpretive procedure, and the final conclusions drawn?

Dr. Gladwin utilized projective tests as a primary source of hypotheses by means of which he might analyze his data. He did not, however, view psychological tests as a means of setting up criteria on the basis of which his own conclusions would stand or fall. As an anthropologist he was naturally interested in the congruence between different methods of comprehending personality organization but he did not assume, as he had no scientific reason to do, that his own conclusions from his own data were in some way inferior to the test conclusions and therefore should be judged by them. It was also my own opinion that Gladwin's data could more legitimately be considered as validating criteria by which the tests could be evaluated rather than the other way around. From the outset I was in complete accord with him that the value of the tests could not be assumed but had to be proved.

In a study such as this, viewed in terms either of the anthropologist's or psychologist's purposes, there are several sources of error which must be explicitly recognized and discussed. Overlooking these sources of error not only results in the dissemination of untenable conclusions but prevents rectification of these errors in future studies. Needless to say, evaluating the degree of congruence among procedures must be done in the light of the known, possible sources of error inherent in them. To expect perfect correlations when one is dealing with imperfect instruments is not only naïve but, given such instruments, such correlations are statistically impossible. If in working with such instruments one still obtains a heartening degree of congruence, it certainly provides justification for further methodological studies.



## THE PSYCHOLOGIST AS A SOURCE OF ERROR

We know of no standardized psychological test which gives perfectly consistent or reliable results and predicts perfectly some behavioral criterion. While lack of perfection is not in itself disheartening, it is sometimes forgotten that with many tests their distance from perfection is either uncomfortably large or unknown.

In the case of the Rorschach neither have we secure evidence about its validity nor is there agreement about the methods for demonstrating validity. Since it has become increasingly the vogue for anthropologists to incorporate the Rorschach in their studies it would seem important at this point to elaborate, perforce briefly, on the statement that to assume that conclusions drawn from a Rorschach protocol are valid is a dubious assumption. One might begin by stating that a Rorschach response may be scored in the following ways: <sup>1</sup>

1. *Location*: a response may be to the whole (W) card, to a commonly used area (D or d), or to an area which is infrequently used (dr).

2. *Determinants*: a response may contain humans (M) or animals (FM) in action; it may utilize the bright (C) or achromatic (C') colors; the majority of responses in a protocol usually utilize only the outlines of an area (F).

3. *Content*: The most frequent content are whole animals (A) or details of animals (Ad), humans (H) or parts of humans (Hd), inanimate objects (obj.), etc.

4. *Popularity-Originality*. Certain contents are given so frequently to certain areas that such responses are designated as popular. Responses which occur very rarely are called original.

5. *Form Quality*. Rorschach responses may be evaluated in terms of how well the content or concept fits the area of the blot chosen. A (+) indicates a good fit while a (-) indicates a bad one—the examiner or group of judges cannot see how the area chosen looks like the concept given.

The fact that we have these scoring categories each of which contains sub-categories leads one to expect the following:

1. Each category is meaningfully related to some aspect of behavior.
2. Each of the categories or sub-categories is meaningfully related to *different* aspects of behavior. If location and determinants measured the same thing there would be no need for two categories.
3. Differences in the frequency of the sub-categories are related to differences in the aspect of behavior which they measure. Presumably there should be a difference between an individual who gives no human movement responses and those who give one, or two, and so on.

Unfortunately, we do not have the evidence even for our society to confirm the first two expectations and we do have evidence that the third expectation is probably

<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of the present discussion there is no reason to present other than a very sketchy and incomplete outline of Rorschach scoring categories. What follows is merely intended to give the non-Rorschach reader enough of an idea about scoring to follow the subsequent discussion.

ill-founded. By the word evidence I mean studies employing (a) well-defined, independent, reliable behavioral criteria, (b) controls against contamination of a criterion by the investigator's bias, (c) utilization of appropriate statistical procedures, and (d) utilization of adequate control groups. We do not know whether the difference between two and five whole responses, between 80 per cent and 65 per cent form responses, or between one and three shading responses are differences which make a difference behaviorally. Some might say that the statement is misleading because the significance of the differences depends on the total number of responses which the individuals give. While such an argument may be true there is no evidence that it is true. There is evidence that extreme differences are related to behavioral differences but while these are important findings they do not allow us to be confident in the case of less extreme differences.

One does not have to read far in the Rorschach literature in order to conclude that some workers view the scoring categories as the chief if not sole basis for interpretation. The frequency of the various types of responses is determined, ratios within and between categories are computed, and one need only know what each category and ratio stands for in order to write an interpretation. What some workers do not seem to realize is that the assumptions underlying each category are largely unproved.

The most flagrant examples of the use, or abuse, of the "counting" method are those studies in which a more or less homogeneous group of subjects is given the Rorschach, the frequencies computed, and the interpretation written in such a manner as to suggest that the constellation of frequencies is somehow unique for this group and that the behavioral characteristics described in the interpretation are valid. A somewhat more sophisticated, albeit unwarranted, use of the counting method is found in those studies in which contrasting groups are given the Rorschach and differences between the responses of the two groups emerge. It is usually then assumed that whatever psychological differences are implied by the differences in Rorschach responses are in fact reflected in the behavior of the two groups—even though the Rorschach differences were not predicted and no independent evidence is presented that the behavior of the groups reflects the differences. The reverse side of the coin is found when no Rorschach differences emerge between the two groups and one concludes that behaviorally the two groups are not different. One might more justifiably conclude that the Rorschach as used may not be a discriminating instrument.

Some might argue that the validity of a Rorschach interpretation does not depend on a single scoring category but on the interrelations among certain of the categories. It is not important according to this view to know how many movement responses an individual gives because the number of such responses takes on its greatest significance when compared to the number and type of bright color responses. Unfortunately there is no good evidence that this is so. If the two cate-

gories being compared are each based on unproved assumptions, there is little basis for expecting that some combination of the categories will have more valid meaning.

Since the status of the Rorschach categories is by no means secure for measuring behavior even in our own society, it is quite clear that to apply them to a different culture is not the most sound of procedures. In addition to the problem of the interpretation of the categories, we are also faced with a scoring problem. For example, a response is scored as human movement (M) when humans or animals are described in some kind of human activity. In our own culture where we learn to distinguish between humans who think and other animals who do not, we do not have too much difficulty determining whether a particular animal response to a Rorschach card contains human-like attributes. But if one is working in a culture where sharp distinctions are not made between the attributes of humans and animals, the scoring problem becomes a real one—especially if the individuals in the culture do not elaborate on their responses and simply take for granted, as is natural, that what they say has the same meaning for the examiner as it has for them. In the scoring of the records of the twenty-three cases in the present study I was very frequently unsure of how to score a response and I have no doubt that others will disagree with many of the scorings. In many cases I simply did not have the information necessary to score with confidence. Although no such study has been done, I would predict that the reliability of scoring of records obtained in primitive cultures would be far less than that found in our own culture. If this is found to be true, and it is a point which users of conventional scoring categories must study, then interpretations based on the categories are likewise going to be unreliable. Not only must we question the validity of the assumptions underlying the scoring categories but in using the Rorschach with primitive cultures one must also question the reliability of the scoring.

In principle, of course, there is nothing wrong with categorization and frequencies. The aim of any group of scientists is ultimately to categorize and quantify their data. But in working toward such a goal one must constantly test and re-examine the theoretical assumptions which gave rise to the categories. The acts of labeling and counting do not in themselves invest the underlying assumptions with validity.

A careful reading of the literature indicates that not all clinicians derive their interpretation solely from analysis of the scoring categories. There is no doubt that in some of these studies the clinician, working with protocols obtained by another person, has been able to make better discriminations between groups than one would expect by chance. There is also no doubt that in other studies the clinician has not obtained results better than one would expect by chance. These contrasting results raise the following questions:

1. In those cases where the clinician has been successful can we determine how he went from the test data to the conclusions?

2. Can we determine the relative importance of each of the variables to which the clinician paid attention? Since more than scoring categories was used in deriving the interpretation, it becomes of crucial importance to be able to specify what "more" refers to.
3. Can we determine the differences in interpretive procedure between the successful and unsuccessful clinician so that we might be able to eliminate fallacious assumptions?
4. Is the interpretive procedure of the successful clinician described in such a way that the procedure is communicable or teachable?

To the last two questions the answer is no. To the first two questions we can give no satisfactory answer but we might give what seem to be hints at answers. These hints represent not only what I think are the variables and assumptions used by other clinicians in their interpretive procedure but they also represent my own approach. I used the word "hints" because neither here nor elsewhere are they spelled out in detail nor is their relation to systematic psychological theory clarified. They might be stated as follows:

1. The test situation is considered representative of many situations which the individual encounters in his day-to-day existence.
2. Much attention is paid to how an individual acts and feels in the test situation with the aim of determining the nature of his attitudes toward himself, the examiner, and the test.
3. These attitudes are assumed to reflect some of the individual's strongest motivations, his defense against them or their mode of expression, and their interfering or facilitating effect on his intellectual functioning and social relationships.
4. These attitudes are usually *deduced* from the individual's verbal or non-verbal behavior. If an individual is described as confident of himself, it is usually not because the individual stated this explicitly but because it was deduced from other things he may have said or done.
5. More than a little attention is given to the time and apparent manner of a formal response or incidental verbalization. There is not only interest in the reaction time to the cards but to the relation between differences in reaction time and the content which follows. Why does he take a long time to respond on *this* card and not *that* one? Why is one card rejected and not another? Why do irrational responses appear on this and not that card? The examiner or interpreter, in short, is set to become aware of selectivity in response.
6. The content of *the response* is presumably important not only in terms of the categories described earlier but in terms of the activity represented, the aggressive or destructive nature of the particular object described, its shape and size, etc. It is presumably important to note, for example, that a particular adult describes only children when he gives a human content, or that another individual describes only angry people, or that still another gives many responses the contents of which have the common characteristic of being pointy and longer than they are wide.

It is not appropriate in the context of the present study to do more than attempt to give some idea of how some clinicians interpret a protocol. It is also probably



already apparent to the reader that the interpretive procedure is an essentially deductive one in which the specific hypotheses are formulated on the basis of inferences from overt behavior. Our greatest lack in describing such a procedure is the absence of explicit statements containing the theoretical principles which tell us why the clinician pays attention to those aspects of his data from which he makes his deductions. It is not enough to tell someone that a particular aspect of behavior is important. We must also be able to state why it is important and how one can learn to become aware of that aspect of behavior when it occurs. Communicability and repeatability of procedure are a *sine qua non* of a scientific study. It is for this reason that one cannot as yet call the interpretive procedure scientific. We have ideas about what the clinician does but that is a far cry from saying that we *know* what he does and can test his procedure by repeating it. If his procedure produces valid results, we are not sure we know why. If he does not obtain valid results, we are in the same quandary.

It is obvious that the interpretive procedure can be affected by bias, as well as by lack of awareness that in a deductive framework one never really proves one's assumptions but adduces relevant proof or disproof about their probability. Too frequently the initial assumption is too quickly assumed to be fact. A deductive procedure requires the most rigorous self-awareness and scientific training on the part of the interpreter if he is to avoid biasing his results. There is no reason why scientific rules of evidence cannot be applied by the psychologist when he operates deductively as well as inductively.

It is clear that in the present study the psychologist was, therefore, a source of error and that it would have been unsound to assume that the test interpretations could be a criterion against which the ethnographic material could be judged. It is, of course, gratifying that the test interpretations were highly congruent with the ethnographic report and in addition produced hypotheses which were not initially noted by the anthropologist but were later corroborated by him. The results make me more confident in my belief that the attempted answer to the two questions raised previously about the clinician's procedure has merit.

I think it important to state at this point the various conclusions which I believe are warranted in the light of the results. I do not think it justified to conclude that the tests are valid. The procedure used does not allow us to discriminate at all sharply between the test and its interpreter. The following statement does appear justified: Using an interpretive procedure, the underlying assumptions and principles of which were never explicitly stated, I was able to make valid statements about the common psychological characteristics of a particular society—the number of such valid statements being clearly more than one would expect by chance. I think it also justified to conclude that in the case of the Rorschach the interpretation stemmed only minimally, if at all, from the use of a conventional scoring scheme. I can only hope that in my attempt to "talk aloud" the Rorschach

interpretations I have given some indication of those aspects of the protocol I used in formulating the interpretation. In other words, I hope that there is some evident relation between a particular conclusion and the raw data. In terms of relating the raw data and the conclusions, on the one hand, to the interpreter's implicit procedures, on the other, the present study cannot be fully explicit; for to establish such a relation would require a very long statement and justification of the principles and assumptions on the basis of which the interpreter's thinking was guided. Until such a statement and justification are given, the scientific status of the procedure must remain an open question—without them one cannot be sure that the procedure is communicable and repeatable.

Thus far we have only discussed the Rorschach as an example of how its particular use in this study made the psychologist a source of error. Since the interpretive procedure was essentially the same for the Thematic Apperception Test as for the Rorschach, there is no need to repeat what has already been said.

#### THE INFORMANT AS A SOURCE OF ERROR

Since in this study the ethnographic data and life histories were the only validating criteria for evaluating the test conclusions, it is necessary to discuss the sources of error which can affect the reliability, validity, and completeness of the ethnography. The dependence of the anthropologist on the informant as a source of data forces us to pay attention to the informant as a source of error. In the light of the intimate relation between the informant's report and the anthropologist's procedures and interpretations we shall discuss in the next section the anthropologist as a source of error.

It is by now a banal fact that a person's report about his past behavior cannot be taken at face value. This is obviously also true when the individual reports about the past behavior of other people. Gladwin cited several examples where an independent check indicated that what a particular informant had said was not so. Throughout his presentation of the individual cases Gladwin was aware of the dubious reliability of the information with which he was dealing. One of the most serious consequences of the unreliability of the informant is that it forces the anthropologist to *interpret* the material, thereby introducing another possible source of error. Where the anthropologist is not keenly aware that he is attributing meanings somewhat subjectively to the selective and biased reports of others, and does not make active attempts to verify the material, the reader has little basis for evaluating whatever conclusions are drawn. But even where the anthropologist has such awareness and makes such attempts he usually has few objective sources to draw upon. When one is interested in describing the common psychological characteristics of members of a society, a control for the unreliability of the individual informant involves using as many different informants as possible. That Gladwin was aware of the importance of this is evidenced by the fact that his twenty-three

cases represent a 13.6 *per cent* sample of the adult population on Romonum. The point need only be made here that certain experiences and attitudes are expressed and described in so many of the cases that one is justified in making generalizations. By increasing the size of the sample not only is a more solid foundation laid for one's conclusions, but it is more likely that one can get some idea of the range of individual differences for any characteristic. When dealing with only a few informants one is not likely to be aware of the nature and source of individual differences. It is helpful to know that a certain characteristic is a common one but our understanding is greatly increased if we know the antecedents and consequences of variations in the strength of the characteristic. Gladwin's attempt to select cases in such a manner as to maximize the range of individual differences seems not only to have been successful but to have resulted in some important findings about individual differences. For example, the individuals (Andy, Sam and Paul) who show the least amount both of concreteness in thinking and spontaneity in emotional expression are those whose parents were relatively supporting and nurturant. Those (Mike and Tony) who are among the ones with greatest personal constriction and concreteness are those whose parents were punishing, confining and unsympathetic. The importance of knowing the range of the common characteristics which individuals in a culture share can be seen in the case of Charles. His test protocols differed to such an extent from those of the others that I could not see how he could be placed for most characteristics at any point in a continuum. In other words, he not only differed in degree but in kind as well. He showed too many characteristics which were not shared by the others to allow one to conclude that he was a variant rather than a deviant. Had the number of cases been smaller and the range of individual differences consequently smaller, I do not think I would have concluded that Charles was un-Trukese. The fact that we had a range which appeared fairly representative for the total population threw into relief the uniqueness of Charles' protocols.

What has been said so far concerns the use of informants in order to determine the common psychological characteristics of members of a society. For such a purpose we are not too concerned with the validity of the details as reported (the exact time of a certain experience, the people involved, the chronology of events, etc.), but rather with the type of experience reported. For example, we may question whether Andy's mother really cried because he was beaten by his father but we accept his statement as suggesting a particular type of mother-son relationship. Similarly, we may doubt whether Roger's father (Thomas) beat him when he was three as frequently as Roger said, but again we accept such a statement as indicating a certain kind of relationship. The degree to which we accept and use such statements in making generalizations about the culture will depend on the frequency of their occurrence.

However, when the material which an informant gives is to be used in order

to understand the nature and sources of *his* behavior we run up against some thorny problems. Much more frequently than not the anthropologist is unable to check on the validity of past events as related by the informant. To understand how an individual developed we must know such details as the time of a particular experience, the people involved, the antecedent conditions, the frequency of the experience, etc. The less we know of such details the more we are forced to interpret, another source of error being thereby introduced. It is not that interpretation can or should be avoided but rather that its value is dubious when the data are known to be more than a little unreliable.

Another thorny problem, and one stressed by Gladwin, is that an informant often says nothing about a particular relationship or area of experience. Such gaps not only limit what can be said about the individual but make comparisons with others difficult. One possible way of meeting this problem is to work with a schedule containing the areas of experience about which one wants information. The individual can be given freedom to begin talking about whatever he wants, and to talk about it in as organized or as rambling a fashion as he wishes, but if when he is through he has not touched upon the topics in the outline the anthropologist can then resort to direct questioning. The outline insures that each individual will have had an opportunity to talk about the subjects which are the focus of study. One is then not faced with the problem of determining whether a particular gap is due to the individual's motivations and defenses or merely to failure to ask him to talk about the topic.

The way in which psychological tests were employed in this study indicates that they are of value in understanding the individual. Gladwin utilized the interpretations as a source of hypotheses by which to organize the material. But there are limitations to such an approach. First, the test interpretations in the individual cases frequently contained conclusions for which relevant life-history data were lacking. Secondly, the test interpretations largely contain statements about the relationship between overt and covert behavior—how an individual appears to act and what he apparently experiences—and one would not expect that such relationships would be reflected in any direct or clear way in what an individual says about how he acts and feels. However, the fact that the tests predicted rather well certain characteristics of the individuals for which relevant proof was available would seem to constitute a reasonable basis for Gladwin's use of other hypotheses (derived from the tests) for which relevant proof was absent or minimally present. For example, the test interpretation was correct in stating that Charles seemed to be markedly un-Trukese. However, the interpretation also contained statements about the possible effects of his different background on his attitudes and feelings—statements which cannot be clearly proved by what he has said about himself in his life history. The fact that the interpretation was correct on one score increases the possibility that the other aspects of the interpretation may be correct and justifies



considering them as a basis for the evaluation of the life history material. This does not mean that one assumes the interpretation to be valid. It does mean that one is justified in trying to determine whether the test interpretation can explain more of the material than alternative explanations. Perhaps the important point to emphasize is that alternative explanations must be considered because the test interpretations are by no means perfectly accurate. Failure of the anthropologist to consider seriously alternative explanations maximizes the possibility that his own biases will go unchecked and that he will find what he wants to find.

Perhaps this is no more than a way of describing aspects of the clinical method: organizing available information of varying degrees of validity so as to explain as much of the presenting problem (in this study the individual) as possible with as few assumptions as necessary. The more valid the procedures are for obtaining information the less the error introduced by the organizer or interpreter. The more sensitive the interpreter to possible sources of error the less likely that bias will be markedly introduced. Had Gladwin assumed the test interpretations to be completely valid and had he not been aware of the sources of error in his material we would be in a poor position to evaluate the merits and demerits of all the procedures used in the study.

#### THE ANTHROPOLOGIST AS A SOURCE OF ERROR

Ethnographic data are collected by individuals with prejudices and blind spots, with different degrees and types of capabilities and behavioral characteristics, as well as differing backgrounds, training experiences, and theoretical biases. What is contained in an ethnographic report includes not only statements of fact but interpretation of facts, and it is in the process of interpretation and organization that subjective factors can be unknowingly introduced. Several examples might be given to illustrate this point. On page 75 Gladwin states:

Fondling of small children is very common on the part of both men and women. They are picked up, bounced on the knee, kissed with a sucking gesture of the lips, talked to, or just held; both men and women will also hold boy babies up above their heads and play with the baby's genitals in their mouths, according to Fischer. At the same time the baby may be teased, being offered an object only to have it snatched away, or having a lighted cigarette held near his face until he recoils. *One gets the impression in watching adults play with children in this fashion that the child is an amusing plaything for the adult and perhaps a somewhat sensual object rather than an individual toward whom an expression of real affection is being made.*

While one can accept most of this as statement of fact, the italicized sentence involves an important interpretation—statements of motivation and attitude—for which evidence is lacking. Although it is clear that Gladwin presents this as an interpretation, the point being made here is that the ethnographer does interpret

his data and a subjective factor is thereby introduced. On page 87 the following is found:

In spite of the freedom given to children in the way they may spend their time, there is a point beyond which they are considered to have been away too much. This point again varies widely as determined by different parents, from an attempt to keep the children home practically all the time to almost complete unconcern over their whereabouts. Beatings are administered for this, coupled often with threats not to feed the child. This latter sanction is also applied on occasion to other offenses. Food may be withheld for some time but of course the parent ultimately relents, *an ending which one often feels is regarded by the child as a victory over his parents. In view of the uncertainty as to his food with which the child has been faced from babyhood there is little doubt that this threat is disturbing.*

Here again evidence for the interpretation is lacking. The fact that others would probably concur in the interpretations does not establish their validity. Other examples might be given where alternative interpretations could be advanced by myself or others but all the examples would be laboring the point that the ethnographer does not give us, or intend to give us, a compendium of facts. Interpretation is necessary but it must be done with a clear realization of the differences between fact and interpretation and the hazards involved in the process.

What the anthropologist reports is selective. He does not perceive everything relevant to his problem and he does not remember everything he perceives. That is, the anthropologist, like the psychologist, is not a perfect observing and recording instrument and an unknown degree of error is contained in his report. The amount of error is probably less when the anthropologist records overt behavior than when he attempts to relate the overt to covert behavior.

The present study contains examples of this selective observation. In his initial organization of his material Gladwin says that he did not clearly recognize the greater security of the Trukese women, the inhibition of strong feeling, the concrete nature of Trukese thinking and the extent of sexual anxieties. In the case of "superficial interpersonal relationships" it was not that Gladwin was unaware of this characteristic but rather that it was so pervasive that it was taken for granted by him.

Perhaps the important point is that Gladwin was aware before doing the study that his data would be in some respects incomplete and to some unknown degree unreliable. He therefore employed psychological tests as a possible means of minimizing whatever error might be introduced into his interpretations of these data. In short, he wanted a source of hypotheses which might possibly focus his attention on the problems of which he had not been aware, or serve as a basis for relating data or problems which initially did not seem related. This, of course, did not mean that he assumed the hypotheses to be valid. To have done so would have resulted in compounding the error in his data by the error in the test interpreta-

tions. He viewed the hypotheses as statements which, potentially valuable, had to be shown to bear a clear relation to his own data. The results of the present study justify Gladwin's procedure. However, one should not overlook the fact that in such a procedure the anthropologist is himself interpreting and organizing data from different sources and unless he is keenly aware of the importance of objectivity and of his own biases he can see significances where in fact there are none. These are the hazards of a clinical procedure. To be aware of and recognize the hazards is the first step in controlling them.

The above considerations suggest that those who are interested in conducting "culture and personality" studies might give thought to the possible means whereby the completeness and reliability of the ethnographic data can be increased. I think it would be a mistake to conclude from this study that psychological tests are the only or the best means to be employed. Although tests can be a source of control, they are usually analyzed after the ethnographic data have been collected. What are needed in addition to tests are procedures which can be employed at the time the data are being collected. Failure to observe and record a particular form of behavior cannot be rectified by tests which are analyzed at a later time, and makes the problem of determining the degree of congruence between ethnographic and test conclusions difficult. When the psychologist comes to a conclusion which cannot be substantiated by the ethnographic data, he does not often know whether this is because the relevant observations were not made or because the psychologist's conclusion is simply not a valid one. In the present study the question concerning differences in treatment of boys and girls is a case in point. I concluded, after an explicit statement of relative uncertainty, that girls were subjected to earlier restrictions than boys and were also in some way subservient to them. The ethnographic data necessary to evaluate such a conclusion are lacking. Is it that the conclusion is wrong or would more intensive study give confirmatory evidence? I do not raise this question in defense of the correctness of the conclusion but simply to indicate that we are not in a position to answer it satisfactorily. We cannot even decide whether the source of error is the anthropologist or the psychologist. We learn more by being able confidently to reject an hypothesis than we do when relevant proof or disproof is not available. We would have learned more about our procedures if the question could have been resolved as it was in the case of "direct expression of aggression." I was wrong in stating that the Trukese would not express aggression in a direct manner. Although it is by no means a common occurrence, the Trukese can at times express aggression directly. In this instance the ethnographic data are unequivocal as to the source of error.

It seems more than a little unreasonable to expect an anthropologist, confronted with a language problem and pressed for time, to observe and record all that is relevant to the understanding of a culture. But the fact that such practical problems exist should not commit us to acceptance of the errors which they intro-

duce. The problems which face the student of culture and personality are too important, from a practical and theoretical standpoint, for us to be satisfied with procedures which we know have more than a few sources of error.

### CONGRUENCE AS A CRITERION OF TEST VALIDITY

Thus far we have been mainly concerned with describing the major sources of error and discussing how they may affect the conclusions of either the psychologist or the anthropologist. A question may now be raised which presents additional methodological problems: how does one determine the degree of congruence between the ethnographic data and the test interpretations?

One of the major implications of the preceding discussion is that neither Gladwin nor myself are the "best" ones to pass judgment on the question. That we believe there is a high order of congruence does not establish it as a fact. The following methodological considerations can be raised against either or both of the participants as judges of congruence:

1. If either of the participants has a bias in favor of establishing congruence, he may find it where in fact there is none or overlook discrepancies which would be apparent to someone else.
2. The conclusions derived from the test interpretations may be stated in such general terms that one might be able to read a number of different significances into them.
3. It is possible for the psychologist to draw so many conclusions that by chance alone one would expect some congruence.
4. It is possible that in the process of collaboration the anthropologist and psychologist became so well acquainted with each other's ideas and orientation that neither is aware that he is reacting to more in the written statements of his collaborator than a literal interpretation of them would justify.

It is clear from these considerations that ideally the evaluation of congruence should be done by several independent judges with appropriate backgrounds. Because this was obviously not feasible for the present study we have endeavored to present the material in such a way, in terms of completeness and format, as to facilitate the task of the reader who is especially interested in the problem of congruence. Gladwin has endeavored to present the ethnographic data separately from his interpretation of them. In presenting the general summaries based on the psychological tests I have discussed each psychological characteristic separately and attempted to distinguish between a conclusion which I felt was rather clearly related to the test data and the deductions which were drawn from the conclusion. Presenting the anthropological and psychological data in this way may facilitate determining where in the chain of reasoning a statement is wrong or ambiguous and what theoretical assumptions require re-evaluation.

In the chapter, "The Trukese Personality: Description," Gladwin has already



discussed congruence in terms of three major headings: inconsistency in child care and feeding, conformity and the suppression of strong feeling, and sexual conflicts. In order to provide a basis for comparison of the relative contribution of the tests used it would first seem desirable at this point to discuss congruences in terms of the headings contained in the general summary of each test. I shall not repeat those parts of Gladwin's evaluation of congruence with which I agree. Wherever indicated I shall present alternative explanations of the significance of the psychological conclusions, and, in addition, the nature and source of errors contained in the psychological summaries. The Rorschach will be taken up first:

1. *Concreteness and Rigidity in Thinking.* In his evaluation of congruence Gladwin has cited examples of these characteristics. Although I agree with Gladwin that concreteness and rigidity are related "to the need the Trukese feel for conformity and the suppression of strong feeling," I think the more significant relation is to the nature of early parent-child relationships. For the very young child to learn to make discriminatory responses and experience reward for his success, to be encouraged in his efforts to explore and question objects and activities around him, to learn to act on the basis of his own motivations without experiencing undue conflict—in order for these things to be learned a child must experience consistency of response as well as a supportive and encouraging attitude on the part of the parents. Where these parental responses and attitudes are absent and where, as in the case of the Trukese, one finds quite the opposite, then one should not expect the individual to show intellectual persistence, flexibility of mental set, and persistence in the face of a problem-solving situation. Response tendencies for which an individual is not rewarded he should not be expected to possess. The later pressures to conform and suppress strong feeling which the growing Trukese child experiences strengthen already existing tendencies to respond concretely and rigidly. The best available evidence for this hypothesis is that the individuals who showed the least amount of concreteness and rigidity were those who experienced a relationship with a parent or parents which might be called relatively consistent, encouraging and supportive.

Having concluded that the Trukese were rigid and concrete the deduction was drawn that in novel, problem-solving, or conflictful situations the adequacy of response would be impaired. The conditions under which suicide or running away are contemplated and the Trukese behavior when confronted with a technical or mechanical problem would seem to support the deduction. One of the difficulties involved in testing the deduction is that we are dealing with a culture in which initiative is unrewarded, novelty avoided, and conflict generally suppressed. If it were possible to observe directly Trukese children in their school situation and the adult in the learning of important skills—to observe the progress of learning under natural but specified conditions—we might be better able to describe the Trukese handling of novel and problem-solving situations.

2. *Delay of Response.* This characteristic was described in relation to novel, problem-solving, conflictful situations. I think it is clear from the ethnography that the Trukese do not generally respond to such situations in an impulsive, unreflective manner. To act spontaneously—to give expression to feelings at the time they are experienced—requires a degree of self-confidence of which the Trukese child is robbed by the nature of his early parent-child relations. The very conditions which make for concreteness and rigidity in response also make, in the case of the Trukese, for the delay of response, a delay caused by lack of confidence rather than by the need to consider alternative ways of responding. Again one must point to the fact that it is those individuals who experienced the least support, consistency, and encouragement from their parents who show the least degree of spontaneity. It is also important to note, as Gladwin has in an earlier chapter, "A Review of the Individual Records," that among these individuals are those who did not have the opportunity to identify with a parent of the same sex.

Gladwin related the following experiences which I think are related to the characteristic of delay of response. When (during those years when he had administrative responsibilities on Truk) he had occasion to meet with a group on some matter, he early learned that one never got a spontaneous reply to a question. There would be a long silence, even though there was no doubt that the question was understood. After the first few such meetings Gladwin resorted to the following procedure: after an introductory statement he would ask the question, go right on talking, and then ask the question again, because he found that it was only after giving them such a period in which to prepare themselves that someone in the group would try to answer his questions. It would indeed be interesting to know the differences between those situations where delay of response is found and where it is absent. On the basis of such differential observations one could test conclusively the hypothesis that delay of response is found in those situations which are, for one reason or another, novel, problem-solving, and conflictful. What evidence is available supports the hypothesis.

3. *Strong Inhibitory Tendencies.* This heading contained several conclusions. The first was that it was strong hostile drives which were kept in check by the inhibitory forces. The correctness of this has already been discussed by Gladwin. The second conclusion was that in the face of strong feeling or conflict the control which the Trukese can exercise is on the inadequate side. The nature of the inadequacy was contained in a third conclusion: expression of aggressive feeling would be avoided without any resolution of the conflict (suppression rather than repression) but when expressed it would be either furtive and disguised or diffuse and strong—it would either be indirect or in one way or another extreme. Although Gladwin has discussed the evidence (running away, suicide) which reflects inadequate handling of aggressive feeling, such evidence is largely in terms of overt behavior. Since the Trukese generally do not express such feeling in an overt form,

one must try to determine the covert effects of their inability to express hostility. Inadequacy of control can be reflected not only in overt behavior but in such more or less covert ways as restriction of range of response, degree of tension, lack of drive and confidence, and undue passivity. It is in studying the life histories of such people as Mike, Tony and Edward that one sees the crippling covert effects of their handling of extremely strong hostility. As Gladwin has so well pointed out, throughout the life trajectory of the Trukese the system of rewards and punishments is such as to minimize the experience of satisfaction from an overt display of aggression and to maximize the strength of the conflict engendered by such feeling. Without the life histories I do not think we would have more than a superficial understanding of the interfering, constricting, covert effects of the inadequate handling of strong hostile feelings.

That the interpretation does not contain any reference to self-aggression or suicidal tendencies is clearly due to my failure to deduce the obvious from already stated conclusions. Having said that the Trukese experienced much hostility which they could not express directly I should have deduced the possibility that such hostility might then be directed toward the self. I am fairly sure that other psychologists having come to similar conclusions would have drawn the correct deduction. My failure to do so is a particularly good example of how the psychologist can overlook obvious implications of his data. It was not the test, as a data-obtaining instrument, which was at fault, but the interpreter.

It has already been pointed out that my test interpretation was in part wrong in the conclusion that the Trukese would express aggression only diffusely and in an uncontrolled way. Gladwin has indicated that while aggressive display is relatively rare there are times when the Trukese respond directly and not diffusely. His description of wife-beating and the three fighting episodes which took place during his stay on Romonum indicate that direct expression is possible for the Trukese. His description of wife-beating, in which the punishment usually seems out of proportion to the crime, indicates that the expression of aggression is on these occasions to some extent uncontrolled. It is notable that this takes place in a context where direct expression of aggression is culturally permitted. The best examples of diffuseness, as Gladwin has pointed out, are running away and suicide attempts—the description of Andy's suicide attempt being particularly illuminating.

4. *Superficial Interpersonal Relationships.* Gladwin has already commented on the relevance of this characteristic. But two of the deductions drawn from the conclusion seem worthy of mention. The first deduction was that interpersonal relationships were not likely to be emotionally satisfying. Aside from the "brother" relationship, which was discussed in the TAT interpretation, the weight of the evidence supports the deduction. The second deduction was that the superficiality of such relationships not only does not relieve conflict but indeed may heighten it. That is, when in an interpersonal relationship individuals are unable to achieve

some form of gratification—either in terms of what they expected or what they had formerly experienced—the frustration increases the strength of any existing conflict. A good example of this is Gladwin's description of the change that takes place between the lover relationship and the marital one. The lover relationship is superficial in that the basis (sexual) for it is extremely narrow and each partner approaches it in a self-centered, narcissistic way. Although the need for mastery may not be equally satisfied in both partners the potentiality for such satisfaction exists. When the lovers are married, however, the amount of satisfaction which they derive from their relationship decreases at the same time that each takes on new social and economic obligations. The marital relationship, in terms of sexual and social satisfactions, compares unfavorably to that between lovers—in marriage they simply cannot be as free as before. From the ethnography it would appear reasonable to conclude that the unsatisfactory marital relationship, comparing unfavorably as it does with the one between lovers, facilitates the establishment of the adulterous relationship.

5. *Sexual Conflict*. The first major conclusion in this section was that sexual expression and adjustment probably represent a more central and conflictful problem to the Trukese than it does to individuals in many other societies. This obviously requires a detailed comparison of Truk with other societies, a comparison which is far outside the focus of the present book. I presented the conclusion in this way because merely to say that the sexuality is full of conflict for the Trukese is not to make a discriminating statement. In terms of frequency of sexual contact, conscious preoccupation with such activity, and its general effect on the individual's functioning, the Trukese appear to be even more extreme than the members of Western societies. One might put it this way: a greater percentage of Trukese individuals are seriously concerned with sexual activities than would be found in any Western society. Since such a statement is not grounded in known facts, let it suffice for me to express the opinion that the conclusion appears to be supported by the ethnography.

The second major conclusion was that there were marked differences in psychological characteristics between men and women, the latter being more aggressive, less well-controlled, and more volatile. Gladwin has already pointed out the importance of this conclusion.

The third conclusion was that men show greater inhibition and conflict about sexuality, appearing to attach a greater importance to sexual adequacy as a reflection of personal adequacy than do the women. Gladwin has pointed out that while it appears to be true that the men approach the sexual situation with greater anxiety than the women, the latter appear to have more anxiety about sexual adequacy than was indicated in the test summary. In other words, the interpretation was apparently correct in attributing more anxiety to the men but wrong in that the degree of concern experienced by the women was not detected. I think there are several



possible reasons for the error. First, I know I approached the data with the Western bias that concern over the size, formation, and adequacy of the genitals was *much more* a masculine than a feminine concern. I was set, so to speak, to find in Trukese men what one finds frequently in Western men. It simply never occurred to me that women might have a similar concern. A second possible reason for the error would be that the examiner, by virtue of being a male, inhibited the giving of as many and as direct sexual responses by the women as by the men. We know from Gladwin's discussion of the individual life histories that he was a "father" to several of the women and hence sexual matters were taboo. Although I was apparently correct when I stated that a particular woman had sexual concern, I did not feel that the evidence for such statements was as clear as that for similar statements in the case of individual men, and I was never clear as to the nature of such concern in the women.

Perhaps one of the most important implications of the present discussion concerns the crucialness for test interpretation of determining the nature of the individual's attitudes in the test situation. It is obviously naïve to assume that an individual's responses to a Rorschach are uninfluenced by the characteristics of the examiner, the individual's previous experience with similar situations, his conception of the purposes of the testing, and his attitudes toward self, test, and the examiner. Without a knowledge of the nature of these determinants it does not make sense, theoretically and clinically, to try to understand the personal significances of an individual's verbalizations. It is difficult in our own culture to determine the nature and effects of these determinants—it is even more difficult when one is dealing with individuals whose way of thinking is very different from our own. It was because of these considerations that the only questions I asked Gladwin during the interpretation concerned an individual's behavior in the test situation. That Gladwin was not able to answer many of these questions was due to the long interval which had elapsed between administration (1947) and interpretation (1951) and, perhaps more importantly, to the fact that in our early conferences I was insufficiently aware of the importance of situational factors. If I had been more aware of the importance of these factors at that time, provision could have been made for obtaining a more complete description of the individual's behavior in the test situation.

6. *Age Differences.* Here the "suggestion of a conclusion" was that with increase in age there appears to be a weakening of the pervasiveness of inhibitory tendencies, especially in the cases of males over forty. As Gladwin has suggested, if the conclusion had reference only to the test situation it would have been correct. But in terms of social behavior outside this situation the conclusion is wrong. This seems to be an example of where test behavior is not very representative of an individual's reaction to important life situations. Here again, however, there is the possibility that the error was not due to the unrepresentativeness of the behavior but to my interpretation of what the behavior signified. I think I was carried away

by the fact that the older men seemed to talk a lot and go off at tangents. But talking a lot may have different significances depending on whether it reflects uneasiness, a desire to please, an attempt to be cooperative, or evasiveness. Although a more satisfactory record of test behavior might have served as a corrective to what was more a speculation than a conclusion, the fact remains that I should have been aware at the time of interpretation of the different possible significances of the test behavior. Although I stated the conclusion without too much confidence, a more careful examination of the evidence might have resulted in a happy silence.

7. *Individual Differences.* Whatever the deficiencies of the life histories, I think they rather clearly demonstrate that despite the common characteristics which the individuals share the range of differences is striking. Gladwin has covered this point clearly.

The conclusions contained in the headings of the TAT summary will now be taken up.

1. *Conflict Between Men and Women.* In this section the possibility that the women were more affected by the test situation, specifically by the male examiner, was raised. It was also stated that it was the giving of sexual material which was inhibited in the women.

The first major conclusion concerning the male's attitude toward himself, women, and sexual activity was essentially valid and has already been sufficiently discussed by Gladwin. One aspect of the conclusion deserves mention: that women are neither sexually timid nor inhibited and that they (like the men) approach sexual activity in a self-centered (narcissistic) way. This is mentioned because it seems to give a more complete picture of the importance of sexual activity to women than was true in the Rorschach. Although such a conclusion does not indicate the woman's concern about genital adequacy, one might have deduced that whatever sexual concern she did have would be largely about her own activity rather than that of her partner.

In discussing the Rorschach it was pointed out that the women's concern about genital adequacy was not contained in the test summary and doubt was raised whether it could have been deduced *from the Rorschach*. I am less certain that this concern could not have been deduced from the TAT conclusion (given with not too much confidence) that women were sexually exhibitionistic. In the ethnography Gladwin (p. 110) has described how women competitively display to each other their genitals—a form of exhibitionism not found in men. Having concluded that women were exhibitionistic I think I should have raised the question of what the significance of such exhibitionism might be. Although I might still not have arrived at a correct evaluation of the women's genital concern, it is possible that I would at least have raised the possibility that women do have some strong sexual concern. This seems to be another example (self-aggression being another) of a particular psychologist's failure to follow through on the implications of a conclusion. In the

case of the TAT it would seem to be the psychologist rather than the instrument that was faulty.

The third conclusion was that girls experience more and earlier restrictions than do boys and that their consequent resentment is probably in some way related to later man-woman difficulties. As Gladwin has pointed out, the observational data necessary for evaluating this are lacking in the ethnography. In the light of the nature of adult man-woman relationships it would be surprising if further study did not indicate that their origins were in the differential treatment and experiences of boys and girls in the preadolescent period. When one remembers that the Trukese boy and girl from a very early age observe in intimate detail and are affected by the relationships among the adults in their lives, one would expect that by the process of identification they would take on the attitudes, if not in some form the behavior, of these people. The young Trukese boy and girl come to certain conclusions about what being a Trukese man and woman signifies: the advantages and disadvantages, restrictions, etc. They observe not only their own parents, but, in contrast to children in our own society, they also have many opportunities to observe in great detail the behavior of other adults who can affect their lives in many respects.

To evaluate the conclusion would require a new and more narrowly focused study. The following are examples of the kinds of questions which would have to be studied: Are there differences in attitude on the part of parents to the birth of a boy and a girl? Does the father's interest and participation in the activities of the child differ in the case of a boy and a girl? When and under what conditions does the mother's relationship to a girl begin to differ from that to the boy? What are the factors which bring about play groupings on the basis of sex? When and how do boys and girls become aware of physical sex differences and what is the content of such awareness? When and under what conditions do boys and girls become aware of the necessity of genital modesty? One could list more questions but it is sufficiently clear that the problem is not a simple one.

2. *Parent-Child Relationships.* Gladwin has covered in detail the validity of the major conclusions contained under this heading. One deduction, however, deserves mention here: that the Trukese would have little difficulty in "taking" and "receiving" from others but would have great difficulty in giving of themselves to others, emotionally and materially. The emotional "giving" of oneself has already been discussed. In regard to food the ethnography bears out the deduction: the reluctance to share food with non-relatives (unless "one is temporarily on another island and is visited by a person from one's own island"), the frequent denial of food to old people, and the instances in the life histories where parents have not shared food with other members of the family.

3. *Food Anxiety.* In view of the ethnography the presence of a food anxiety at all stages in the life of the Trukese requires no further comment.

4. *Separation Anxiety.* That the Trukese do experience a separation anxiety is supported by the ethnography. Although I agree with Gladwin about the importance of the kin group in the security system of the individual Trukese—best illustrated in his reaction to the death of a relative—I think the origins of the separation anxiety, as stated in the test summary, are to be found in the nature of early parent-child relationships. As was said in the summary: Children who are dependent emotionally and materially on others, and whose dependency needs are relatively ungratified, are likely to experience anxiety at the prospect of experience of rejection and separation.

It seems clear from the ethnography that at an early age children are warned about being away too long from the family, and it is likely that the anxiety which mothers frequently experience at the child's prolonged absence, especially when the possibility of drowning is present, is communicated to the child. It is from the parents that the child learns about the malevolence of ghosts and what will befall him if he transgresses parental strictures. The ethnography and life histories contained abundant evidence that parents inculcate in children the belief that one is subject to attack by ghosts when one is alone. It is not clear whether this represents solely a deliberate attempt to keep the child at home or whether it is also a reflection of a belief which the parent shares. In short, the separation anxiety appears to be learned first in the context of the immediate family and is the basis for the later manifestations of the anxiety in connection with the larger kin group.

5. *A "Lazy" Culture.* In this section it was stated that the Trukese were not industrious, personally ambitious, foresightful and deliberative. This conclusion really represents a deduction from all preceding ones. That their interests are narrow, their ambitions modest, and their foresightfulness conspicuous by its absence comes up again and again in the life histories. The test conclusion is summed up beautifully in Gladwin's comment in connection with the Trukese attitudes toward responsibility and work: "Safety and security are best found in obscurity."

In evaluating the relative contributions of the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test one is immediately struck by the different kinds of information they give. Although both are projective tests and purport to give a description of personality, it is clear from this study that each complements the other rather than each giving the same conclusions. One might put it this way: the tests either illuminate different problems or different aspects of the same problems. For example, it is indeed surprising that the Rorschach is unilluminating about Trukese food anxiety. This may, however, be in some way related to the fact that the indications of concreteness in the TAT are by no means so clear or revealing as those on the Rorschach. The explanation might be that the nature of the stimulus materials and instructions may bring to the fore a particular characteristic which prevents the giving of other responses indicative of another characteristic. The fact that the ink-blot tests are amorphous and require that one find some *thing* in them



brought to the fore the Trukese concreteness and rigidity: each card was a thing and having "found out" what it was their task was complete. Such a set reduces the sheer quantity of responses. Since the Trukese frequently interpreted the task as requiring a response to the whole card such content as mouths and beaks, which might signify an oral concern, were not likely to be given. When one adds to this the Trukese tendency to give non-human content, the giving of "oral" responses is made even less likely. In the TAT, where the stimulus materials contained familiar objects and activities, concreteness is not so evident since the individual could *describe* what was in the picture. When they had difficulty *interpreting* a picture it was sometimes attributable to concreteness but at other times to evasiveness. The TAT pictures obviously facilitate the giving of stories about people and by virtue of that the Trukese could tell stories about their food activities. In other words, the factors which would engender the concrete type of response in the Trukese were present in the Rorschach to a greater degree than in the TAT. Whatever the true explanation, the fact still remains that from the Rorschach we could not deduce the food anxiety and from the TAT the strength of the concrete and rigid mental set is not strikingly clear.

From the Rorschach we could not have said much, except by a somewhat devious deductive process, about Trukese separation anxiety and parent-child relationships. Again one might say that the nature of the TAT stimulus materials lends itself to the giving of responses involving an individual in relation to others. From the Rorschach we were able to detect a sexual concern but from the TAT we were able to elaborate on the content of such concern. The Rorschach enabled us to see how the Trukese were likely to handle aggressive conflicts by avoidance and suppressive mechanisms but the TAT tells us more about the situational contexts in which these conflicts arise.

The major difference between the two tests might be put as follows: the Rorschach enables us to characterize in somewhat general terms (a) the ways in which an individual reacts to himself and others; (b) the relation between overt and covert behavior; (c) the degree of control exercised over the expression of strong drives, and (d) the handling of stressful situations. The TAT helps us to describe the social and situational contexts in which the above are either learned or expressed. In future studies one can only recommend that both tests be used.

#### CONGRUENCE IN THE INDIVIDUAL CASE

In discussing congruence we have only made reference to the relations between the ethnographic data and the general summaries based on each of the two tests used. Because the individual life histories are in general sparse, the unreliability of their contents probably of sizable magnitude, and their interpretation admittedly hazardous, it does not seem feasible to attempt any kind of systematic evaluation of congruence for the individual cases. Perhaps the main objection to such an at-

tempt is that an individual's report about himself is not an appropriate criterion against which to compare the interpretation of his test responses. Such a report can be of great value when one also has available case history material and direct observational data obtained in various social settings. However, I share Gladwin's opinion that despite the limitations of the life histories (and the sparseness of the test protocols) the test interpretations distinguished rather well among the individuals—due as much, I think, to Gladwin's knowledge of the family background of the individual as to what the individual himself related. For example, had not Gladwin known as well as he did the family history of Sam, Roger, Mike, Andy, Tony and Paul I do not think that their psychological similarities and differences as described in the test interpretations would have been as meaningful as I believe them to be. The fact that Gladwin secured important data on the backgrounds of these individuals and frequently knew first-hand some of the people most important in their lives made up in part for the inadequacies of the life history material. If we did not know that Mike's father (a chief) was indeed an authoritarian individual, we would not understand so clearly as I think we do his underlying hostility and marked inhibitory tendencies. If we did not know about the details of Paul's enterprising relatives, then his own "promoting" tendencies as revealed in the protocols would be difficult to understand. If Gladwin had not observed and reported that Roger was very short in stature and that he had been adopted by a woman whose maternal tendencies had been frustrated, then many of the statements contained in the interpretation of his tests would not be so pointed as they appear to be. One could give more examples but this point is clear: a life history as given by an individual should be accompanied by case history data obtained from independent sources. The case history data may not always be as objective as one would like but they usually contain far less interpretation by the investigator than is required of him in working with a life history, and they can serve as a crucial aid in correcting the inadequacies and understanding the ambiguities of life history material. When in addition one has observations of the individual in various situations, the possibility of correctly understanding the determinants, past and present, of his behavior is considerably increased—and suitable criteria for evaluating the test interpretation are present.

### CONCLUSIONS

1. Psychological tests can be interpreted in a manner so as to give conclusions which correspond rather well with ethnographic data.
2. Psychological tests can be of value to the anthropologist as a means of guiding his attention to areas or problems which he may have overlooked or to which sufficient emphasis was not given.
3. The Rorschach and TAT each yield either different kinds of data or different facets of the same problems so that wherever possible both tests should be utilized.

4. From the standpoint of objectivity and avoidance of bias it would not appear to be sound for the anthropologist who has collected the ethnographic data also to interpret the test data.

5. The interpretive procedure used in the present study appears to have an encouraging degree of validity but whether it is a communicable and reliable procedure remains to be demonstrated.

6. Although a blind interpretation of the tests was considered necessary in order to attempt to make more explicit the relations between the test data and the conclusions drawn, ignorance of the culture results in some erroneous conclusions. Blind interpretation which is not intended to shed light on the relations among test data, conclusions, and the interpretive procedure is more in the nature of a stunt than of a scientific investigation however short such an investigation may fall of its mark.

7. Evaluation of congruence, to be properly reliable, requires several appropriately trained judges who have the time and incentive necessary for familiarizing themselves with the rather voluminous data one obtains in a culture and personality study.

8. Future culture and personality studies should give attention to the sources of error which can affect their data, of which the psychologist, informant, and anthropologist appear to be the most important.

## CONCLUSIONS

IN this book we have set forth a study in culture and personality, in this case of the people of Romonum on Truk although we have reason to feel that the conclusions reached here are in the main applicable to all of the people of Truk. Our objectives have been those which are common to a number of similar studies: we have described the features of the society and culture relevant to individual development in essentially anthropological terms and then proceeded to a description and analysis of the types of personality which these conditions bring forth; in addition we have, in common with other workers in this field, attempted in some measure to further the development of methodology in the study of culture and personality. It remains now only to review in general terms the results of our work in order to draw together the more salient conclusions reached in the preceding pages.

We found the Trukese infant and child in his early years dependent upon a group of adults—particularly his parents and other relatives—who are notably self-centered in the sense that they are not poised to respond to the child in a way which would make the satisfaction of his needs more imperative than their own personal inclinations of the moment. From the child's standpoint, then, the response of the adults to his demands must appear highly inconsistent and not predictable by the child in terms of his own behavior. He thus has great difficulty in formulating a mode of behavior which he can feel will be effective in dealing with his social environment and such responses as he does develop tend in the direction of concrete and conformist behavior which will see him through his daily round of activities with a minimum of ostentation or initiative. He avoids situations in which he is likely to be forced to make a choice or precipitate a conflict.

The Trukese throughout his lifetime does not appear to be able to overcome the handicap thus imposed upon him in his childhood. What is, however, for the individual a limitation on successful self-expression serves to buttress the larger social system of which he forms a part. The obligations of reciprocal economic and social support which characterize the relationships between the members of the lineages and other kin groups on Truk could scarcely have any hope of fulfillment in a society of *prima donnas*. And while we with our ideals of self-realization may look upon the Trukese *Weltanschauung* as unduly restricted he finds his rewards in the security which his restraint largely insures.

We say "largely" because the Trukese has learned from childhood onward that, no matter how cautiously and correctly approached, his fellow-man remains



in some degree unpredictable and inconsistent in his response. Anxieties are felt by a Trukese in regard to the solidarity and support of his kinsmen, and center particularly upon their willingness to continue to supply him with food on those occasions when he is not able to obtain it himself. We have noted the irony in the striking anxiety of the Trukese over food, which is so inconsistent with his surroundings of plenty. But this becomes less surprising when we remember that the unpredictability of adults from the child's viewpoint applies also to their supplying him with food and that they in addition play upon the anxiety so created by deliberately withholding food as a form of punishment. He thus learns not only that he cannot insure his being fed when he wishes but also that if he offends he will probably not be fed. The uncertainties and social implications of eating which confront the Trukese child must inevitably imbue food with psychological overtones which bear little relation to the actual availability or lack of food in the environment.

Another paradox we have discussed is the relatively greater anxiety of all kinds revealed by the men on Truk as against the women, despite the fact that this is a society in which practically all activities—economic, social, sexual, political and esoteric—are seemingly controlled and dominated by men. It is the men who are the providers, the leaders and the boastful adulterers. The paradox is heightened by the observation that there is at least no obvious attempt to treat boys and girls differently during their early years. Yet we have seen that despite their apparent subservience and limited capacity to obtain food women do not become desperate and suicidal when they feel a threat of rejection by their kinsmen or lapse into despair when their strength is threatened by illness, and in other ways show themselves to be more serene and feel more secure when they face a difficult situation. The explanation lies in part in the fact that from puberty onward a woman, remaining in her own home, gradually consolidates her position more and more. In contrast, the boy at puberty is expected to leave his home in order to avoid the incestuous implications of living in the same house with his sister and nowadays does not even have a men's house to which to retreat. When, after living with relatives or as a semi-outcast in his own home, a man marries, he finds himself living with his wife's relatives in their household where their continuing support is dependent upon his good behavior and his ability to help them in the provision of food; his wife meanwhile has improved her own position by increasing the family larder through his labors without any effort on her own part. Thus the woman strengthens her position merely by remaining at home while the man has over a period of years to adjust himself to several households and kin groups and must depend in greater degree than a woman upon his own social and economic ability to maintain the status he acquires.

We have also speculated that a girl may feel more psychological assurance in her identification of herself with her mother as a woman than does a boy in identi-

fyng with his father. Our review of the individual case studies showed rather clearly the importance to the Trukese of the ability to identify with a parent of the same sex and insofar as women, and hence mothers, are more secure than men their daughters may be expected to profit by their identification with them accordingly. In addition, sexuality, and particularly adultery, is of great importance to the Trukese and provides them with the only context in which they can give free rein to their desires to achieve self-expression and interpersonal mastery, a circumstance made possible by the fact that the sexual partner is confined by the incest taboos specifically to non-relatives—upon whom one is therefore not dependent for support and toward whom one need not exercise restraint. And although it is again the man who must take the sexual initiative it is the woman who is the desirable object of conquest, and who runs the least risks. Because liaisons are frankly sexual in purpose a woman's attractiveness in this regard lies in her sexual, and more specifically genital, desirability. The Trukese have standards of female genital adequacy comparable to and very possibly more important than the familiar criteria of male genital adequacy. This, then, provides another aspect of femininity by which a girl may evaluate herself and has led us to surmise that whereas in our society the psychoanalytic concept of penis envy may be important in understanding male-female relationships and attitudes, on Truk this phenomenon may be reversed in a form which we may refer to as vagina envy. This is evidenced not only in the obvious psychological and social importance to a woman of having an anatomically desirable vagina, but also in the degree to which most Trukese men are preoccupied with the genital adequacy of their actual or potential sexual partners.

Turning to considerations of method it will be obvious to workers in the field of culture and personality that the design of the present study owes much to the pioneering work of Cora DuBois and Abram Kardiner published as *The People of Alor*.<sup>1</sup> We have hoped to improve on the design of the Alor study particularly in two respects: the use of projective test results independently arrived at as a primary datum in the definition of personality rather than as a corroborative device, and the development of a systematic series of case studies of individuals selected as representative of the population as a whole but also in part selected in order to explore the range of variability in personality to be found among the successfully functioning members of the society. As pointed out in the introduction the use of such case studies not only provides a more secure basis for our conclusions in regard to Trukese personality in general but also permits the examination of not one but a number of possible equations between cultural and social conditioning and resultant psychological attributes—and such equations are the essential grist of any culture and personality study.

In regard to our use of projective tests (the Rorschach and TAT) it should first be noted that their analysis depended very little upon scoring categories and

<sup>1</sup> Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.

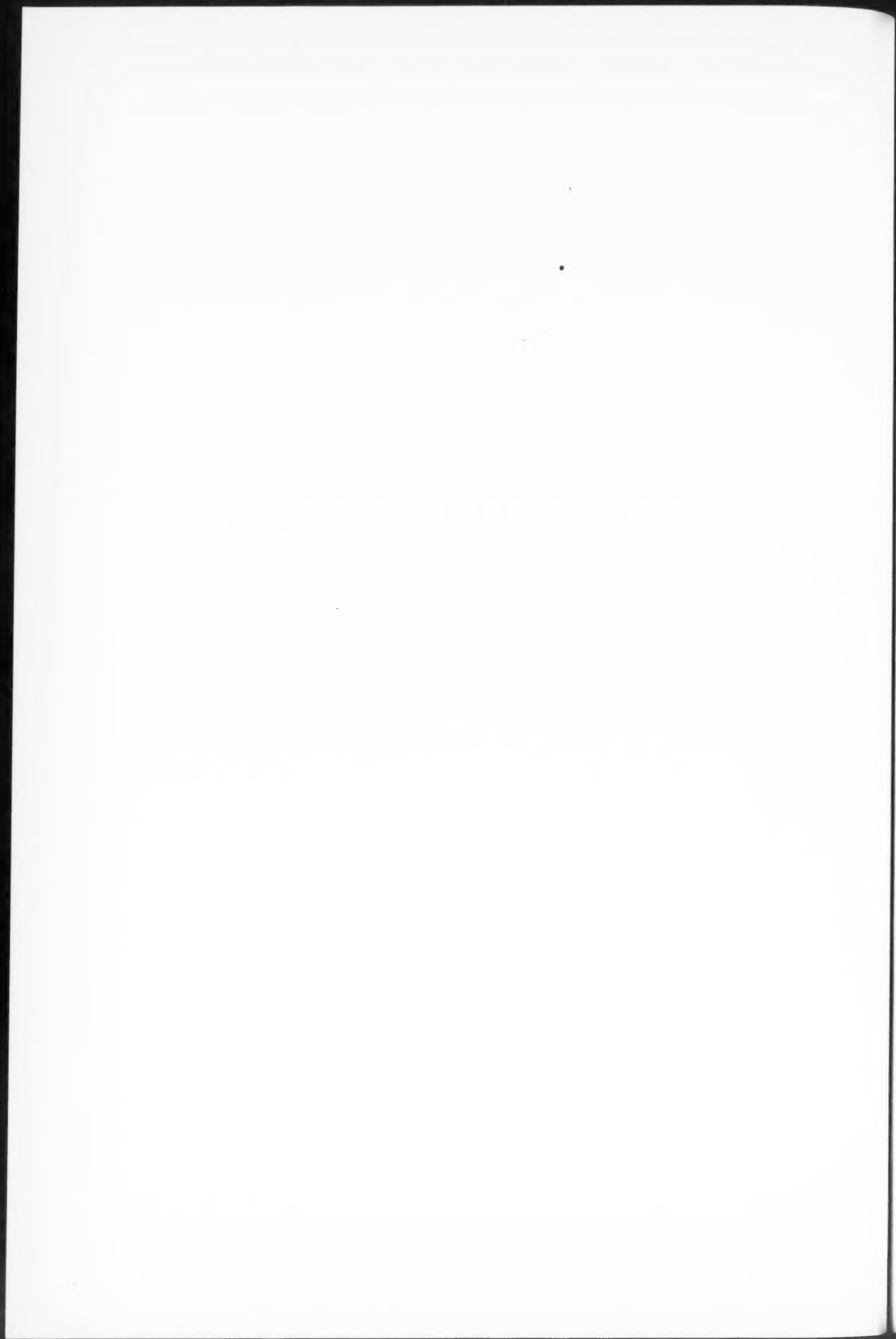
was in no formal way statistical. Each record was approached with the objective of attempting to predict from the individual's behavior in the particular problem-solving test situation what his behavioral attributes would be under other more general conditions. The analysis was furthermore done by the psychologist (Sarason) without drawing upon any knowledge of the Trukese society and culture from the anthropologist (Gladwin), although before being accepted as valid Sarason's conclusions were examined in detail against the ethnographic record and modified accordingly, the entire process being made as explicit as possible in the preceding chapters. The test results provided a number of hypotheses and made evident several relationships within the ethnographic data which were not apparent during the initial "anthropological" analysis.

The necessity so created of reconciling two essentially different orders of data bearing upon a common problem must also reduce, though scarcely eliminate, the possibility of subjective bias or blind spots in the reasoning of either anthropologist or psychologist. Any measures which will serve to reduce the degree of subjectivity in studies of culture and personality are methodologically of great importance. The first real strides in this area of investigation were made by men of often brilliant insight—the names of Sapir and Linton come particularly to mind—but such intuitively successful insight is not common and usually does not permit of satisfactory verification by other workers or other techniques. Probably partly in reaction to this trend there has been of recent years an effort to quantify the attributes of personality—especially through the use of Rorschach scoring categories—and thereby to increase the reliability and verifiability of results as well as provide a measure of statistical control over the degree of significance to be attributed to comparisons and conclusions drawn from the data. Recent studies, however, have produced an increasing body of evidence opposed to the uncritical acceptance of the Rorschach scoring categories as being valid indicators of actual behavior even for members of our own society and there is thus serious reason to question the advisability of attempting to quantify psychological attributes until we have examined much more thoroughly the significance and referents of the units we are to use as our basic measures. This is even more true when we come to apply such criteria to the evaluation of personality in societies other than our own. Differences in the training and experience of non-European peoples makes almost impossible the drawing of valid conclusions about them from such culture-bound tests as the Bender-Gestalt (or even the Kohs Block Test attempted here) but also raise doubts as to the validity of any mechanical-like interpretation of the less structured Rorschach and TAT (even with special pictures). Such tests, however, and others even more specifically designed for use only in our own society, represent our nearest approach to date to the solution of the problem of obtaining objectivity in the study of personality.

This must not, however, be taken to imply that the quantification and statistical

manipulation of psychological data from other societies is not our ultimate objective for this is one of the most important means through which we may attain our final aim of valid and reliable predictability. It only means that the realization of this objective must wait the fuller determination and definition of the relevant variables in our equations. It is our hope that this study will have made at least a small contribution in this direction.

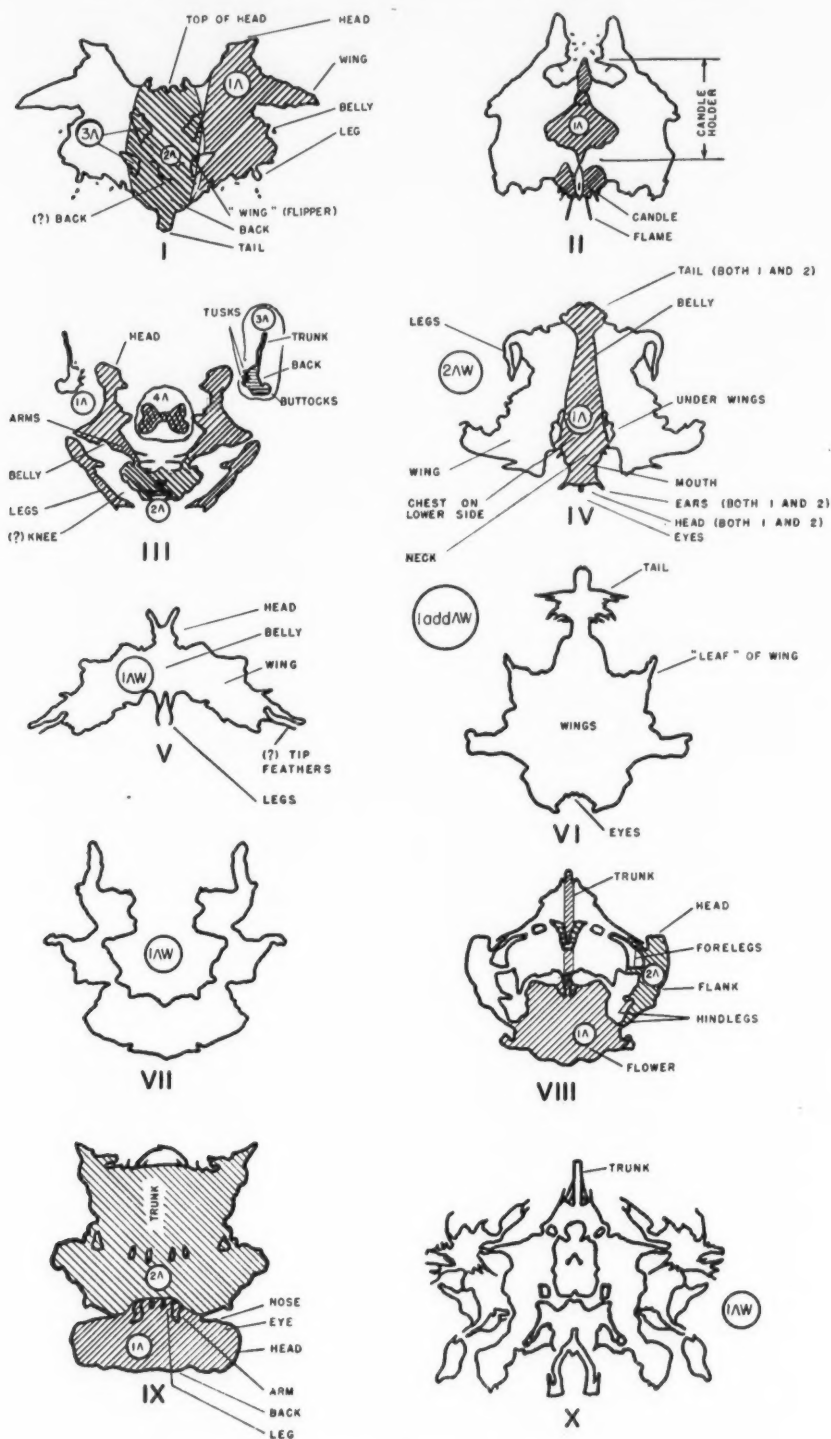




APPENDIX A  
RORSCHACH RECORDS  
COMMENTARY BY  
SEYMOUR B. SARASON

NOTE: The left-hand column is the performance; the right-hand one is the inquiry. Main scoring appears at the left and additional scoring at the right in the performance column.

An analytic summary by Seymour B. Sarason of each of these records appears in the individual case analysis in the text.



LOCATIONS CHART: SAM

## TRUKESSE MEN

SAM

AGE: 13 years.

(In instruction blot, he saw a pig.)

### CARD I

1. 18 sec. Fruit bat. Another on the other side.  
D FC' A  
[Tracing.] Head, wing, leg; all this is fur but we don't see it because this is just a picture. [Why bat?] Because of the head and wings—the legs and genitals of a bat are all together so it makes a compact body.
2. Sting-ray.  
dr FC' A  
[Tracing.] It is black, like the fruit bat. . . . I put this line here (middle of tracing) because it is black. [Why ray?] Because of the shape of the wings.
3. Holes. [2 min.]  
S F,CF N  
[Where?] The four white places—they are like holes in a reef. [What shall we think about them?] Like a window [or door] because the light comes through from the other side and makes it white.

He responds relatively quickly and gives more than the average number of responses to this card. Neither in the way he describes each response nor in the apparent way he feels in the situation does he manifest any feelings of inadequacy, bewilderment, or extreme caution. In fact, the way in which he "explains" his responses would indicate a degree of self-confidence which is unusual for the Trukese. He is not bothered by the apparent "wholeness" of the card and can attend to the most obvious configurations. He is aware of the objective characteristic of the external stimulus, its color, and can respond to it by incorporating it into his responses. The one question that one might raise is why he mentions the "genitals" in his first response. From the way he described the response, and traces it, it would seem that he does not see the genitals. Why, then, does he mention them?

### CARD II

1. 1 min. 25 sec. Candle—candle-holder.  
[3 min.]  
dr,S F,CF Obj  
[Tracing.] Candle, candle-holder, flame of candle. [Why does the flame not go over to here (in black area)?] It does go over there, because it is a little red, but not as red as it is here. [Why a candle-holder?] Because of the red flame. [What else?] Because the flame looks like this ♀ with the wick at the bottom.



Although his response time goes up, indicating that some factor was perplexing him, he is able to produce a very well delineated response in which color again is incorporated into the response. It is important to note that although the introduction of bright color may have perplexed him, he overcomes the difficulty by giving one of the best organized responses in the entire series of records. He does this not by using one of the obvious details but by combining the white space and red areas in a creditable fashion. In contrast to many other of his people, Sam does not have to be prodded to respond and explain his responses. In contrast he appears to be spontaneous, creative, and on the extroverted side. Unlike many of the others Sam does not appear to be unhappy in this situation.

## CARD III

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. 12 sec. Person—two of them.<br>D M H<br>(See III: 2)                                    | [Parts of body?] Legs, arms, belly, head,<br>[?] knee. [What sort of people?] Ghosts.<br>[Why?] Whole body looks like it—<br>pointed chin of skull, hairy arms and legs. |
| 2. They are lifting these plants.<br>D F PI  | [?] Is round, with irregular outline. [?]<br>Two plants.   |
| 3. Animals.<br>D F- A  | [?] Elephant. [Why?] Trunk. [Parts of<br>body?] Back, buttocks, tusks. [Do we<br>know anything more about it?] No.   |
| 4. Red flower of the plant—it has fallen,<br>and lies between the men. [3½ min.]<br>D FC N | [Why?] It is red. [Anything else?] It is<br>shaped like a flower.  |

Again he responds quickly and produces more than the others. For the first time he gives a movement response, and again he can respond to the color. It should be noted that his human figure, the ghost, is applied to the area which Western people most frequently use, while many other Trukese do not use the usual leg area. The way in which he integrates all but the side red area into one response underlines the relatively good ability which Sam possesses. The relative ease with which he talks and explains—the way in which he can respond to what is in the stimulus—would indicate that he uses his ability. Sam's "elephant" response, however, raises a problem. The long projection is the trunk; the little side projections are the tusks and the rest of the area are the buttocks and the back. It is these latter two areas which make it a whole elephant for Sam, making this a poorly seen response. In view of the question about the genitals in the first card, it is interesting that the part of the elephant which doesn't make good sense is called the buttocks. One can only speculate at this point as to the possible significance of the apparent "interest" in the sexual areas. Can it be that he is set to see the sexual area because it is an area of conflict and preoccupation?

## CARD IV

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. 32 sec. <i>Nifaro</i> [a fishing bird—lives<br>in burrows in the daytime].<br>dr F A | [Tracing.] Head, ears, eyes, mouth. We<br>don't see it because the picture is black,<br>but actually the <i>nifaro</i> is spotted—under<br>its wings, belly and tail. |
|---|---|

2. Oh, I am wrong: the whole thing is a fruit bat. [We'll think of both of them.] (1½ min.)

W FM A

[Why a fruit bat?] Because the wings are stretched out, like a bat that is flying.

Here again we see further indication of Sam's good ability. His first response is nicely chiseled out of the center portion. Note how easily he explains the response: he not only tells the examiner what he sees but what he doesn't see and why he cannot. His comment to the second response explains something that Sam has never done: if an area has been called a certain thing then it can't be called anything else. Since his first response here is to an area which is also part of the second response, he wants to reject the first response. An area is *x* and it cannot be used for *y*—a rigidity or concreteness which is shared by the other Trukese. However, although Sam shares this concreteness and rigidity, he has it to a far less extent than the others. At least here Sam is able to use the same area for two different responses. Most of the others would not or could not show even this flexibility.

#### CARD V

1. 46 sec. Animal. [1 min.]

W FC, FM A

[What kind?] A black tern. [Where?] Whole thing. [Why?] Wings are long—also the legs stretched out because it is flying over. (While the examiner was looking up the name of the bird in the dictionary, Sam remarked as a point of information that the bird was black, but he was apparently not referring to the blot.)

The rigidity noted above shows up here. Since he uses the whole card for one response, he does not give, or try to give, another response. He gives the response and immediately relinquishes the card.

#### CARD VI

1. 30 sec. I don't know. [You haven't really thought about it.] 55 sec. Skate. [1 min.]

W F A

[Where?] Whole thing. [Why?] Wings, tail. The leaf of his wing [i.e., pectoral fin] moves when he swims. [Why do you think it is moving?] It is not moving here, but it moves in the sea.

Spontaneously, he rejects the card and it is the examiner's insistence that results in Sam's one response. Why was he so ready to reject the card? It is as if he weren't even trying too hard. After 30 seconds (he held cards II and V longer) he is ready to give up. One possible explanation for his rejection of the card would assume that, consciously or unconsciously, he perceived the sexual organ. But why should sexual associations result in inhibition of response? This question cannot be answered here. What can be said is that this boy has some kind of conflict in the sexual area. Even if one were to leave aside the possible sexual conflict, the fact still remains that at this point in the test inhibiting tendencies prevented spontaneous responding, a marked contrast to the other cards. But even this statement must be qualified: when pressed he can respond to this card, something which other males found difficult to do.

## CARD VII

1. 1 min. 25 sec. Clouds—here, here— [Why?] The outline is irregular, like a lot of trees. It has the shape of clouds.  
the whole thing. [2 min.]  
W F N

After what is for Sam a relatively long reaction time, he produces a vague, diffuse kind of response. Since he responds to the whole, he cannot use the parts for any other response.

## CARD VIII

1. 22 sec. The flower of a tree. [What do we see?] One flower—which is red—and the trunk below it [above].  
dr FC N [What about this (blue and grey area)?]  
Not a part of it. [?] It has the shape of a flower.
2. Pig—two pigs—they are on the tree. Why does this look so much like a pig  
[1½ min.] . . . ? [Parts of body?] Head, forelegs,  
D F A back, flank, hindlegs—we don't see the tail. [Why pig?] Short snout; the legs are like a cow's, but a little different.

## CARD IX

1. 36 sec. These are people— [Parts of body?] Head, legs, arm, eye.  
2. they are sticking out from the top of [Why eye?] Here—the nose is below, the forehead above, and the eye in the middle.  
this tree—they are not real people, but [Why tree?] Because the trunk goes down and then branches spread down to the ground (now pointing to the orange as well as green part). [Any other reason?] Just the trunk going down—no other reason.  
just a part of the tree which looks like people. This is the tree [green portion] and its trunk. (2 min.)  
D F H  
W F N

Here again Sam must justify why his people are not real people but a part of the tree which happens to look like people. The whole thing is a tree and parts of it cannot be used for anything else. What is important is that Sam is able to overcome this concreteness to a certain extent, something which most Trukese could not do.

## CARD X

1. 11 sec. The whole thing is branches [Why?] All the parts just look like tree  
of a tree—this is the trunk. An American tree—there are none like this on branches, plus the trunk.  
Truk. [1 min.]  
W F N

Although this response is on the vague, impressionistic side, he justifies it in an unusual way by saying it must be an American tree. In a sense this type of explanation typifies Sam: he has a ready, and usually good, explanation for what he does. He is resourceful in coping with the test.

# MIKE

AGE: 17 years.

## CARD I

1. 50 sec. Island. (Looked at the card some more, but no further response.)  
[1 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W F N

[How much of it is an island?] The whole picture. [How are we looking at it?] As if from an airplane—from above. [Why is it like an island?] It just looks like one. (Repeated and further questioning failed to add to this.)

His reaction time is near the median for the male group and his one response on the vague, diffuse side. It is possible that having given a response to the whole card he cannot give anything else—the concreteness and lack of flexibility discussed in Sam's case. If this is so then Mike suffers from this limitation to a far greater degree than Sam. It should be noted that Mike can at least justify the response, but only when pressed. Sam spontaneously gave explanations. Mike is not spontaneous.

## CARD II

1. (After 2 $\frac{1}{4}$  min. said) I don't know.  
[Look some more.] (At 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  min. said)  
There isn't anything.

Why does he reject the card? Is it that he thinks the whole card must be a "thing" and he cannot see a "thing"? Was he cowed by the examiner's questions in the inquiry of Card I? In any event, he is unable to be productive or creative. He cannot give anything unless he is sure of what he is doing, a degree of caution and inhibition which was missing in Sam.

## CARD III

1. (After 4 min. said) I don't know this one either. [Do you understand what you are to do?] No. [Just as you saw an island in the first picture, find something in this one.]

5 min. Two people.

D M H

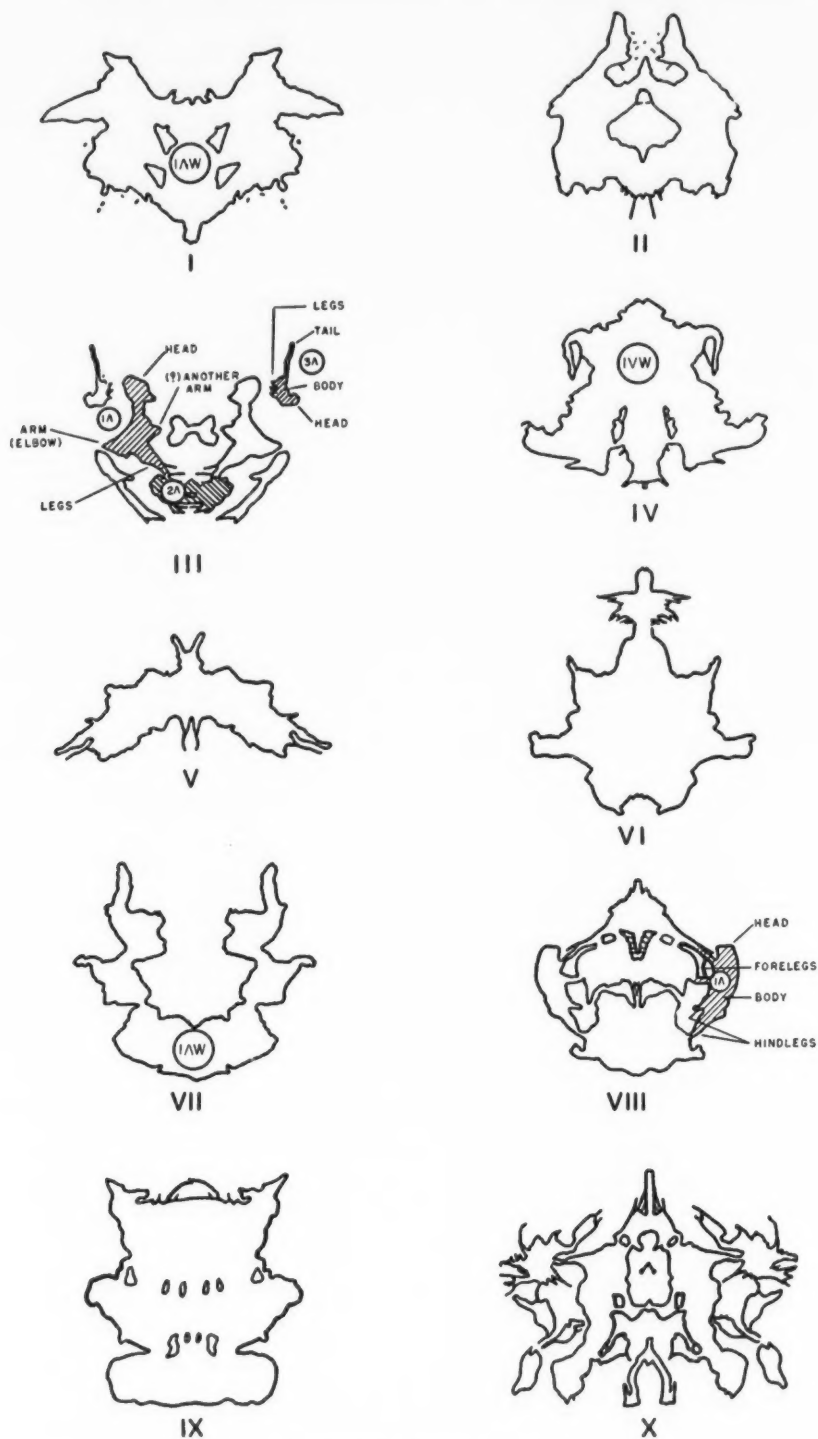
[Show me parts of body.] Head, legs, arms. They are standing on these rocks. Their arms are back, elbows sticking out back.

2. Rocks.

D F N

[Why rocks?] They are round, like rocks. [What kind of rock?] From inland [i.e., black basalt, as distinguished from coral, the only other common kind of rock]. [Why?] Because people are standing on it.





LOCATIONS CHART: MIKE

## 3. Animals. [10 min.]

D F A      [What kind of animals?] Looks like a  
dog. [Parts of body.] Head, body, what  
is this long thing? . . . a tail, legs.  
[What shall we think about these dogs?]  
Nothing.

Does he give himself away? At first he says he does not understand but when pressed he gives acceptable responses. It would appear, especially since he did respond to Card I, that he is afraid to respond, perhaps because he doesn't know whether he is right or not. He appears cautious, inhibited, fearful. Unless given much support when he is uncertain, he behaves in a constricted and unproductive manner. He is capable of more than he overtly demonstrates. He lacks the buoyancy of Sam. He cannot respond to color and his movement response is on the passive side. Whereas Sam became aware and responded to the objective properties of the stimulus (the colors), Mike tends to avoid them or withdraw from them.

## CARD IV

1. 5 min. Like that other one, an island.      [Why an island?] Just looks like it.  
[5 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]      [How are we looking at it?] From above.  
W F N

After a very long reaction time he can only give the same vague response he gave to Card I. It is interesting that Cards I and IV both have more "whole" character than II and III and it is to the former that he can respond with a whole response while to the latter he could give nothing spontaneously. In any event, Mike is unable to use his capacities in anything resembling a creative or even adequate fashion. The novel and the strange perplex and disconcert him and he can express little or nothing of himself.

## CARD V

1. (After 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  min. said) I really don't  
know.

## CARD VI

1. (After 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't know this one  
either.

The rejection of these cards adds nothing new except to emphasize the extreme constriction of the man. Whatever goes on inside him stays inside.

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 28 sec. Rock. [2 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]      [Where?] Whole thing. [Why?] I don't  
W F N      know.

Again Mike falls back on a previously given content.

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 5 sec. I know about those two animals, but I don't know about this [center portion of blot]. [2½ min.]  
D F A

[What kind of animals?] They look like pigs. [Why?] I don't know. [Parts of body.] Head, forelegs, hindlegs, body. [What else do we know about them?] I looked at them and they looked like pigs.

Here Mike tells us that he thinks the whole card must be responded to—he tells the examiner that he knows about the side areas but not about the middle.

## CARD IX

1. (After 3¼ min.) I have thought about this, but I don't know. [Do you think of things, but think they are not right?] Yes. [Well, what do you see?] Nothing.

Mike's fearfulness and unwillingness to expose his thoughts are brought out here. He admits that he is afraid that what he thinks is wrong but cannot bring himself to admit what these things are.

## CARD X

1. (After 4½ min.) I don't know this either. [Not a thing there you know?] No.

# ROGER

AGE: 17 years.

## CARD I

1. 28 sec. A tree.  
W F N

[How much of it is the tree?] The whole thing, with the trunk in the middle. These above are twigs. [Why a tree?] The branches coming out, with leaves at the ends. [Why do they look like leaves?] Because of the serrated edges of the picture.

2. A bird.  
dr F A

[Tracing.] These made me think of a bird—they look like a bird's feet. No, they are not feet, they are ears—one kind of bird has ears here. [What kind?] A fruit bat. [But that is not a bird. (This was an error on the examiner's part, as linguistically and apparently conceptually, the Trukese class bats with birds.)] Oh, a sea tern. [But why not a bat?] It is a bat—I really think so, but you said a bat is not a bird.

3. Rock. [2½ min.]  
dd F N

Five rocks. (Later, he counted up to 11 rocks.) [Why rocks?] Round. [Any other reason?] No.

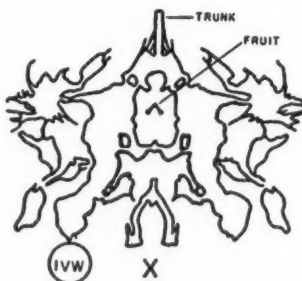
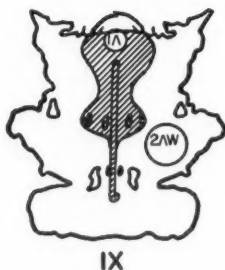
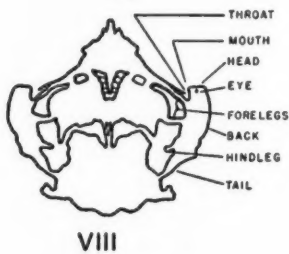
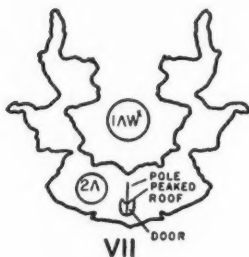
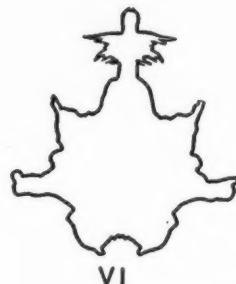
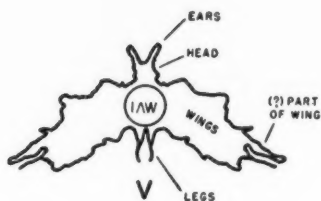
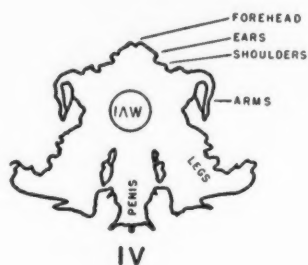
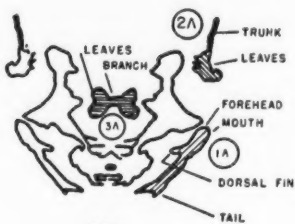
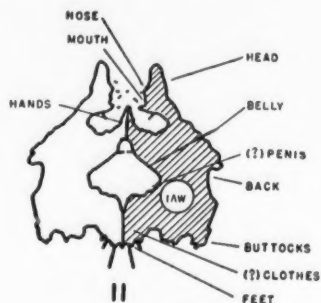
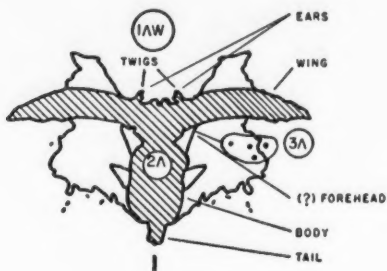
He responds relatively quickly and the response is acceptable in contrast to Mike's; like Sam, one does not have to pull words from him. He does not appear to be afraid to talk. His second response is a very good one and demonstrates flexibility on his part—even though the first response used the whole card this does not prevent him from using part of it for his bird. It is also important to note that even though the examiner contradicted him, he stuck to his guns, indicating self-confidence. His third response (counting the rocks) is probably related to his "quantity set": the more one gives the better. If this is so it indicates a kind of striving and ambitiousness which is unusual for the Trukese. But it may be important that when he strives, the quality of his responses suffers: note the difference in quality between his second and third responses.

## CARD II

1. 2 min. 22 sec. (At 1½ min., remarked he did not see anything.) People [3¼ min.].  
W F H

[Tracing.] (While tracing, said) Why did I say "person" [or "people"]; this looks just like a monkey. [After tracing: how about the people?] They are mon-





LOCATIONS CHART: ROGER

keys. [Why monkeys?] Because they look like humans. [Then why not say "human"?] Because it is not a real human being.

He has difficulty with this card but he was able to overcome it and give a good response. But he becomes uncertain as to whether it is a monkey or a human and decides on the monkey in a rather concrete way. That Roger wants to do well—not to be wrong—is indicated by this response as well as by the second to Card I where he is not sure whether an area is the ear or feet. It is important to note that when he is questioned by the examiner he does not change his mind and passively submit. Although there are traces of uncertainty within him, he can master it and is not unduly affected. In his tracing he indicates a small projection as the penis and also points out the buttocks. This is like Sam. Why do they point out the sexual areas? One other note: Roger gives no movement or color. This would indicate a tendency to constriction. In Roger's case it does not prevent a superficial spontaneity but reflects the inhibiting of a personal way of responding.

## CARD III

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 29 sec. A shark . . . here is another one.<br>D F A  | Forehead, mouth, dorsal fin, tail, middle. [Any other reason?] No. |
| 2. A plant . . . here's another.<br>D F N   | The trunk, leaves. [Why leaves?] The edges are serrated.           |
| 3. Another plant ["butterfly"]. I don't know what these [bodies of "waiters"] are. [2½ min.]<br>D F N | The branch [or stalk] is in the middle; these are leaves.          |

The inability to give the more personal kind of response is seen again in this card: he does not see the human form. But he can give three responses. Although he does not mention color it may be that he is seeing it in his plant responses. Although he is relatively productive, the quality of his responses is not as good as Sam's. He tries (in contrast to Mike) and he can produce but what he gives does not seem to be an expression of his needs and motivations.

## CARD IV

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. 48 sec. A ghost—the whole thing. [1¼ min.]<br>W FC' H | Forehead, ears, shoulders, arms, legs, penis. [Why a ghost?] It is black, like a ghost. |
|--|---|

He gives up on this card very quickly after he gives his one response, something which he has not done on other cards. The response has an anxious content—it is a ghost. Also, in general the response is good except that he makes the large, center-bottom detail the penis. Was the quick giving up of the card related to the ghost and penis? Why does he make it such a large penis (in Card II the penis was a small projection)? Because he gives an anxious content and his productivity goes down, one might raise the question

about a sexual problem of some sort. Does he overevaluate the importance of the male organ? It is plausible to conjecture that he sees it as an erect penis.

## CARD V

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 12 sec. A fruit bat—the whole thing.         | [What is this?] Part of the wing. [Why     |
| Ears, head, wings, legs. [ $1\frac{1}{2}$ min.] | a fruit bat?] Has the big wings, the legs, |
| W F A   | ears, etc., of a fruit bat.                |

He gives one response. Why can't he give more as on I and III? Is there a carry-over from IV?

## CARD VI

1. (After  $\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't know—there isn't anything.

Although he holds other cards longer before responding, he rejects this card after 45 seconds. Thus far the first three cases have rejected this card. After what happened in IV it seems reasonable to ask in this case if the sexual area is not a conflictful one for Roger. Not only should this card be viewed with Card IV but the drop in productivity beginning with IV should be kept in mind. Roger has petered out somewhat, in contrast to Sam who continued to respond. What has apparently happened thus far is in line with a previous statement: Roger's responsiveness tends to lack depth and personal expression.

## CARD VII

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. 23 sec. A cloud—two of them.   | The whole thing—on each side. [Why a     |
| W K N                             | cloud?] It is whitish and then darker in |
|                                   | places like a cloud.                     |
| 2. A house. [ $\frac{3}{4}$ min.] | [Tracing.] A pole is in the middle.      |
| d F Obj                           |  |
| 2.                                | dr CF N                                  |
|                                   | The black on the sides [of the house] is |
|                                   | rock. [Why?] Because it is black.        |

He goes from a vague, undifferentiated whole to a nicely seen response to a small area. This jump from the large to the small is similar to what he did in Card I. This jumping may be related to his quantity set. In any event, he shows a tendency to be disorderly in his approach to this problem-solving situation.

## CARD VIII

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 15 sec. A pig . . . another. [ $\frac{3}{4}$ min.] | Mouth, head, eye, back, forelegs, hind     |
| D F A   | leg, tail. [Only one hind leg?] The two    |
|   | are together. [Why is tail big?] A few     |
|   | pigs have long tails. No other reason [for |
|   | calling it pig].                           |

He gives the popular response relatively quickly but there is no movement.

## CARD IX

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 20 sec. A guitar.<br>dr, S F Obj                       | [Tracing.] It has the same shape as a guitar.                                  |
| 2. A tree—the whole thing. [ $\frac{3}{4}$ min.]<br>W F N | The middle is the trunk, all the rest is leaves. [Why leaves?] Serrated edges. |

In relatively quick time he gives a very well delineated response. In fact, his guitar in this card and his bird in Card I are among the best in the entire series of records. Again, it should be noted that he can be flexible: the fact that he gives the guitar to the middle area does not prevent him from using the whole card for the tree. Roger presents certain contrasts: he goes from the vague to the precise, from the large to the small, from responsiveness to its absence, from striving or something akin to ambitiousness to avoidance.

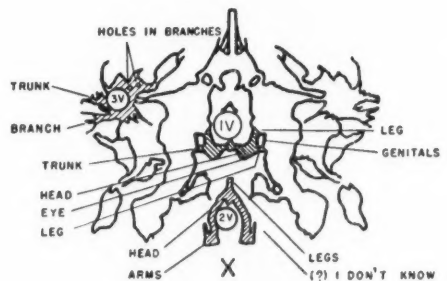
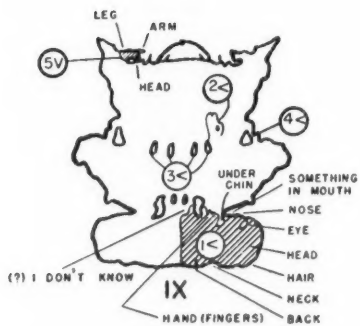
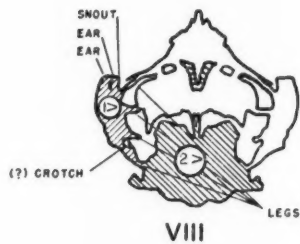
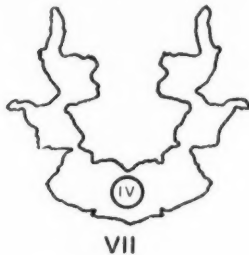
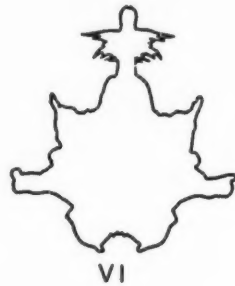
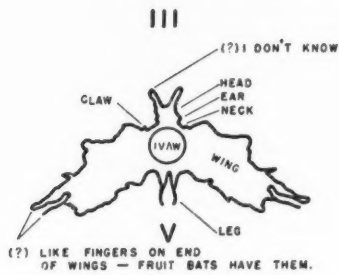
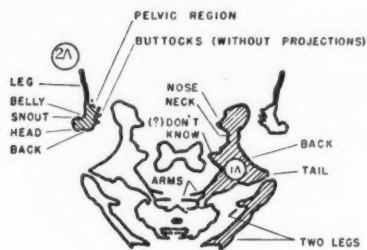
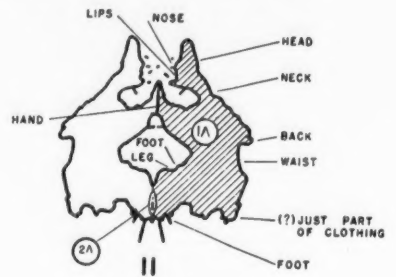
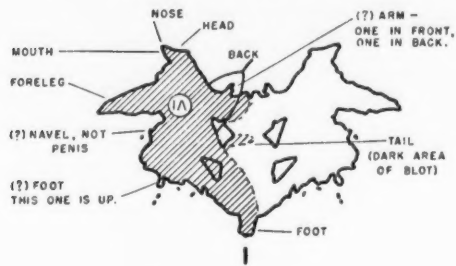
## CARD X

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. 15 sec. (Although this was the first time he had turned a card, he did it immediately and without hesitation.)<br>The whole thing is a tree . . . this is the fruit . . . all the rest is leaves . . . this is the trunk. [1 min.]<br>W F N | [Why?] It just looks like it. |
|--|-------------------------------|

He quickly gives a not too well delineated tree.

NOTE: Beginning with Card IV he holds the cards a much shorter time than those before it. . . . Although he is credited with but one color response, it may be that it is also contained in others but he did not mention it. In any event, externally directed responsiveness is not always easy for Roger. Where no particular demands are made of him he can respond to others in relatively easy fashion.





LOCATIONS CHART: ANDY

ANDY

AGE: 19 years.

CARD I

1. 34 sec. Animal. It flaps like a dog that is flying. I don't know what sort of an animal it is. [2 min.]

dr FM A

[Tracing.] [Why a dog?] Because of the shape of its head. [Why flying?] Because its forelegs are out.

He responds relatively quickly with a movement response. He is the first one to give a movement response so early in a record. The form quality of the response is somewhat dubious, but this may be due to the examiner's questions about the tracing. What he gives spontaneously is better than what he adds as a result of questioning about unspecified areas.

CARD II

1. 41 sec. (Turned card down then up.) Here is a person—two people. Their arms—they are clapping hands. Their heads, with red cloths on them—Is it blood? Are these feet? They are bloody. They are sitting. This is another foot. These are clothes. [3½ min.]

W M,CF,FC' H,bl

[Tracing.] [Is it a cloth or blood on head?] I thought it was a cloth, but now I know it isn't [What is it?] Just a head, but it looks bloody. [Why blood?] Perhaps they are fighting . . . it just looks like blood. [Why clothing (on body)?] It just looks very much like it. It is black . . . woman's clothes . . . it looked like a woman, so I decided she had clothes. [Trukese women usually wear white or prints.] [Why a woman?] It just looked like one. [How about the clothes again?] A white neck like your [i.e., the examiner's] skin, then red clothing, and then black.

2. (Having said he was finished, he looked again at the red portion of the bottom of the card.) Why does it look just like a vagina? (Pointing to middle of blot.) Holes. [This response not timed.]

dr F,CF Hd

[Tracing] [Why a vagina?] Holes, blood. [Why blood?] I have seen a few women like this—I just looked at them for fun—they did not say anything. [Why blood?] Menstruating.

He is the first one to turn the card so early in the record. He not only gives a lively movement response, but he also uses the colors. He organizes the card well and with no apparent difficulty. He shows a good degree of sustained conceptual thinking. He can respond in a varied manner. Note his indecision about the content. Initially they are clapping but because of the blood it may be women fighting. The aggressive content does

not appear right off. There is hesitation about giving it but he does. This is a "Western" type of response—very un-Trukese. Although he said he was finished after this response he did not let the card go as so many would have done. Others might have seen the vagina but would not have commented on it. An interesting chain of associations; clapping, fighting, women, menstruation. Note how he says he has seen a "few women" like this, as if one should not do this. What does he mean "they did not say anything"? Does this indicate that women can be aggressive about sexual matters? In any event, it indicates that Andy has a degree of assertiveness and curiosity which most Trukese males do not manifest. He is spontaneous and direct, lacking the inhibitions that so many have. He can give of himself and he is aware of things, far more perceptive than others.

## CARD III

1. 1 min. 10 sec. Animal—two of them. Head, nose, neck, back, foreleg (two), tail, two hind legs (he pointed these out); leaning over with hands on something . . . holding something. I don't know about this ["butterfly" in middle].

W M, (A)

2. Looks like an animal. (Pointing,) leg, waist, buttocks, two arms (demonstrated they were held out behind as if sitting and leaning back on hands), back, belly, snout like a monkey, head—the back of the head looks like a human. [7 min.]

D M A

[Tracing.] (While he was tracing, he said) Why can't we see the eyes? . . . Oh, they are looking away—they are having a verbal battle. [When tracing completed: What is that?—i.e., middle lower blobs.] I don't know what sort of thing they are holding with their hands. [Why animal, not person?] Foot is not like a person's foot, also nose, arms. Only the pelvic region looks human.

[Tracing.] (When he had finished the tracing, he said) Monkey. [Why a monkey?] Just looks a lot like one. [Note: although this response is more plausible in position V, he did not turn the card while talking about it either in performance or inquiry.]

Again, he gives a well-delineated movement response with aggressive content. But note that the aggressiveness is "verbal." One would not expect Andy to be an overtly aggressive person in the sense of being unable to control it. Aggression, as in Card II, does not come out immediately; it is more like an afterthought. He probably would be aware of aggressive tendencies but control them fairly well. In his second response, he gives a monkey in a human-like pose. Andy should be able to express his inner needs and motivations much better than the others. Inhibitory tendencies against subjective expression are not as strong as in others.

## CARD IV

1. (Turned card various ways.) Nothing. [1½ min.]

One must qualify the statement about inhibitory tendencies. Why does he reject the card? On the basis of his previous performance one would expect him to be able to handle the card. There are some inhibitory tendencies.

## CARD V

1. 37 sec. Animal. Has wings like a fruit bat. I don't know about the projections above and below. . . . (Long pause.) Now I understand about these [upper projections]. They are legs. (Turned card upright.) (Pointing,) head, ears, neck, the things which stick out on the wings [of fruit bats, i.e., the claws or hooks by which they hang themselves up]. [3 min.]  
W F A

Although this is a popular response he describes it more precisely than others do.

## CARD VI

1. (Turned card various ways.) I don't know what this may be. . . . It looks as if there must be something, but I can't make it out. [1½ min.]

Again a rejection. From his verbalization one might deduce that he actually sees something but he "can't make it out." Is it associations about male sexuality that make it difficult? Note that he turns the card several ways. He apparently tries but is blocked, whether for conscious or unconscious reasons. If he can see the vagina in Card II why not the penis here or in Card IV as some others do? Cards IV and VI are striking contrasts to the rest of the record.

## CARD VII

1. 30 sec. (Turned card, laughed.) Clouds? [Why clouds?] The shape—there are no objects in the picture. It looks like smoke. It looks just like clouds. But I don't know about this [black at mid-line]. [Why?] It billows out (pointing to "feather in hat," "arm"). [1½ min.]  
W F N

He give his first vague, undifferentiated response. Is this in any way related to his reaction to Card VI? That fact that he laughs, and can turn the cards, at least indicates that whatever caused rejection of VI does not have a marked pervasive effect.

## CARD VIII

1. 22 sec. Animal. That is all. [Look some more.] A pig. [Why pig?] (Pointing,) legs, back, belly, ears, snout, with mouth below. One rear leg lifted to step forward. No tail. (The examiner then asked for a tracing of the head and ears only, but he did everything.)  
D F M A

2. I don't know what sort of a plant this  
is. [2½ min.]  
dr F N

[Why plant?] I just think so. [A leaf,  
or the whole thing?] Only a leaf. [Why  
leaf?] Stem in the middle. [Why stem?]  
Runs down the middle.

In tracing his animal he changes the outline in order to indicate the crotch. Why does he do this? Why do so many Trukese (male at least) bring in the sexual areas either to the point of distortion or making them disproportionate in size. Again, did Andy reject Cards IV and VI because of some anxiety connected with perception of the male organ?

## CARD IX

1. 1 min. 25 sec. (Turned card various  
ways, pausing each time.) Person.  
D F Hd
2. Animal.  
D F Hd
3. Rocks.  
di F N
4. Light through branches of a tree.  
S C' N
5. Person. [3½ min.]  
dr F- H

[Tracing.] [Why eye?] Just looks like  
an eye. [What sort of person?] Woman.  
[Why?] Hair on head—there is lots of it.

[Tracing.] [What sort of an animal?] I  
don't know. [Why eye?] Just looks like it.

[Tracing.] [Why rocks?] Just look like  
them. I didn't know what they were, so  
I said rocks.

[Why tree?] It doesn't matter whether  
it is a tree or not. I was just talking about  
the hole—it is white—light coming  
through.

[Tracing.] [Why person, not animal,  
etc.?] It just looks like a person, not an  
animal.

His first two responses are well-seen "Western" ones. In his "person" response as traced, there is a possibility of his having used shading, a possibility which is not found in most records. His next two responses are rather vague and his last, another person, is poorly seen. He gave more responses here than he did to any other card and it may be that when he tries for quantity, like Roger, his control gets poorer—his judgment is not too good.

## CARD X

1. 3 min. I don't see anything . . .  
(pause). . . . Animals. I don't know  
what they are doing with this [middle]  
—it looks like a cup.  
D FM Ad
2. Person. Throwing arms up in play.  
D M H

[Tracing.] [What sort of an animal?]  
Elephant (he explained he saw one in a  
Japanese movie). It is holding a cup in  
its trunk. [Why is its head dark—i.e.,  
shaded in the tracing?] I don't know  
whether an elephant's head is dark or  
not—I just showed it that way because it  
is so in the picture.

[Tracing.] (While tracing, he laughed at  
the size of the arms.)

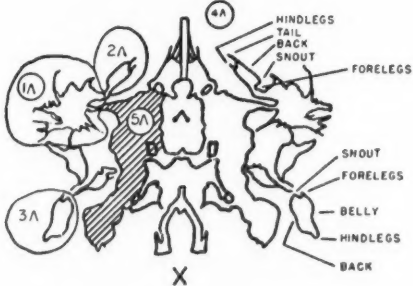
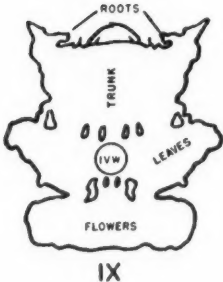
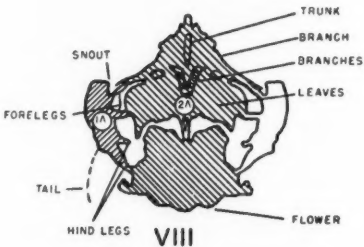
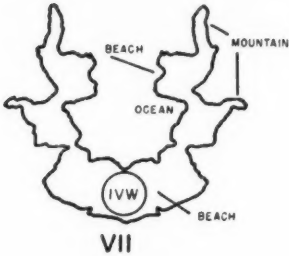
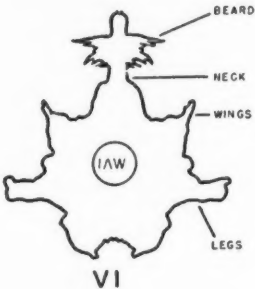
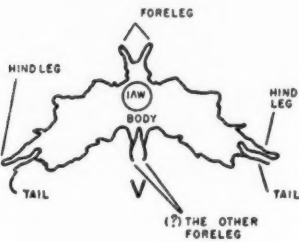
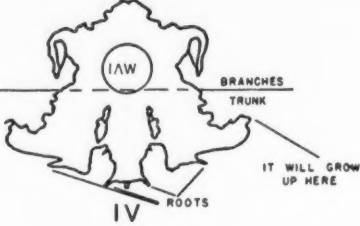
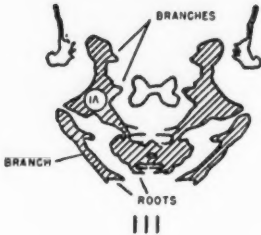
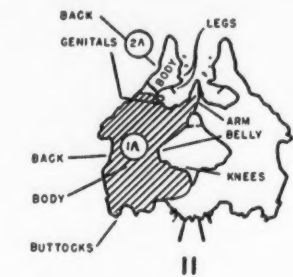
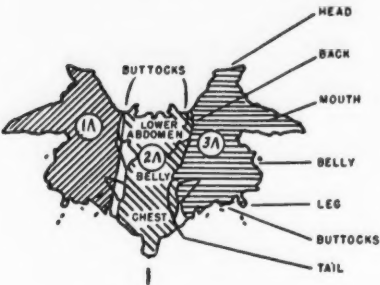


3. Plant. I don't know what kind. [7½ min.] [Tracing.] [What is hole in branches?] Nothing. [Why a tree?] Because of the branches spreading out.

D F N

He has a very long reaction time and then gives the elephant. What seems to have bothered him is the area which connects the two elephants. He solves the problem in an adequate fashion. He does not easily give up here—why then did he give up so much more quickly in IV and VI? But even in this response in tracing, he points out the genitals although they are not indicated in the card. His next response is another movement response and he is aware of the size of the arms—that they are disproportionate—but it does not prevent him from giving it. Andy is certainly not the concrete, unimaginative, constricted person that so many of the others are.

NOTE: Relatively little color in comparison to movement. Why not more color: Is the strength of his internal needs stronger or better developed than his ability to carry them out?



LOCATIONS CHART: TONY

AGE: 23 years.

## TONY

### CARD I

1. 52 sec. A cloud.  
D K N

[Where?] [Why cloud?] It looks like a cloud in the late afternoon. [Why?] It is dark, and has an irregular outline. [Why afternoon?] Because one afternoon I saw one like this.

2. The body of a person.  
dr M- H

[Tracing.] Head, buttocks—the person is sitting—there are no arms—body, chest, belly, lower abdomen, head, shoulders—no legs, no face, no ears. [But why shoulders here (top) when head here (bottom)?] Oh, those [formerly shoulders] are the buttocks. [What sort of person?] A ghost. [Why?] No arms, no legs, no ears. [Ghosts are often reported to be fairly amorphous.]

3. A ghost. [4 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
D F(F-) H

[Tracing.] This is a ghost from Lukunor [an island in the Mortlock group, about 150 mi. S. of Truk, and generally felt by the Trukese to have particularly malevolent ghosts and sorcery.] [Why?] It is in a folktale, and I just thought of it. [The ghost is a particularly bad one in the folktale in question.] [Why a ghost?] Because that ghost has a tail like Satan. [Why not something else with a tail?] Perhaps a cow? [But why did you say ghost before?] Because it did not look like anything else. [What about the cow?] I just see its hind leg. [Why?] I just thought of it.

His first response is rather vague and his justification for it is personal and not conceptual. His second response is poorly seen and when taken together with the first response indicates a lack of articulateness. The part of the second response which is poor is the lower half of the person. It is difficult for these people to see a part of a thing—they tend to give all or none. His third response is a ghost, which has an anxious content, and it is by virtue of the ghost designation that the response is considered acceptable. Although he produces on this card, what he gives indicates a poorer degree of reality test-

ing than Sam or Andy have. The fact that he gives two human or human-like forms would indicate that he is responding personally to the situation, but he is unable to give this subjectivity clear or direct expression.

## CARD II

1. 1 min. 43 sec. Why do I just think of people?

D F → M H

[Tracing.] Arm, no head, belly, knees—we don't see the lower legs—back, buttocks, body. [What shall we think of them?] They have their hands up together. [What sort of people?] Just people, clapping their hands together, but no heads.

2. Chicken. [3 min.]

D FM A

[Tracing.] No head again, legs, back, genitals, body. [Why chicken?] The legs look just like a chicken's legs. [Why?] One leg is straight down, the other is raised in taking a step. [Any other reason for saying chicken?] No.

He continues his personal way of responding and it seems to bother him, as if there is something wrong (or dangerous?) in so doing. His second response, also movement, is not fully described, but it is considered acceptable. His form level is much better here than in the first card. But note he gives no colors. Also, by his spontaneous comment the ghost in Card I is a person. It should be mentioned at this point that he never gives another human form. This is a form of suppression which indicates how strong are the inhibitory tendencies against personal responsiveness. In contrast to Mike, who was also fearful and anxious, Tony can overcome his anxiety to a greater extent, thereby indicating a degree of control. The fact that form level improves on this card also indicates recoverability. He is not so constricted as Mike but he leans in that direction. Also, he puts in the genitals on the chicken. Why do they mention that and not other things? The fact that Tony is able to leave out the head in his first response is to his intellectual credit. Tony seems to experience more anxiety than some of the others.

## CARD III

1. 1 min. 40 sec. A tree, without leaves.  
[3 min.]

dr F N

[How many?] Two. [Where?] Roots, branches. [Why tree?] There is nothing else like this. [Why?] I thought of a person—the head and neck—but it is not that, because there are no legs or arms. [But why a tree?] It just looks as though it were rooted to the ground.

The one response here is rather vague and it is interesting that this is given in place of people. He says he did not give the people because "there are no legs or arms" but this doesn't ring too true because his first response to II was people without heads.

Tony defends himself against giving the human form but what takes its place is vague and reflects little adaptability or sustained conceptualization. It should be noted that his productivity is diminished. In the face of conflict or uncertainty he retreats in a rather constricted and inadequate way. In Tony's case it seems he feels uncertainty or conflict more keenly or consciously than others.

## CARD IV

1. 1 min. 15 sec. Just another tree. [ $3\frac{1}{4}$  min.] [Where?] The whole thing. Roots—it will grow up here—branches, trunk. W F N [Why tree?] It sits down on the ground, its branches hang down—it just looks a lot like a tree.

He repeats a content. His constriction is evident in the way he has petered out in productivity. He started off with an anxiety-tinged responsiveness and now he is responding minimally and very impersonally. This is safer for him.

## CARD V

1. 2 min. 6 sec. An animal—the whole thing. [ $2\frac{1}{2}$  min.] [What kind of animal?] An elephant . . . or a cow? [Which?] I guess a cow. It is as if it had been cut down the middle and spread out. [Body parts?] [Why a cow?] Because of the tail, hind legs, fore-leg, and body—they just look like a cow. W F- A

He takes a long time to give this response and it is difficult to see how he is seeing it. It may be a minus or a poor response. Whereas before he was able to use parts of a card, in this and the previous card he gave wholes. Is the unclarity of the form related to the aggressive note in the response?

## CARD VI

1. 4 min. 3 sec. (including an interruption of about 30 sec.) A dragonfly. [Where?] There are two—half the picture is one. [Why?] Because of its "beard" [i.e., antennae]. [ $5\frac{3}{4}$  min.] W F A

Again, a long reaction time, but he finally responds. Why doesn't he reject cards when he is uncertain, like some of the others? Is it that he feels he must respond?

## CARD VII

1. 1 min. 21 sec. An island. [ $1\frac{3}{4}$  min.] [Where?] The whole thing. [We are looking at it from where?] We are on the edge of it, looking up at it. [How many islands?] Two—half the picture is one. W F N [Where is the ocean?] [Why an island?] There are no animals, trees or bushes that look like this, but it does look a little like an island.



Another vague, undifferentiated whole. He certainly has pulled his horns in since Card II. He is giving very impersonal responses—meeting the minimal requirements of the situation without involving himself as he did in I and II.

## CARD VIII

1. 29 sec. A monkey.

D FM A

[Where?] [Why monkey?] It looks just like one—it has no tail, but the hind legs, forelegs and head are just like one, and it is climbing on this tree.

2. Tree. [1 min.]

dr FC N

[Where?] The whole middle portion between the monkeys. [How about it?] (Turned card.) Trunk, flower. [Why flower?] It is red and yellow. Branches, more branches, leaves. [Why leaves?] Because we see the branches.

He gives his first color response. His productivity also goes up and he responds more quickly. His forms are more precise also. Are the black cards *anxiety-arousing*? His most anxious content is to Card I. So far his best forms are in II and VIII.

## CARD IX

1. 33 sec. A tree. [ $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]

W FC N

[How about it?] Roots, trunk, leaves, flowers. [Why flowers?] Red. [Why leaves?] The trunk is here: it is not proper that there should be no leaves.

He turns the card—he did earlier too—which is something that many cannot do. In this sense, he is not as constricted as some of the others. He gives a whole which, while scored FC, is on the vague side.

## CARD X

1. 1 min. 7 sec. A plant. [This word also means tree, piece of wood, timber, stick, etc. Cf. responses 4 and 5 below, where same word was used but translated differently on the basis of the inquiry.]

D F N

[Why?] A lot of branches all around—no trunk—it just lies on the ground. [How do we know it lies on the ground?] Because it has no trunk, no roots.

2. A pig.

D FM A

[How about it?] It is lying down—hind legs, forelegs, snout, tail, back, belly.

3. Another pig.

D FM A

[How about it?] It is also lying down—forelegs, hindlegs, snout, back, belly—we cannot see the tail.

4. A stick.

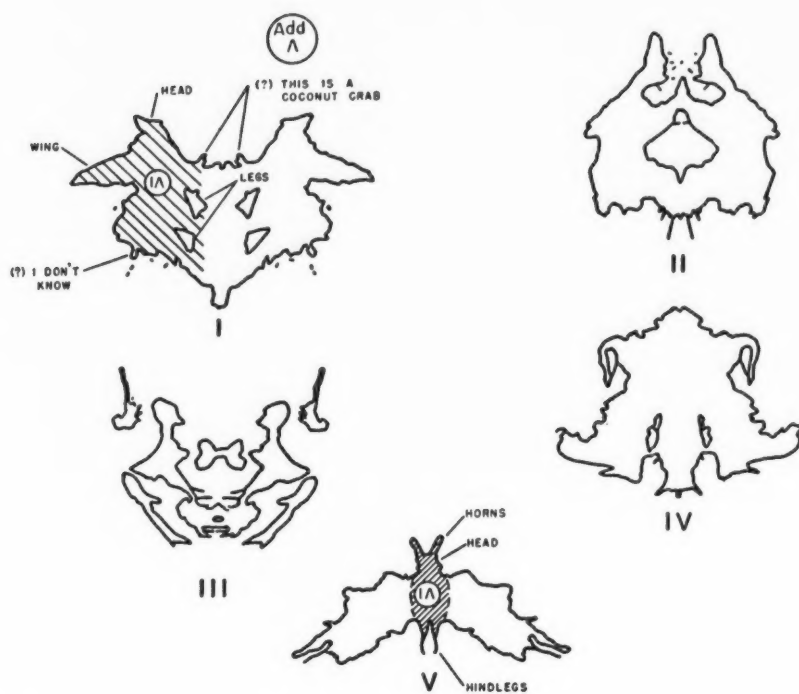
D F Obj

[How about it?] It is sticking up, as if it were in the ground. [Where?] [Why a stick?] Because there are no leaves. [?] We don't see the ground it is stuck in.

5. A piece of wood. [3½ min.]

[How about it?] Driftwood. [Why?] It has no leaves or branches. [Why a piece of wood?] Because there is nothing else that looks like this. [Why isn't there?] Because I haven't seen anything like it.

Although his productivity rises sharply, it is not accompanied by an improvement in quality. He gives a plant, pigs, a stick and a piece of wood. These responses do not require much conceptualization and reflect the shallowness of his striving. It is interesting that about half of his responses occur on two cards: I and X.



LOCATIONS CHART: EDWARD

EDWARD

AGE: 27 years.

CARD I

1. 2 min. 14 sec. (Turned card, then back up, before seeing anything.) Bird.

D F,FC' A

[How many?] Two birds. [Tracing of one.] [Why did you think of a bird?] Just from the wing. [What kind of a bird?] A fruit bat. [Why a fruit bat?] It is dark like a fruit bat. [What else?] Its head—it looks just like one.

2. A shellfish. [6¼ min.]

2a.

dr FC' A

[Where is the shellfish?] Do you mean the coconut crab? [No, at first you said there was a shellfish.] Well, now I only know about the coconut crab (added to tracing of I-1 to show crab). [Why did you think of a coconut crab?] It just looks like one: the shape of the body, and the dark color.

After a long reaction time, he gives the bird and uses the color although that comes out only after questioning. It is hard to understand why he forgets he said shellfish. Is it poor memory? Or is it a purposeful kind of forgetting? Or is it evasiveness?

CARD II

(Pointed to red at lower edge of blot, said he did not know. At 6 min., said he did not know anything in the picture.)

CARD III

(After 4 min.) I am sorry, but I don't know what this looks like. (Twice when pointing to things he did not know, pointed to red first, black afterward. Asked if he saw things but was embarrassed to mention them because they were bad, he said no.)

Rejected. From way he points to areas and "I don't know what this looks like" one wonders whether it is because of an extremely concrete approach: it must be something. The examiner does not help matters by suggesting that one may see "bad" things in the blots.

## CARD IV

(After  $6\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know this either. (Pointed in order to usual "tail," "arms," "legs.")

## CARD V

1. 1 min. 15 sec. (Turned card at once, [Tracing.] and then returned it before making response.) It looks like a cow in the middle—head, with horns, hind legs. I don't know what these ["wings"] are. It is a black cow. [ $5\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

D FC A

Is the answer to his rejections that he has to be able to integrate the color and the percept? At least he does not feel he has to use the whole card. The response is well seen.

## CARD VI

(Turned card at once, and almost immediately returned it. At  $1\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know anything about this.

Why does he return this card so quickly? Is this the sex conflict again? Why should this card receive such special treatment? Whatever the reason, the number of rejections speaks an extremely severe concreteness and rigidity.

## CARD VII

(Did not turn card at all. At  $2\frac{1}{4}$  min.)  
I am sorry, I don't know.

## CARD VIII

1. (After 1 min., turned card. After 4 min.) I am sorry, I don't know this either. [Why do you think you don't see things in these pictures?] I looked at this and saw animals [4 min. 20 sec.], but they were red and I didn't know what kind of animals would be red. ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  min.)

[What do we know about these animals?] Forelegs, hind leg, long tail. [How about the hind leg?] I only see one; the other must be behind the body.

D F A

Rejected, but he gives the reason. He must not only see a thing but it must be in reality the color it has in the blot.

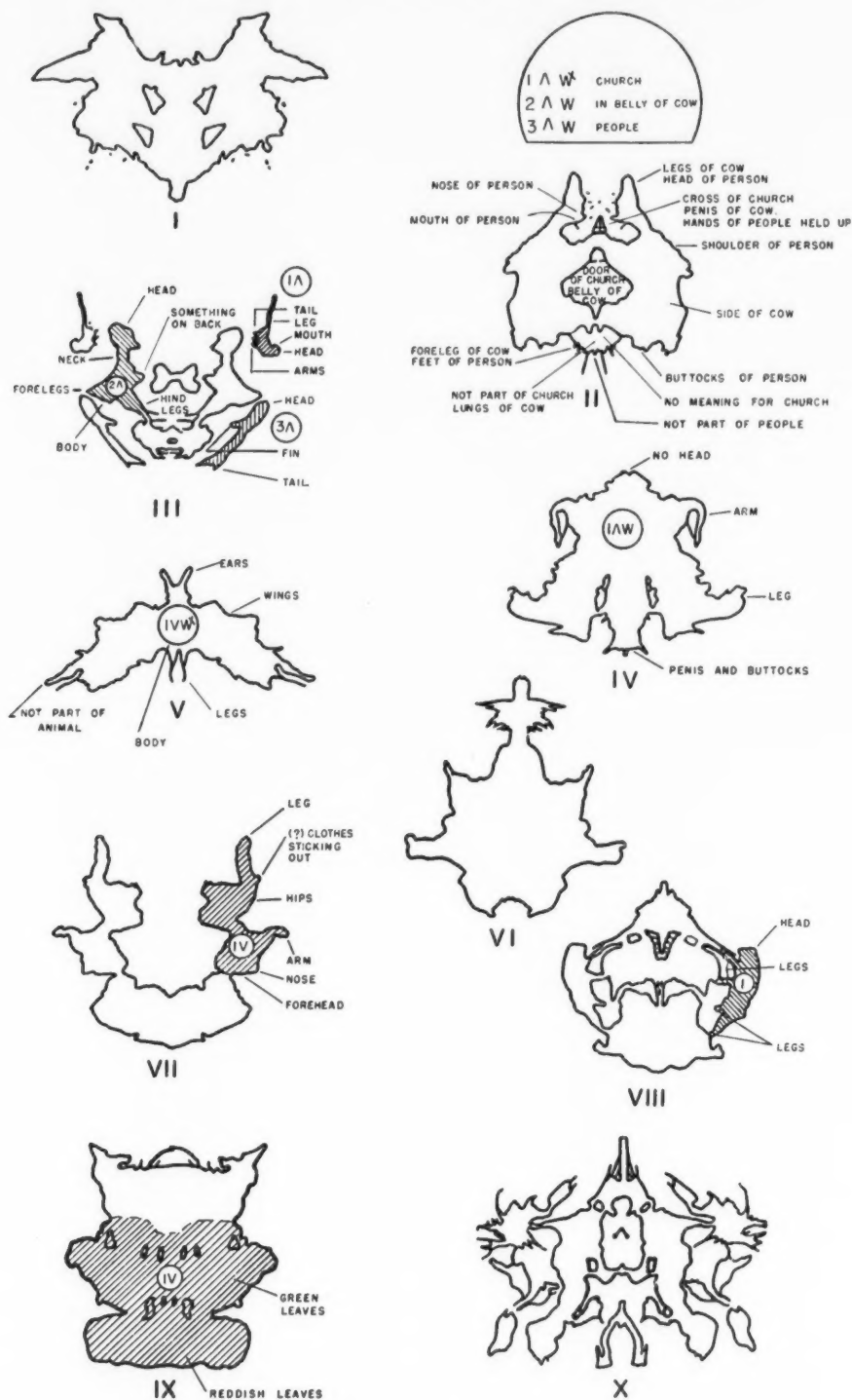


CARD IX

(After 2 min.) I don't know this.  
. . . What would be red like this?  
. . . [If you forget the color, do you  
see anything?] No.

CARD X

(Turned card, did not return it to original position. At 3 min.) I am sorry, but I don't know.



LOCATIONS CHART: PAUL

PAUL

AGE: 28 years.

CARD I

1. (After  $3\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't see anything here (turned card around once during this time).

He rejects this card and is the only one to do so. That he was probably trying is indicated by the length of time he held the card, and the fact that he turned the card. But he cannot see anything.

CARD II

1. 4 min. 15 sec. (This time was used to find all he could in the picture, which he then gave in rapid succession as his complete responses. He was told to tell the examiner as soon as he saw anything, not to save them up.) A church.

W F Obj

2. In the belly of a cow.

W F,CF A

[Tracing.] [Why?] Because there is a cross on top, and a big door under it.

Now I am going to tell you about the pig we have killed and slit open. [Not a cow?] It makes no difference what sort of an animal it is. Lungs, belly, penis, legs, the side—it is dark because it is in the shadow: the carcass is not fully opened up. [Why side?] Because the leg is attached to it. [Why a leg?] Because when we slaughter an animal, we skin the legs: it is bloody. [Why lungs?] They are bloody. [Any other reason?] They are at the head end, for the head is cut off.

3. People. [ $7\frac{1}{4}$  min.]

W M,FC,FC' H

Their clothes are black, and they have red cloths on their heads. [What sort of people?] Players of a game: they have their hands up together. [What sort of a game?] Boxing.

He "saves up" his responses. He, like the rest, doesn't blurt things out but much reflection goes on before a response comes out. His first response is an unusual architectural one, and indicates an ability to organize and conceptualize, which is somewhat unusual. He integrates white and black space. His second response is again to the whole and again it is not the vague or undifferentiated whole which so many give. Note how relatively

easy it is to tell a personal story: "Now I'm going to tell you. . . ." He is clearly neither a Mike nor an Edward. Also there is an aggressive note to the response. Note that one part of the slaughtered animal left intact is the penis. In his third response he gives the people an aggressive pose but he says they are playing. It is interesting that he starts out by saying they are playing and only after questioning says they are boxing. Human movement which is aggressive either starts as a non-aggressive game or the like or is a "verbal battle" (Andy) or is disguised or watered down in some way. One does not get out-and-out aggression. Why the apparent need to disguise it? Is this a reflection of an unsatisfied need? In his third response he points out the "buttocks."

His responses are varied (movement, color) and well organized. On this card he resembles Andy. He certainly lacks the concreteness of many of the others. He can be more flexible and apparently more expressive. Why did he reject Card I? Whatever the reason, he recovered.

## CARD III

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. 3 min. 5 sec. Animals—they are monkeys. I don't know what this red thing is ["butterfly" in middle of card].<br>D FM A | Their arms are held out behind. [What is this (small dot between tail and leg) ?]<br>It has no meaning. |
| 2. Two elephants.<br>D F A  | [Why elephant?] Long neck, big head.<br>[Any other reason?] No, just those two things.                  |
| 3. A shark. [5 $\frac{3}{4}$ min.]<br>D F A   | Dorsal fin, the tail is big, a big head, and tapering back end. There are no other reasons.             |

One doesn't know if the long reaction time is due again to "saving up." Although his first response is acceptable and indicates that he can shift to details, his second response is uncritical and poor. His third response is acceptable and again is to a detail. It should be noted that Paul uses a variety of content. He does not appear to be the stereotyped thinker that Mike or Edward is. He can shift his approach and appears to have more to give—or to give or express it more easily.

## CARD IV

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. 40 sec. A person. That is all. [ $\frac{3}{4}$ min.]<br>W M H | The whole thing. He has no head. [Why are his legs so big?] I don't know—I just thought of a person. [Why is his penis so big?] Most of what we see there is the buttocks. [Where is the penis?] It is here [at base] but we cannot see it—also the testicles. [What sort of a person?] He is standing up, but he has no neck—he is dead. [But standing?] Yes. |
|--|--|

He responds relatively quickly and with a note of finality ("a person, that is all"). He knows whereof he speaks. But why doesn't he hold this card longer as he did previously? Is it the content? He starts out with a tremendous penis and only when questioned does

he cut it down to size and then says one cannot see it. Why should he (as some others) see a penis when it is not there? Why mention it when they do not have to? Speculation: are they seeing it the way they want to see it? Does this reflect a feeling of sexual inadequacy which comes out as overevaluation of the penis? Is his apparent finality and quick returning of the card due to an anxiety which is aroused? Is it the black to which they get anxious associations? He did reject Card I and was more productive to II and III. The man is dead. In II the animal was dead.

## CARD V

1. 50 sec. An animal—a fruit bat. [1 min.] These are his wings, open like an umbrella. [What are these—at tips?] They are not part of the animal. [Other reasons?] None. It just looks like a fruit bat.  
W F A

Again, he returns the card quickly. But notice how he uses a simile. Others did not feel free or were unable to associate a characteristic of the object with that of another class of objects.

## CARD VI

1. (After 1 min.) I don't know about this. There is nothing. (Turned card around while looking.)

Rejected, and again it is done relatively quickly. Does he see the penis but after the examiner's questioning in IV avoids giving it?

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 55 sec. People. I don't know about these. [ $3\frac{1}{4}$  min.] [What sort of people?] They are standing, leaning over.  
D M H

A longer reaction time but he gives a very acceptable response, one of the better ones in the series. This is a man who can use his imagination and his resources to a good degree. He is not bound by the stimulus.

## CARD VIII

1. Approx. 40 sec. [Position not noted.] [What sort of an animal?] A lion. Head, Animal. I don't know about the middle legs. [Why a lion?] Because its ears are small. [How do you know about lions?] part. [ $1\frac{1}{2}$  min.] I saw one in a book. The same is true of the elephant [resp. III-2 above]. His back is humped up. [Why?] Because he has one hind leg up.  
D F,FM A

Note how he can explain his response. He is not as afraid to talk as some of the others.



## CARD IX

1. 1 min. 20 sec. A tree—from the pink down to the green. I don't know about this [orange]. The leaves are reddish—that is not fruit. The green leaves are here. [2 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
dr FC N

[Why a tree?] The trunk is up the middle. The sun beats down on these leaves, making them reddish; the green ones are underneath. [Why a tree trunk?] Because it is straight, and branches out at the top [as it enters pink area]. That is all.

Paul gives the tree as so many others do, but note that he cuts off part of the card and makes it a somewhat better tree. He uses the color. He is a more independent thinker than some of the others. He is not the fearful or cautious person some of the others are.

## CARD X

1. (After 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  min.) I don't know. There is nothing.

Why the rejection? Again he doesn't hold the card as long as he did others. Since he could respond to both wholes and details why should he not be able to respond here? Is it that it didn't look like anything—no clear forms? This is impossible to tell. The fact remains that on three cards he is unable to respond, a fact which must temper some of the statements made. It is interesting that after Card IV he never gives more than one response to a card. Why the lowering of productivity? Was it due to the examiner's implied criticism in IV? Or did Card IV set up inhibitory tendencies which interfered with productivity? Was he playing it safe? In any event, like most Trukese, he closes up easily but not as much as others.

## CHARLES

AGE: 33 years.

(In sample blot, given for instruction, he saw a sting-ray, fruit bat, airplane and frigate bird, all in the same portion, and was cautioned against using the identical picture for a series of different responses.)

### CARD I

1. 1 min. 10 sec. An alligator.  
dr F A

There used to be some alligators here. [Tracing.] Mouth, forehead, body, tail. [Why alligator?] The shape of the mouth: if the mouth were just a little open this would look just like one. The body is not as much like an alligator.

2. A grasshopper. [4 min.]  
D FM A

[Tracing.] I also put the wings in [though not appearing in blot]; is that all right? [Yes.] I thought of a grasshopper because of the pincers which are open and ready to grab something.

In his first response he is aware that it is not exactly like an alligator but this does not stop him from giving it. Presumably he isn't too concrete. This is also indicated in his second response in which he added the wings to make it more like a grasshopper—an amount of freedom which nobody else has shown. But he asks permission afterward. Even by asking permission he shows a degree of spontaneity which the others do not.

### CARD II

1. 1 min. 5 sec. These are like two monkeys. [3½ min.]  
D F → M A

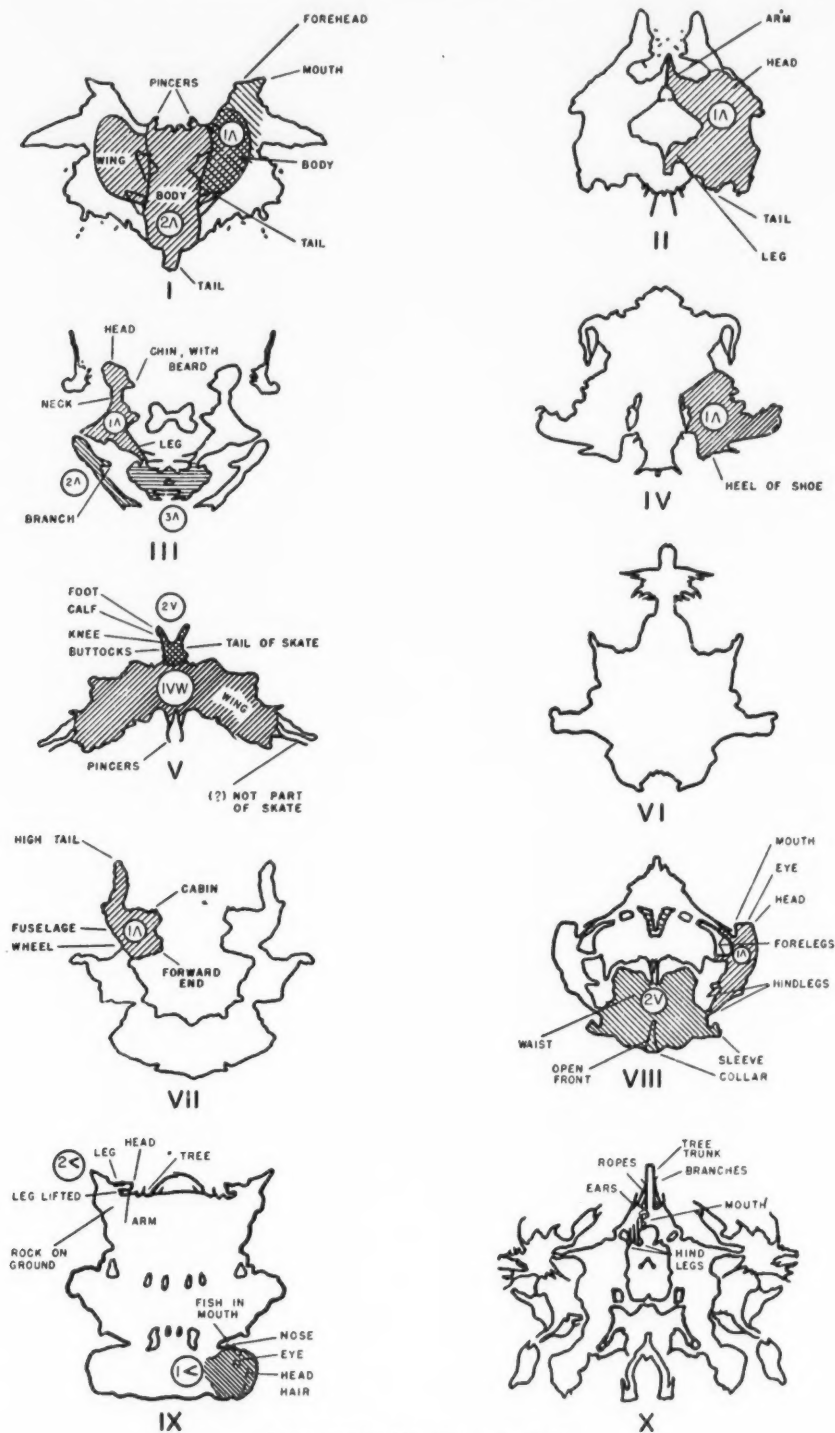
[Where?] About this red [below] I don't know: we will just think of this [black area]. [Body parts?] Arm, leg, head, tail. [Why monkey?] Because the monkeys are sitting down with their hands together. [Why only monkey?] Because only a monkey can sit down like a person. [Why not a person?] Because of the tail.

He tells you "we will just think of this"—he structures the task—so many could not do this or were afraid to do it. He justifies the response well. Even though he was over-questioned he does not withdraw.

### CARD III

1. 4 min. 57 sec. A person.  
D M H

Head, chin with beard (he laughed at this), neck, leg. He is standing on this rock [see III: 3].



LOCATIONS CHART: CHARLES

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 2. A piece of wood.<br>D F N | [Why?] Because of this branch sticking out.           |
| 3. Rocks. [6¼ min.]<br>D F N | [Why rock?] Nothing else is like this—they are round. |

A long reaction time but he comes out with an organized response. The fact that he is able to laugh indicates a degree of freedom and expressiveness which is somewhat unusual. It is as if he is an individual who can accept his own needs or drives. He doesn't hide what he feels. He gives a human movement response. But no color.

## CARD IV

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 3 min. 17 sec. The legs of a person;<br>I don't know about the rest of this.<br>[4¼ min.]<br>D F → M H | [Why?] It looks like shoes—heel, and toe. [What shall we think about those legs?] If there were more body above, and this [between legs] were not there, it would be just like a person standing up. |
|---|--|

He takes a long time. He is careful. He does not call it a whole person because certain parts do not fit but he can give part of it. Many others would have given nothing when faced with this problem. Note that on Cards III and IV his reaction time goes up. Was this due to examiner questioning on II? In any event he does not close up. He is careful and controlled.

## CARD V

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 1 min. 15 sec. The whole thing looks like a skate.<br>W FM A | [Body parts?] Wings, tail, pincers—they catch people with these, and then tuck them under their bellies, where they are held by suckers which we cannot see. [What is this (i.e., tips of "wings")?] They are not part of the skate. [Why only a skate?] Because only a skate has those pincers.   |
| 2. A person from the waist down. [2½ min.]<br>d M Hd            | [Why a person?] We see the legs, and the body as far as the waist—a child—a boy. [Why a boy?] I don't know why. . . . I just said boy . . . we don't really know because he has turned around—this is his back. [Why?] We see his buttocks. [Why buttocks?] Because we see the calves of his legs. [Why calves?] Because we only see the heel of his foot. He has turned around. He is standing up like this (stood up) with his knees together. |

He gives another response (see Card I) involving pincers. Are these a reflection of aggressive tendencies, however indirect? But the content is also tinged with anxiety: the skate takes in the person. But he can use his imagination and embellish his responses

(see Card I). He is not afraid to reveal his fantasies as some of the others are. His second response is unusual not only for content but for the area chosen. Is this the person who was being taken in by the skate? Note how relatively easily he justifies his response. There is a much more personal or subjective note to his responsiveness than is the case with many of the others.

## CARD VI

1. (Turned card briefly at 8 min., at 10 min. said:) There isn't anything I recognize here.

Rejected. Since he has used wholes and details, he should have been able to respond.

## CARD VII

1. 6 min. 3 sec. (Turned card several times before making response in original position.) This is a little like an airplane . . . but . . . [Total time not correctly noted.]

D F Obj

[Parts?] Fuselage, forward end, high tail, cabin, wheel; there are no wings. [Why airplane?] When it comes in [i.e., towards us] we see the cabin; when it comes down [i.e., going past us on landing], we see the tail. [Why is the tail high?] Some airplanes are like that. [There is adequate resemblance to the PBV-5A aircraft in use at that time—side view.]

A long reaction time but he works out an acceptable response, indicating a degree of conceptual thinking which is unusual. He is very careful. It has to look like what he says it is. If it doesn't, it does not prevent his giving only the parts which do look like it. He gives unusual contents. Not only is he more free in what he lets himself think but he is more creative in using his promptings. But his caution leads him to think it over, hesitate, and to make sure he's sure.

## CARD VIII

1. 2 min. 36 sec. A sheep—two of them.

D Fc A

[How about them?] Forelegs, hind legs, head, mouth, eye. [Why eye?] This darker red is in the mouth area, so this must be the eye. [Why sheep?] A goat has a beard, a dog a pointed snout; but a sheep's snout is short, like this. The unevenness of the coloring of the body looks like curly wool. [What else do we know about them?] Nothing (just repeated reasons above).

2. A shirt. About this [blue and grey] I don't know. [3½ min.]

dr F Obj

[Why shirt?] Sleeves, collar, waist—it is open at the front, although the sides of the opening are close together. [Any other reason?] None.



Note how well he justifies his response. Although he does not give color he uses the shading here very nicely. His second response is excellent and unusual. He has brains and he can use them. His content is almost unique compared with most of the others. Why no color?

## CARD IX

1. 2 min. 51 sec. The head of a person.

D M,FC' Hd

[Tracing.] Head, hair, eye, nose, fish in his mouth. [Why hair?] It is white—he is an old person. [Why eye?] It is below the forehead, and is circular, like an eye. [What shall we think about him?] He is eating a fish.

2. A person climbing on a tree. [6 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]

dr M H,pl

[How about this person?] He is holding the tree—legs—one is lifted up to step—body, head—he is far away so we don't see the eye—his arm is holding the tree. The tree is growing on a rock, or on the ground, or whatever this [below] is. [Why tree?] It is standing up; it has no leaves, and is dry—it would be good for firewood.

His first response is good—he doesn't have to see the whole body. And he uses the white color. His second and third percepts are organized together. He certainly is not as concrete as others. Using a relatively small area, he has to work hard to justify the response, but he does. He seems to be exerting effort and he makes it pay off. Note how easily movement (the subjective element) is given.

## CARD X

1. 5 min. 58 sec. (Turned card several times, ended upright.) Two animals standing up by a tree. [See below for tree.]

dr FM A

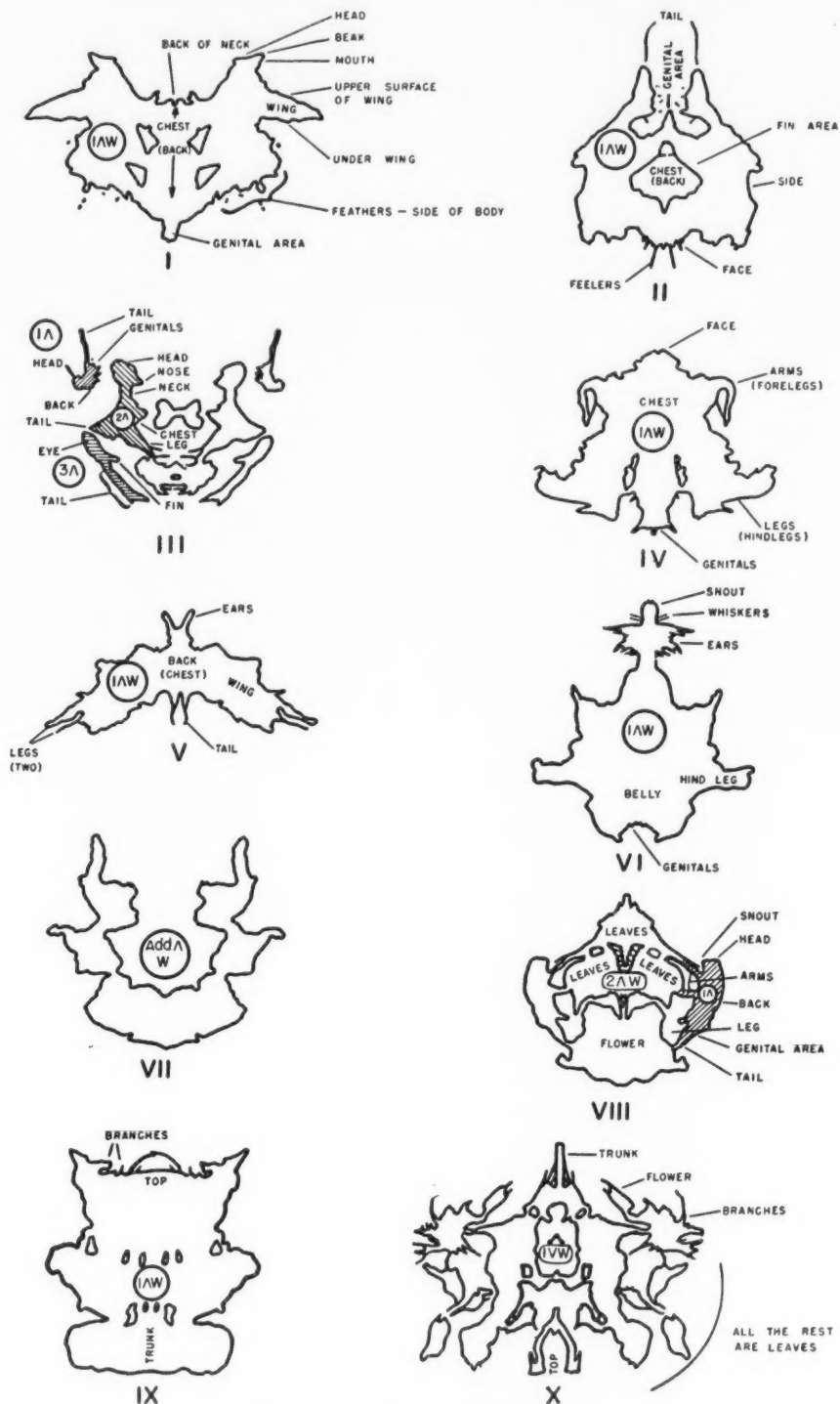
[Tracing.] [What kind of animal?] Goat. [Why?] The mouth is pointed, and the ears stand up. Ropes are tying the animal to the tree.

2. Tree. [7 min.]

D F N

[Why tree?] It is standing up, and has two short branches—only trees have branches.

A long reaction time but he again organizes a good response. He certainly can use his imagination—he gives it expression.



LOCATIONS CHART: THEODORE

THEODORE

AGE: 40 years.

(Shown a sample blot for instruction purposes, he saw a crab and an "animal.")

CARD I

1. 50 sec. Bird.

W F A

[Tracing.] [One or two birds?] There are two in my tracing. [Why bird, not another sort of animal?] I thought of an animal that flies. [What sort of bird?] A frigate bird. [Why?] Long wings, neck.

2. Land crab—chest, genital area (indicating center portion of blot). [4 min.]

→ →

I no longer see it. [Examiner explained the same part of the picture could be used for two different things.] I still don't see it.

His first bird is usual for the Trukese. Did he withdraw his second response because of the questioning to the first? It is doubtful whether the withdrawal is a matter of memory. It seems to be reasonable to conclude that it reflects some kind of inhibitory tendency—rather unlike Charles, who would follow through. Note that he points out the genitals on his first response.

CARD II

1. 27 sec. Lobster. [7½ min.: there was an interruption before he had a chance to survey the card completely to see if he could discover anything else.]

W F A

[Tracing.] [One or two lobsters?] Only one. [Why a lobster?] I don't know.

Although he uses the whole and responds relatively quickly, the response is acceptable. Although he holds the card a long time he can give but one response. Again he points out the genital area.

CARD III

1. 1 min. 11 sec. A dog.

D FM A

It is sitting? [Parts of body?] Head, back, tail, genitals.

2. Another animal—head, nose, neck, tail, chest from here to here, hind leg.

D F A

[What kind?] A heron. [Why?] Long neck. [Anything else?] It might be a frigate bird. [Why did you say heron?] It just looked like it.

3. Fish—nose, eye, fin, tail. I don't know what this is [middle red blot] or this [red below]. [9 min.]

D F A

[What kind?] I don't know. It might be a shark.

His first response is to the side red and he gives a passive animal movement response. Again he points out the genital area. His second and third responses are also acceptable. He obviously gives more to this card. Why? In Card I there were indications that he can give more than he does. That he feels uncertain of himself is seen by his "might be" phrases and his "I don't know" to his third response, as well as in the inquiry of Card II. At least he doesn't clam up in III as in I but there appears to be uncertainty. He gives no color or movement to speak of. So far he appears to be constricted and personally unrevealing. Note how long he holds the cards. In fact, most of the Trukese hold the card a long time and if one assumes that something or other is going on inside, it is significant that we know precious little of it. In this sense they, and Theodore, are over-controlled.

## CARD IV

1. 56 sec. Arms, legs, genitals, chest—I know this much, but I don't know what sort of an animal it is. I want to know, but I just don't. [3 min.]

W F A

We see more of this tendency to be noncommittal. He doesn't know what kind of animal it is. It sounds a little like "methinks he doth protest too much." And the large center detail is the disproportionately large penis. He definitely tends to be self-defensive. No movement or color. He is constricted.

## CARD V

1. 26 sec. A fruit bat—ears, wing, tail, back, legs—two legs—chest ("back" became "chest" during description). [3½ min.]

W F(F-?) A

[Why a fruit bat?] I don't know. [You said these (extreme left) were two legs; then what are these (extreme right)?] Two legs of one of them, the same as at the other end. [How many bats?] Two. [How many wings?] Four. [Where?] Here, here (indicating only two locations, one on each side).

His first tendency is to say "I don't know." When confronted with a discrepancy by the examiner, he then says there are two bats although he doesn't make it clear how it might be so. The quality of his functioning goes down. There was perhaps too much questioning by the examiner although no more than with some of the others and it is important that Theodore becomes inhibited, perhaps resistant, and a little rattled.

## CARD VI

1. 1 min. 8 sec. A rat—snout, belly, genitals, hind legs, ears. [3½ min.]

W F A

[Why rat?] Whiskers, appearance of genitals.

Someone doesn't reject it! It is not clear why it is a rat but the response probably is acceptable. Again he points out the genitals. Except for the third card he has given one

response to a card and each time a whole. Could he give more to III because of the non-contiguous areas? If so, it would indicate concreteness and inflexibility. Did he withdraw his response in I because it was a detail which conflicted with the first response?

## CARD VII

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 1 min. 41 sec. I just think of an animal. I am sorry, but I don't know what kind. [But an animal, not something else?] An animal only . . . why are there so many different kinds of animals? [3 min.] | [What do we see?] A sea animal . . . I know what it is, a sea anemone. [Why?] (Launched into a description of how to catch them.) [What about the picture?] It looks like one—it is opened up like an anemone. |
|---|--|

## W F A

He can't give a response unless he can name it. He is uncertain. Under much prodding by the examiner he hits upon something and gives a discourse on it. The fact that he can give a discourse, although somewhat irrelevant, indicates some spontaneity. Why is he bothered about seeing animals? Does this reflect his own doubts about what he has been giving? Note: Theodore gives more verbalizations in the performance than many others. In his first response he just says "bird" but after being questioned, his spontaneous responses in the performance are rather elaborate. Was this to forestall questioning? It is important in VII that he *can* end up with something. He doesn't withdraw or become as impoverished as some others. He *can* give three responses to III. It may be that he is capable of more than he shows.

## CARD VIII

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. [Reaction time not recorded.] Monkey: snout, arm, leg, tail, back, head, genitals.   | [Why a monkey?] I just think it is.   |
| D FM A (see below)  |   |
| 2. A tree—the monkey is climbing on it. There is a red flower under it. Green-blue [one color term covers both] here. [7½ min.] | [Why tree?] Because the monkey is climbing on it, and because the flower is red and the leaves green. |

## W FC N

Again he points out the genitals in the monkey. Now he gives two responses and makes them into a whole. His second response is rather vague. Note how his comment to his first response may have a hostile undertone. He does not elaborate. At least he gives another movement and a color response. He holds the card a long time.

## CARD IX

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. [Approx. 1 min.] Another tree: trunk, top. It is red on top, green in the middle, red below. These are branches. [3 min.] | [What kind of a tree is like this?] It just looks like a tree, with green branches. |
|--|---|

## W FC N

His tree is a little vague but given a dubious FC. Another whole.



## CARD X

1. 42 sec. A tree—the trunk, top, leaves, [Why a tree?] It just looks like it—the  
branches, flower. [2 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.] leaves, flower and branches.

W F N

Another tree—he turned the card. It is interesting that after his comment in VII, “Why so many animals?” he gives only one more animal response and then can give only trees. Is there some evasiveness here? His use of color does not seem genuine. If he is being evasive at least it does not result in complete impoverishment.

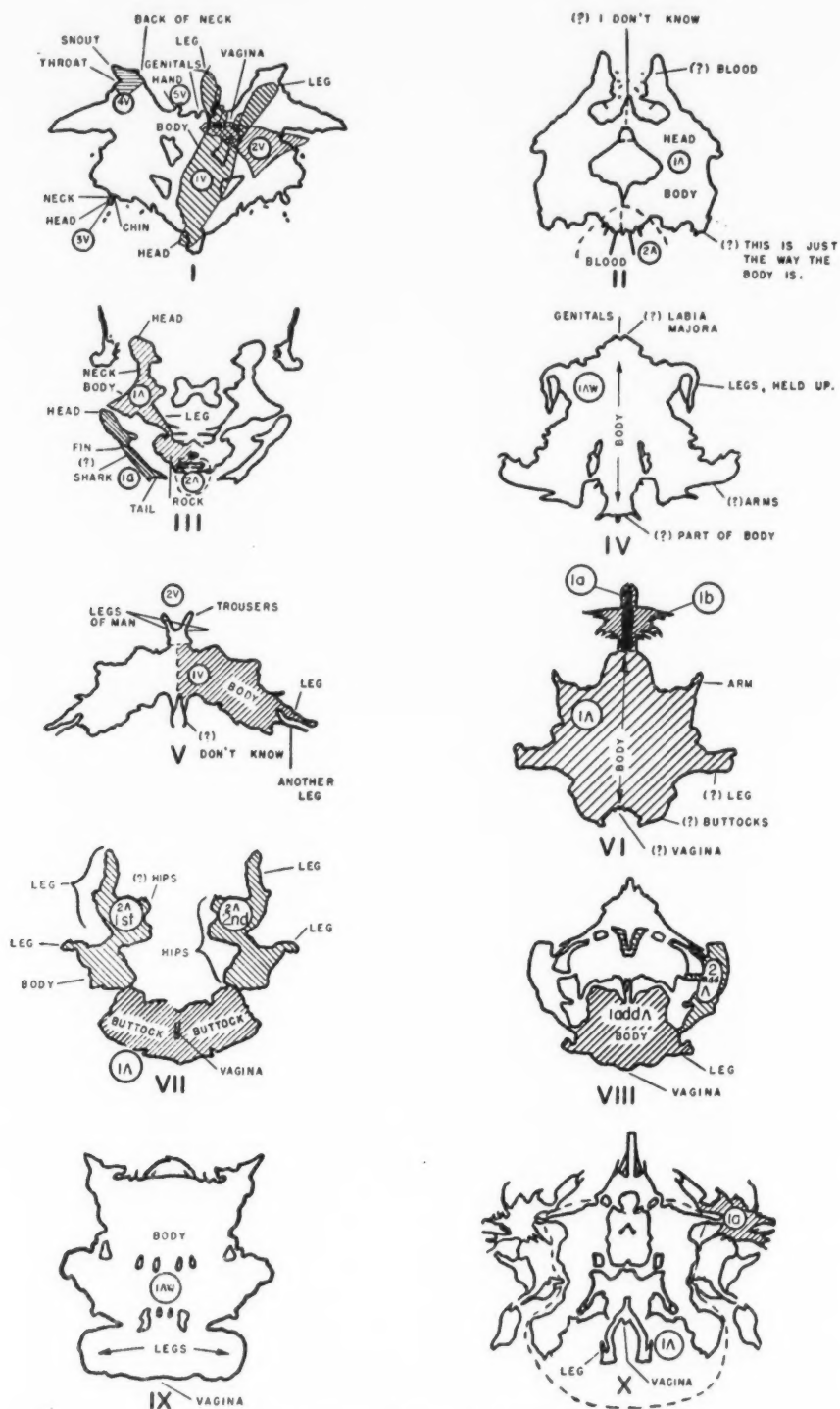
## NORMAN

AGE: 42 years.

### CARD I

1. 2 min. 20 sec. A person, but not just like a real person. . . . (After response 3 below, also involving people, he noted that this one was a woman.)  
dr F(F-?) Hd  
(Tracing—his hand shook, and he made virtually no attempt to follow the outlines of the blot.) [What sort of a woman?] It just looks like a person, but the picture is bad. [Why a person?] Because of the man's hands [see response 5 below] and the woman's genitals.
2. Why is it just like an island here?  
dr F N  
(Tracing—this one was even wider of the mark than before. Apparently the "wings" in the blot represent an island, viewed from the water, rising from the shore.) [?] It just looks like a picture of an island.
3. A person—one on each side. (Noted response 1 was a woman.)  
d F Hd  
(No further attempt made to have tracings.) Neck, chin, head. It looks very much like a person. [Tied in with responses 1 and 5—see below.]
4. It is like a pig.  
d F Ad  
[How much do we see?] Just the head, not the body. [How about this pig? What do we know about it?] It just looks a lot like a pig.
5. These look like a person's genitals (referring again to resp. 1 figure). These are the hands of a man who wants to take the genitals. This picture [resp. 1] looks just like a woman's genitals.  
[11½ min.]  
d M- Hd  
[How about the hands?] This is the man (pointing to 3 area). [I.e., the heads of 3 belong to the same persons as the hands of this response, now looked upon as only one man.]

A very long reaction time and he turns the card. The tracing is very poor and he makes no attempt or cannot for physical reasons follow the outlines of the blot. This probably is a minus or poor response. His second response cannot be located at all but it is essentially vague and undifferentiated. His third response to a small area is his first clear one. When he gives this he associates to the first response and says that was a woman. His fourth response is also good and he is able to say it is just the head. In his last response he goes back again to the woman, and sees the genitals; he then uncritically integrates responses 1, 3, and 5. His reality testing is poor and it seems due to some



LOCATIONS CHART: NORMAN

autistic tendencies: he sees activities which make sense to him but not to us. He is clearly preoccupied with the woman's genitals and the man is seen as sexually aggressive. He cannot leave the first response alone. Note in response 1 how he says "the picture is bad." Does this reflect guilt about his own sexual drives and phantasies? It certainly seems as if he is somewhat preoccupied with sex. Is this card a good example of male Trukese problem: anxiety about sexual aggressiveness? In any event he shows poorer control over his problems than others. But it should be noted that this is associated with a rather marked responsiveness. He is not afraid to respond. Also, he varies from the well seen to the poorly seen. When we say poor control it should not be overlooked that all this comes out after much delay, which would be a control factor over the expression of his conflicts. But he gave more personal material than most. Is pressure less in the older person? Or is it that the nature of the sexual conflict changes? Note: he never changes the position of the card after its initial turning.

## CARD II

1. 1 min. 55 sec. Just people.

D F(F-?) H

[Parts of body?] Head, body, genitals, etc., and blood [see resp. 2]. [?] This is just the way the body is. [?] This is more blood, because so much has come out.

2. Here a lot of blood is coming out of the belly. These people are very sick, with a rectal hemorrhage. It also looks like menstrual blood. [10 min.]

D CF At

He says "just people" but after much time he adds the blood—menstrual blood, although he never spontaneously says it is women. Associations are: people, menstrual blood, rectal. Presumably sick people. This is probably another minus response—all he points out is head and blood. It does not make too much sense. His reality testing is poor and this seems rather definitely to be connected with bodily and sexual concern. Why should he see a presumably sick body? Why the association between menstrual and rectal? Is that some sort of feminine identification? (Is it chance that the one whose hands shake is the one who says the man wants to take the woman's genitals and who shows such bodily concern?) (Is it psychogenic or true physical disability?) Norman continues to give more personal material than most. But note: the personal does not come out quickly. It is subject to much inhibition. The fact that it does come out, however, indicates several possibilities: an unusually strong conflict or problem, or not as strong a need to prevent personal expression.

## CARD III

1. 3 min. 15 sec. Animals—birds.

D FM A

[Parts of body?] Body, head, neck, legs, and this is a rock or a tree the birds are sitting on. [What is this (leg of "waiter"?)] I think the bird is near the

- 1a. D F A water, because this is a picture of a shark.  
[How about the shark?] Head, fin, tail.
2. A person, but a very bad picture. [How about the person?] I no longer  
[4½ min.] think of the person—they are just birds.  
D F → M Hd [Why did you think of a person at first?] Because here [grey between black blobs, lower middle] I saw a woman's vagina. [What else of a woman's body?] That is all I saw. [Why a woman's vagina?] It just looks like one, with her legs spread wide apart.

After a long reaction time he gives an acceptable response and rather easily relates it to an additional one (shark). He is almost imaginative at this point. His third response he wants to withdraw because it is "bad." He sees the woman in a sexually receptive position. He cannot exercise the control of the others; he doesn't want to see it but he does. The extent to which he seems preoccupied with sex suggests a neurotic conflict. His personal needs, so to speak, obtrude. Note: thinking about women's genitals is "bad."

## CARD IV

1. 6 min. I am bad, because I see women's  
genitals so much. [Assured him lots  
of people saw them.] Well, that's what  
I see. [7 min.] [How about the woman?] She is lying  
W M- H on her back, spread out; these are her  
genitals, and her legs, held up; her body.  
[?] Arms. [?] Part of her body. [?] Labia majora. [Can we see her head?] No.

After a long reaction time he really reveals his feelings—this is most unusual. Why does he feel so guilty? Again the female is in the receptive pose. And again he gives a poor response. Is it that he is seeing what he cannot enjoy any longer? He is preoccupied with the matter and feels guilty about it?

## CARD V

1. 2 min. 30 sec. Three people. Two  
women, and this one is a man. [Man  
treated as separate response: see 2  
below.] [Parts of body?] Body, leg, another leg.  
D F- H [?] Belongs with the women, but I don't  
know what it is. I can only see their bodies  
and their legs. [Why women, not men?] The legs just look like women's legs.
2. Man [see 1 above]. [11¼ min.] [How about the man? What do we see?] I thought of a man because he had on trousers. [Why trousers?] Because they look like trousers, and we don't see the actual legs. . . . On second thought, I don't think it is a man. It is a woman, with a man behind. His legs are behind
- 2a. d M H



hers. [Why a woman?] I just think so—she has on a man's clothes—trousers. [But why is it not a man?] Because the man is behind her, and these are the man's legs around her and down her thighs [light portion]. [What is this (white in middle)?] The space between the woman's legs.

His women are poorly seen. His second response reveals again the strength of his sexual preoccupation. In fact, his imagination is little subject to the control of reality testing. He changes the man to a woman—a masculine female. He shows such a marked ambivalence toward women that one wonders if it reflects ambivalence to his own masculinity. The woman is a male: does this reflect a prevalent unarticulated attitude that women are sexually threatening in some way? Is Norman unique or merely one who differs in degree where this problem is concerned? He appears to be one who is in conflict with himself and feels deprived by his environment. He comes closer to the neurotic than any of the others.

## CARD VI

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1.  | 28 sec. Just another woman. I think perhaps she is lying out in the bush. This is her body. [6½ min.]<br>D M H | [Parts of body?] Body, arm. [?] Leg. [?] Buttocks. [?] Vagina. [Gave response 1a here—see below.] [Can we see her head?] No.  |
| 1a. | dr F Obj   | This is a wooden pole? Or what? [Above, black portion only.] [Why a pole?] It looks like a crane, like a boom on a ship.  |
| 1b. | dr F A   | [Why?] It just looks like it, and these [at sides] look like the wings of a bird that is on it. [Why is the bird on it?] I don't know; it just looks like a crane and a bird. |

Again, the receptive woman and this to the "phallic card." That his thought processes are disturbed is indicated by the possible contamination of his two additional responses. Two unrelated things are brought together. This card brought out the fastest reaction times.

## CARD VII

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | 47 sec. All three of these are women. [Split into two responses: lower middle portion is this one; upper portions are 2 below.] [1½ min.]<br>D M Hd | [Why?] This is a vagina. We are looking at her buttocks and vagina as she lies on her back with her legs in the air. [Why vagina?] It looks like it, though not just like it—it is not a very good picture. [Why buttocks?] It looks just like that. |
| 2. | [Two women—see 1 above.]<br>D F- Hd   | These women are cut off at the waist—we only see the belly and legs. (In showing   |

examiner legs, etc., he changed his mind, changing the layout to make it a better picture. Both versions on location page.)

Again the receptive female in his first response. His second is not a well seen response. Note the aggressive note toward women in it. Is his sexual preoccupation obsessive?

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 40 sec. (At 1½ min., said he saw nothing.) [Look again.] Just another woman. Her vagina below, and the rest of her body. Her legs at the sides.

dr M H

2. Animals, belonging to this woman [resp. 1]. They are stepping up on the woman's legs to climb up. [10 min.]

D FM A

[How about this woman?] She is lying down, with her legs spread out.

[What sort of an animal?] A rat, or . . . I think a rat. [Why a rat?] It looks like one.

Spontaneously he rejects the card but under prodding he produces. His rejection is probably a function of the content which he feels is "bad." Again note the aggressiveness: the rats are stepping on the woman's legs. (Contamination again.) Women are either passive and receptive or objects of aggression. There is an extreme ambivalence. But since he feels badly about these things it is probable that the hostility is not directly expressed.

## CARD IX

1. 2 min. 30 sec. Just another woman. Here is her vagina; the rest is her body. [6 min.]

W M- H

[Parts of body?] Vagina, legs, body. That is all. [Can we see arms?] No. [Head?] No. [How about this woman?] She is lying down also.

## CARD X

1. 1 min. 20 sec. Just another woman. All this is her body. She is standing up—she is not lying down. [5½ min.]

dr M H

[Parts of body?] Vagina, legs, arms, holding an animal [see resp. 1a below]. There is no head.

1a.

D F A

[What sort of an animal?] I think it is a Samoan crab. [Why?] It looks like it with its legs spread out [the normal attitude of such crabs—does not imply movement necessarily].

More of the same, on both Cards IX and X.

# KENNETH

AGE: 46 years.

(In sample blot for instruction, saw bird, club, person's face.)

## CARD I

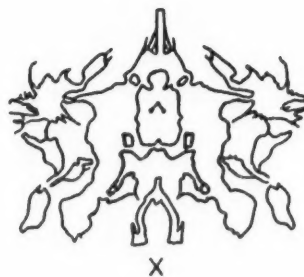
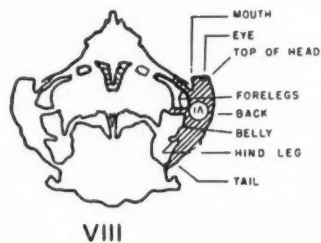
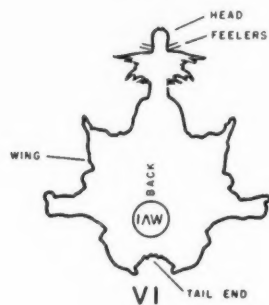
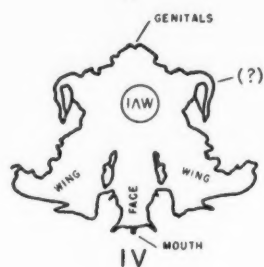
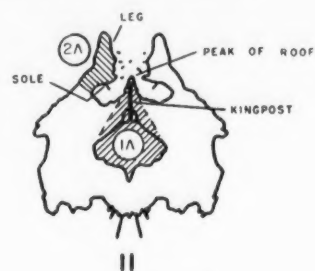
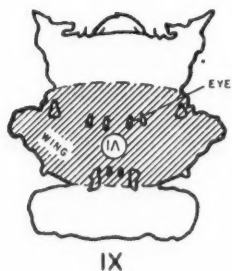
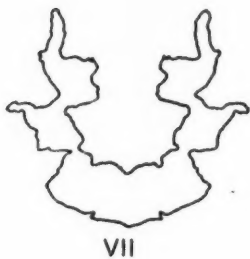
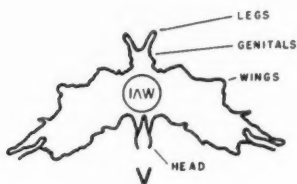
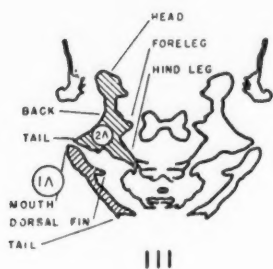
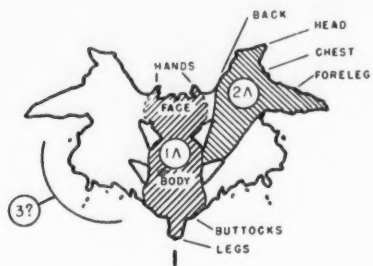
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|--|--|
| <p>1. 6 min. 50 sec. (Delay due to misunderstanding of instructions.) Person.<br/>dr F H</p> | <p>[Where?] Hands, face, body, buttocks, legs. [What else do we think about this person? . . . Is there anything else?] Nothing.</p>   |
| <p>2. An animal, or what . . . ?<br/>dr F A</p>  | <p>Back, head, chest, foreleg (these parts volunteered without questioning). [What kind of animal?] It looks like the head of a cow. [What else do we know about it?] It just looks like one.</p>                                |
| <p>3. Like a house . . . ? [10<math>\frac{3}{4}</math> min.]<br/>→ →</p>                     | <p>[How about the house?] I just said house because I thought there was one . . . here . . . or the white places here? I don't really see anything that looks like a house. [Where is the roof?] I don't really see a house.</p> |

He did not understand even though given a sample blot. Did he consider the cards as not the same as the sample blot? Or is it stalling? Or did he just not speak until asked to, being afraid to take the initiative? In the second response he appears still to be uncertain. He does not specify the animal until pressed. His third response he withdraws. He is more concerned about form than Norman. He is therefore more hesitating, but his end product is better. Note that the withdrawn response is to the one unused area. Did he feel that all of the blot had to be used?

## CARD II

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. 32 sec. My house? . . . Roof . . . ?<br/>All this is just like a house.<br/>dr,S F Obj</p> | <p>[How about the house?] Peak of roof, kingpost. [What else?] I just thought of the roof and the kingpost.</p> |
| <p>2. Shoes. [6 min.]<br/>D F Obj</p>  | <p>[?] Sole, and up to the leg. Looks just like shoes with high uppers.</p>                                     |

He responds much more quickly, but he questions himself aloud. He is not the kind of person who acts and then thinks, but this is a Trukese characteristic. His first response has a personal reference and the form is fair. His second is good form. In Card I he used the white area before withdrawing the response and in II he uses the white again. But he was critical enough to withdraw the first. Again, all of the card is explained. No



LOCATIONS CHART: KENNETH

movement or color. He cannot talk as easily or give as much as other older men. He tends not to take the initiative.

## CARD III

1. 1 min. 46 sec. A shark—mouth, dorsal fin, tail. [No inquiry.]  
D F A
2. A dog—head, neck, back, tail, fore-leg, hind leg. . . . I don't know about these red ones. . . . [9 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.] [How about the dog?] About what? . . . Its appearance? It just looks like a dog.  
D F A

His two responses are acceptable. He does not know about the red and one wonders if he did not spend a lot of time trying to "complete the card." No movement or color. Constricted. Cautious. But in III he does not appear as uncertain as earlier.

## CARD IV

1. 1 min. 57 sec. Does it look like a fruit bat? Isn't it a fruit bat? Here are the wings, face, mouth, genitals. [4 $\frac{1}{4}$  min.] [What are these?] Legs? . . . Not the legs? . . . [Why is it a fruit bat, not some other kind of bird?] The shape of the wings.  
W F A

A whole response. Notice how he talks aloud—asking questions of himself (examiner states these questions were not directed to him). This talking aloud is an indication of control—it acts as a brake so to speak. In the inquiry he appears uncertain again. He, too, mentions the genitals.

## CARD V

1. (At 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  min., said he was thinking what it looked like, but did not yet know.) 7 min. 43 sec. It looks like an animal that lights on the water and flies away—a dragonfly. Wings, head, legs, genitals. [The dragonfly lighting, etc., was apparently mentioned on the assumption the examiner did not know the name for it, and this would clarify it; there seems to be no basis for assuming he saw these things in the blot, for an FM score.] [10 min.] [What are these (tips)?] Wings? Legs? I don't know. [Why dragonfly, not something else?] I just thought it looked like it—wings, legs, genitals.  
W F A

A very long reaction time, and it is interesting how he assures the examiner that he is thinking (trying) and then works out an acceptable response. Others have not had this difficulty with this card. He appears to be unsure of himself. The situation may be strange for him. But he tries. It is as if he wants to do right, however he defines it. He mentions the genitals again.



## CARD VI

1. 3 min. 2 sec. A moth—tail, head, [Parts of head?] Feelers, and down here  
wings. [ $5\frac{3}{4}$  min.] is its back. [Why just a moth?] I just  
W F A think so.

Another whole. Note his "I just think so." Is this to prevent further questioning?

## CARD VII

(At  $5\frac{3}{4}$  min., said he could not see  
anything.)

Rejected. On IV, V, and VI he gave W's. Did he have difficulty on that score here? On those cards he only gave bird-like animals. Was he unable to see such a thing here?

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 9 sec. A pig . . . I don't know [How about the pig?] Mouth, ear, top of  
what these [center] are. [ $4\frac{1}{4}$  min.] head, back, belly, hind leg, forelegs, tail.  
D F A [What do we think about these pigs?] Ears, back . . . etc. (repeated). [Why a  
pig?] It looks a lot like one.

The usual response. This card allows more easily for a detail. But he must say he doesn't know what the rest is. (Others did this too.) It *should* be something but he doesn't know what.

## CARD IX

1. 2 min. 3 sec. A sting-ray—eyes, body [Parts of body?] Just the wings and eyes.  
—just this in the middle. I don't know [Why a sting-ray?] It just looks a lot like  
about these [pink below and orange one.  
above]. [ $4\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
dr F A

A very good response to a rare combination of areas. It shows good ability.

## CARD X

(At  $3\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I cannot see anything in  
all these things.

WARREN

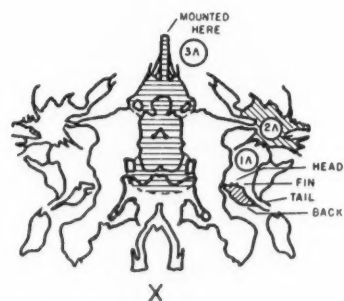
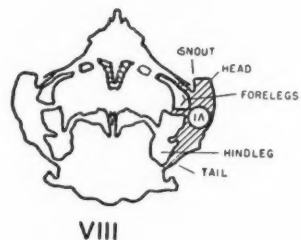
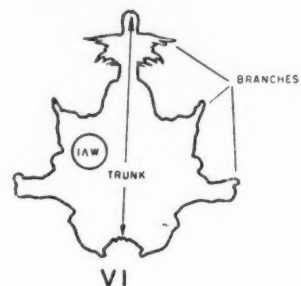
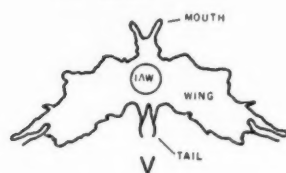
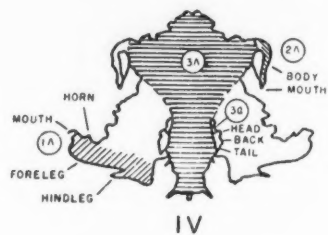
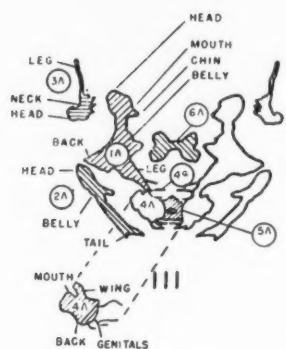
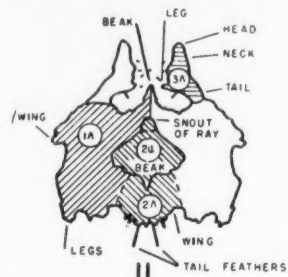
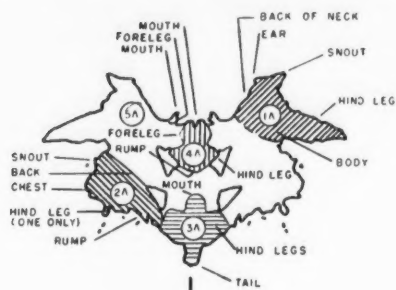
AGE: 56 years.

(In sample blot for instruction, saw a land crab, and a dog's head.)

CARD I

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. 1 min. 29 sec. A pig.<br>D FM A | [What do we see?] It has left the bush and come. [What is this? the head?] Yes—snout, ear, back of neck, body, hind leg. [Do we see the foreleg?] No.  |
| 2. Rat [or mouse].<br>dr F A       | [Where do we see it?] (Launched into long account of the hiding, breeding and feeding habits of rats. He apparently believed the examiner meant to ask where we saw rats in nature. He said he saw it under a rock, but he has no rock in the picture.) [Body parts?] [Why just a rat and not something else?] I don't know. |
| 3. Small lizard.<br>dr F A         | [Where do we see it?] [Why a lizard?] (Listed body parts again, after examiner had noted them on location sheet:) mouth, tail, forelegs (called them hind legs originally).  |
| 4. Dog.<br>dr F- A                 | [Where?] Mouth, foreleg, hind leg, rump. [Why dog?] It just looks like it.   |
| 5. Cat. [6 min.]<br>d F → FM A     | [Where?] Mouth, foreleg. [Do we see the hind leg?] No, because it is sitting down.   |

Of his five responses, only the first one approaches acceptability. Why so many minuses? What is atypical is his giving a lot of responses without the concern for "correctness" found in so many of the others. His responses simply are not congruent with the blot areas chosen. One possible explanation would be that phantasy plays such a strong role in this man that it distorts his perception of reality. In other words, the difference between phantasy and reality is not clear. What is also odd is that he uses unusual areas—unusual, that is, for the Trukese. He uses these areas and the associated content as a means of launching into irrelevant accounts. He tells stories. What is against considering his behavior pathological is that there is an absence of truly private or personal material. If phantasy was unduly strong, one would expect personal content to obtrude. Instead, he seems to be responding on a superficial level. His minuses do not reflect personal conflict, at least in any direct way. Another possible explanation is that Warren, like so many of the others, feels unsure of himself in this situation and responds in a way which



LOCATIONS CHART: WARREN

he thinks is satisfactory to the examiner. This way of responding is uncritical and inadequate but it is accepted by the examiner. Since Warren is an old man whose reality testing may be impaired by virtue of his age, the quality of his performance suffers. It may also be that "story-telling" represents a particularly strong habit in this man. Whatever the explanation, one should not overlook the fact that Warren does not possess the strong inhibitory tendencies of many of the others. *He can tell stories.* He does not become reticent. He is not as self-conscious as many of the others. Although he can respond, the personal content is relatively absent.

## CARD II

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. 36 sec. A chicken—beak, wing, legs.<br>D F- A | [Why chicken?] I saw a picture of a chicken, and this looks like it. [There were also chickens all over the island for him to look at.]   |
| 2. A sea tern—wing, long tail.                   | [Where?] Tail feathers, wings, beak. [Anything else?] A sting-ray. [See 2a below.] [Do we see the legs (of the tern) ?] Yes. (He pointed to several places, and then started talking about the tail again.) |
| 2a.  | D F A Sting-ray. Snout, this is body, long tail which attacks people.   |
| 3. Duck. [3 min.]<br>D F- A                      | Legs—they are short—head, neck, tail. [What shall we think about this duck?] (He gave a talk on the care and habits of ducks.)  |

His chicken response is a minus. His sea tern indicates confabulatory thinking. He is responding in an unthoughtful, uncritical way—his efforts are not qualified. He shows little or no concern with "right and wrong." His third response is also a minus. He clearly does not show the cautious, inhibitory tendencies the others do. He seems to be a garrulous old man with no apparent inter- or intra-personal conflict. His one good response is an additional one. It may be that Warren thinks he must explain everything in the blot; he has used every area in Cards I and II. He has given no wholes, no color and no movement to speak of. His responses come nearer to "free associations" than those of any other male.

## CARD III

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. 1 min. 24 sec. A ghost. [See also responses III-4a and -6.]<br>D M H | [Parts of body?] Head, chin, mouth, leg, belly, back—back is stooped over because that is the way they walk in the bush. [Why a ghost, and not a real person?] It looks like one. |
|---|---|

2. An eel.  
D FM A  
The eel is about to eat the ghost, but he cannot, though he could if it were a real person. [Body parts of eel?] Head, belly, tail. (Told stories of eels biting people while they bathed.)
3. A bird—head, neck, leg—the head is tipped forward because it is dead.  
D Fm A  
[No inquiry.]
4. A fruit bat—wing, mouth, back, head.  
D F,FM A  
[Why a fruit bat?] (Listed body parts again:) head, wing, genitals. [Why not something else—some other sort of bird (fruit bats are referred to usually as birds)?] (Listed body parts yet again, and then added:) It is hanging on the branch of a tree—the ghost is hanging on it too.
- 4a. dr F N
5. A fan.  
D F Obj  
[Where?] The handle is here [at top].
6. A hibiscus—the ghosts are grabbing it.  
[10 min.]  
D FC N  
[Why a hibiscus?] It looks like it—stem in middle, branches off to one side. [Why not some other kind of flower?] It looks like it because it is red.

His six responses are considered adequate. Why does he do so much better on this card? Is it because the blot is more broken up with more non-contiguous areas? Again he leaves no area unexplained. Although his individual responses are acceptable, his uncriticalness and story-telling tendency have an interfering effect. This is seen in his uncritical relating of the ghost and the hibiscus. He has both the ghost and the fruit bat hanging from the tree although the shape of the tree is poorly delineated and it is not clear from the blot how they are hanging. Although Warren is responsive and productive, the products of his efforts are not likely to be adequate, especially where the situation is not simply and clearly structured. There is little doubt that Warren is "different." Although this may be due to his age, the extent of the "difference" is such as to make one wonder whether he was not always somewhat different from the others. One cannot help comparing Warren and Sam. They both give answers more freely than the others—they are at the extremes of the age range. Does the culture give the very old and the young a lot more freedom, with the stresses and strains coming in between? (This is just a guess.) One more note: the two responses containing aggressive content were two animals, both of whom were harmful to people. People are not aggressive but they live among aggressive animals. Put as it was in earlier records: the Trukese tend to have difficulty being aggressive and probably experience anxiety about it.



## CARD IV

1. 4 min. 10 sec. A goat—horn, mouth, hind leg, foreleg.  
D FM- A [How about that goat?] (Talked about the feeding habits of goats.) [Why is its leg like that?] It is going to rest, because it does not eat good food—it is sitting.
2. A lizard—mouth, body—it is going to eat a fly.  
d FM A [No inquiry.]
3. A tree—*Pemphis acidula* [a small strand tree with hard wood, tiny leaves]—the ground is here [above it in blot], and it grows up [down] here. The lizard is on it, about to eat a fly. This is a very strong kind of tree. [12 min.]  
dr F N [Why *Pemphis acidula*?] The shape of it.
- 3a. dr FC, FM A (At end of inquiry, noted) four sea terns on the tree—they have landed on it to sleep. Head, back, tail. [Why sea terns?] It is white, with a body like a sea tern [which is a dazzling white bird].

The first response is poor but the remainder are relatively good. One possible reason why Warren is doing better is that he is taking more time. He held Card I for six minutes, Card II for three minutes, Card III for ten minutes and Card IV for 12 minutes. That he gets better with time—after accustoming himself to the situation or card—is also apparent in the fact that his two additional responses (Cards II and IV) were of very good quality. If this is true then one would have to qualify some of the above conclusions. Although Warren tends to respond uncritically, impressionistically, and unrealistically, he can overcome these tendencies somewhat when the novelty of the situation has worn off. But this recovery is not a complete one.

## CARD V

1. 33 sec. A frigate bird—wings, tail, mouth—the legs are under the wings and we don't see them. [1½ min.]  
W F, FM A (Discussed the uses of feathers of frigate birds, which are fairly common.) [Why a frigate bird?] I saw a picture of it in a book—they told me it was a frigate bird—I saw that this was just like it. [What is there about this picture here that looks like a frigate bird?] They look like this when they fly about: the tail moves back and forth.

He gives his first whole response and again weaves a story. Is his telling of stories a way of showing off his knowledge? Of impressing the examiner? That Warren is a concrete

thinker is indicated by the fact that he can give but one response to this card. Since the response is to the whole card, he cannot give anything else. He could give more responses to the other cards because he gave no wholes.

## CARD VI

1. 53 sec. A tree, *Cordia subcordata* [No inquiry.]  
(Hawaiian kou). A big tree—trunk,  
branches—we climb on the branches  
and hold onto these above [implies  
ground is at top of blot]. [2½ min.]  
W F N

Again a whole and only one response.

## CARD VII

1. 36 sec. A heron—he has landed on [Why heron?] Legs, head, neck, back,  
this rock [see VII: 2 for rock]. tail. He has the long neck of a heron.  
D F M A
2. Rock. [Why rock?] Because the heron landed  
D F N on it.
3. A tree, *Guettarda speciosa* [used for [Why that kind of tree?] Because the  
making bowls]. It smells good. [2½ leaves spread out here—the trunk is very  
min.] short.  
D F(F-?) N

He gives no whole and so he can respond to the three usual areas and give three responses. The responses are of acceptable form.

## CARD VIII

1. 25 sec. A pig—snout, head, forelegs, [What do we think of this?] (Discoursed  
hind leg, tail. [2 min.] on the raising, selling and slaughtering of  
D F A pigs.) [Why is it just a pig?] It just looks  
like a pig—it is big.

Atypically for Warren, he responds to only one detail and leaves the rest of the card alone. Again he gives a discourse.

## CARD IX

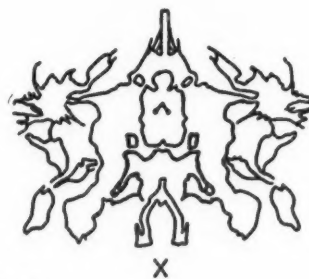
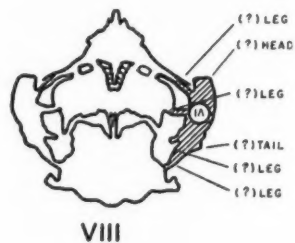
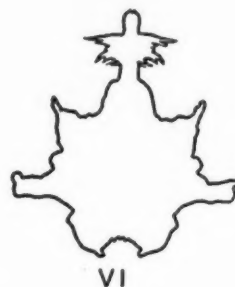
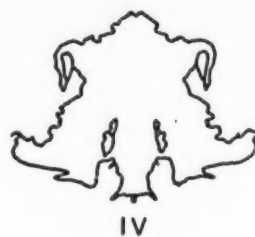
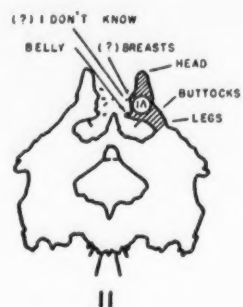
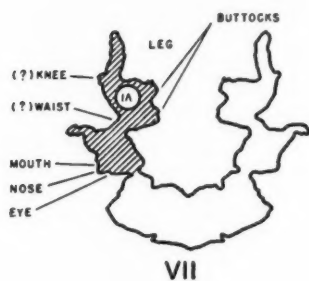
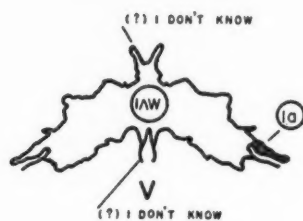
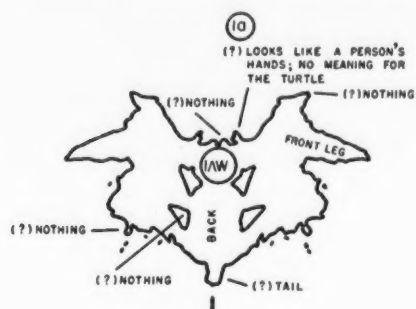
1. 46 sec. A cow—head, mouth, forelegs, [Why cow?] I saw a picture of one  
hind legs, body, horns. [there are also cows on Truk]—has a  
dr FM- A big head and legs, and horns. The cow is  
under the tree [response IX-2] to keep  
out of the sun.
2. A tree—I don't know what kind—the [No inquiry.]  
trunk goes up and up [down on blot]  
to branches. [2½ min.]  
D F N

His first response is poor although not as bad as some others he has given. Again, he leaves one area unused. Is he losing interest? Why this inconsistency? In terms of productivity he has been going downhill but in terms of quality he has done better as the test progressed. Was his difficulty that he was trying to do too much?

## CARD X

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. 1 min. 12 sec. A fish.  | [What kind?] Just a fish. [Parts of body?] Head, fins, back, tail—the fins flap and the tail swings back and forth.                            |
| 2. A tree—a kind of breadfruit—these are the branches.<br>D F N                                  | [Why that kind of tree?] I saw a picture of a tree of that kind and this looks just like it. It looks just like the leaves and branches of it. |
| 3. The bow-piece of a canoe.<br>dr F Obj   | [Why a bow-piece?] Here, here, and here—it is shaped just like one—it is mounted on the canoe here. [The resemblance is adequately close.]     |
| 4. A papaya tree. [Examiner failed to note the location of this response.]<br>[5½ min.]<br>D F N | [Why?] I saw a picture . . . etc. [Why?] The short trunk, long branches, and the fruit close to the branches.                                  |

On this card one would have expected Warren to give many responses because of the "spread-out" nature of the blot, but he gives four responses and leaves many areas untouched. The responses are adequate. It seems that the less his ambition, the better he does. There is a marked contrast between the first and the last two cards. In the former, he is uncritical and overextends himself. In the latter he is less productive but shows much better reality testing.



LOCATIONS CHART: KATE

## TRUKESE WOMEN

### KATE

AGE: 14 years.

(The subject was very tense, playing nervously with her hands, throughout the test.)

#### CARD I

1. 1 min. 5 sec. All of it? [That's up to you.] Turtle. [2 min.]  
W F A

[Whole thing?] Yes. The turtle has no head. [Why a turtle?] It just looks like one—front leg, back leg—it is round like a turtle. (The examiner asked, "What is this?" for several details, as indicated on location chart with her usual answer being "Nothing." In regard to the "claws" [top], she said:) They look like a person's hands, held up like this.

1a.

d F Hd

She is tense and asks for direction. She wants the examiner to tell her what to do. She responds in such a way that nothing can be held against her: "It just looks like it." Although she uses the whole card she can only justify some of the parts. It *may* be a good response but one doesn't know: it is as if she is afraid to commit herself in her insecurity. The "person's hand" is only given when the examiner asks about the area. On her own she did not give it.

#### CARD II

1. 47 sec. It looks like a person. I don't know what the rest of it is. [1½ min.]  
D FC- H

[Tracing.] The person is under a cloth. [Why a cloth?] It looks like a person, but hidden by a cloth. [What kind of cloth?] A red cloth. [Light or heavy?] Heavy. [Why?] It just is, I don't know why. [What is this?] Breasts. [Man or woman?] Woman. [What is this?] I don't know.

She forestalls questioning by saying, "I don't know what the rest of it is." Then she goes on to describe the person in a way that makes questioning difficult. The examiner questions her very closely and the more he elicits the less good is the response. Under questioning she identifies breasts, belly and buttocks.

#### CARD III

(After 1 min. 20 sec.) I don't know what it is.



## CARD IV

(After 1 min. 52 sec.) I don't know.

## CARD V

1. 60 sec. Wing of a fruit bat. Nothing more. [ $1\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W F A

The whole thing . . . wings. . . . [What else?] . . . (No reply.) . . . [What is this?] I don't know. . . . [What is this?] I don't know. . . . [What is this?—"wing tips."] It is not part of the bat. It looks like a person's hand. [How?] Half closed.

1a.

dd F Hd

She appears to have become so insecure that she doesn't even answer some of the examiner's questions. The examiner asks a lot of questions (too many) but the effect is to silence her. Again one gets a person's hands, clenched, but again it is given only when the area is pointed out to her. She probably saw more than she gave. She says the whole thing is a bat but when the tip area is pointed out to her she says "it is not part of the bat." Why? If it is *x* it is not *y*? She is afraid to respond.

## CARD VI

(After  $1\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't know. . . .

## CARD VII

1. 1 min. 15 sec. A person—nose, eye, mouth [the person is viewed upside down]. [ $3\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
D F(F-?) H

[What sort of a person?] A bad person. [Why?] Looks like a ghost. [How?] A ghost just looks like this picture.

Spontaneously, a "person"—but a bad person—a ghost. This may not be a good form but this is not a question one can answer.

## CARD VIII

1. 36 sec. Animal—a pig. I don't know about this [middle]. [ $2\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
D FM A

[How about the pig?] It is climbing up here. (Usual body parts elicited only by questioning every detail.)

This is a popular response.

## CARD IX

(After  $1\frac{1}{4}$  min.) I don't know. . . .

## CARD X

(After  $1\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know. . . .

NOTE: For someone who is unsure and anxious in the situation she gives a surprising number of human forms: hands, person, ghost. The "hands" are not spontaneous, the ghost has anxiety attached to it, the person is hidden by a cloth. Her defenses against anxiety and uncertainty are variable in their efficiency from avoidance and reticence to a cautious, anxious expression. She is taking the situation very personally and is not so able to hide it as others do. . . . In card II is the woman hidden to hide the sexual parts—so she does not have to mention them? . . . Of her five responses (main) only two are clearly good ones. Her reality testing or control does not appear to be good.

SARAH

AGE: 21 years.

CARD I

1. 1 min. 55 sec. An animal—a fruit bat.  
[5 min.]  
W F A

[Where?] Here, here . . . the whole thing. Wings, hind legs, and body, which is a little different. [Why do you say that?] Because the body here [lower end] does not look much like a fruit bat—just the wings and legs are like it really. [Why not another kind of bird?] Legs are just like a fruit bat's. [Any other reason?] No.

The response is adequate and she is able to show why it is not a perfect bat. Although she holds it a long time she gives relatively little.

CARD II

1. 3 min. 45 sec. A rock. [4½ min.]  
W C F N

[Where?] [All black area only.] [What is this?—white in middle.] A hole. [How do we know it is a hole?] Because it is not black. [Why a rock?] Because it is black. [Other reason?] No.

A very long reaction time and then she gives a vague, diffuse kind of response. Much more is probably going on than is revealed by her. She is more controlled than Kate in the sense that she is better able to hide what she is thinking—and she is able to respond, however minimally.

CARD III

1. 1 min. 20 sec. Two dogs, but their heads look like human heads. [2¾ min.]  
D F C A

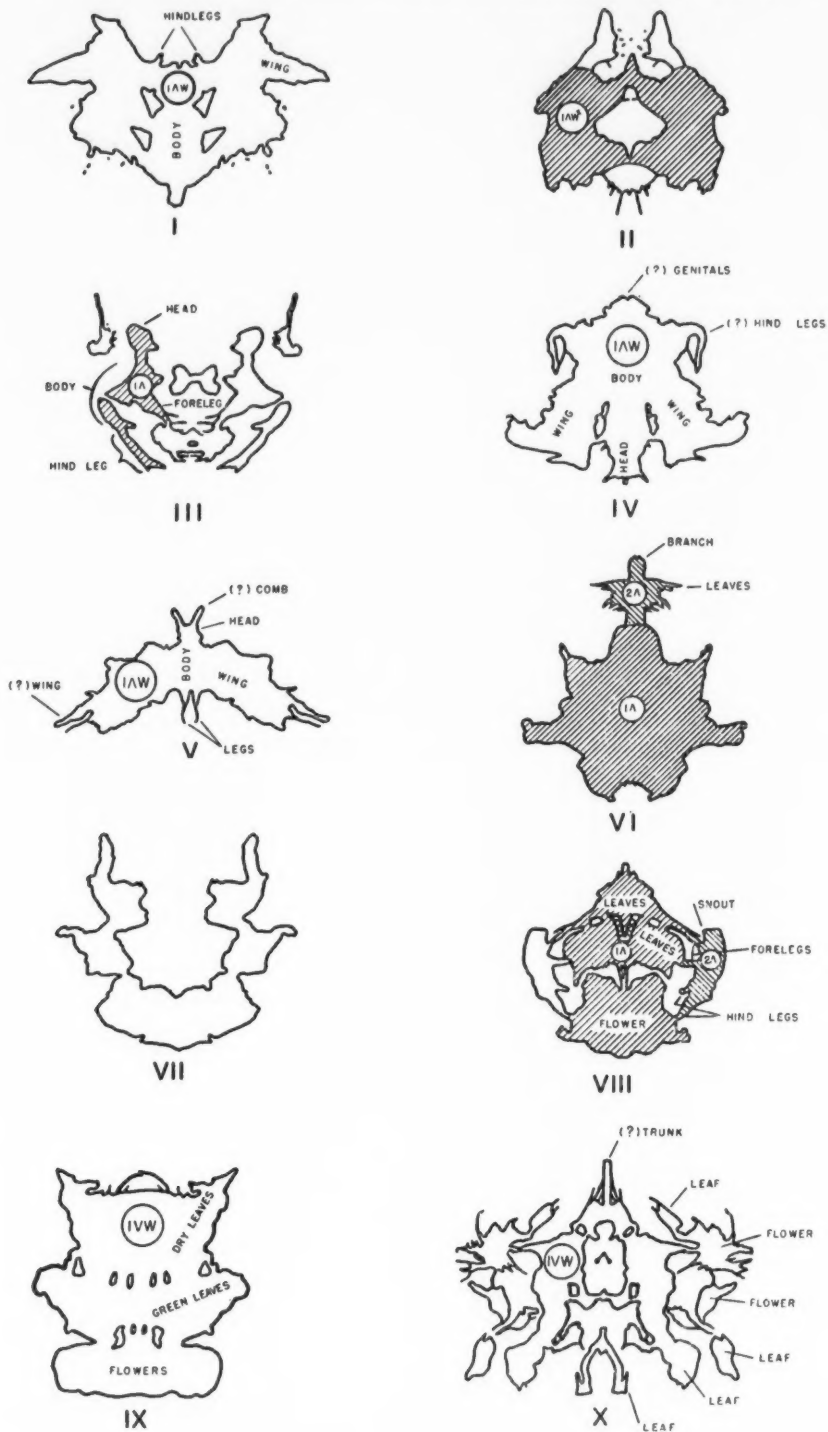
[Where?] [Why dog?] The body and hind legs look like one. [Why?] It is black here on the body and leg, and then a white foot. [Why does the head look human?] Because it is bigger than a dog's head. [Other reason?] No.

The response is acceptable but why does she point out the human-like head? Is it that she cannot easily accept a deviation from the expected? A reflection of concreteness? She did something similar in Card I. She is in a sense critical but it is not a productive kind of criticalness. It reflects her insecurity and concreteness more than anything else.

CARD IV

1. 1 min. 57 sec. A bird again. [2¼ min.]  
W F C A

[What kind?] . . . (pause) . . . It looks like another fruit bat. [Why?] The wings and body look like one, and because it is



LOCATIONS CHART: SARAH

black, and this looks like a fruit bat's head.

"Another" bird and that is all.

## CARD V

1. 1 min. 23 sec. A chicken. [ $1\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W FC' A

[Where?] Legs, head, body, wings.  
[What is this?—"wing tip."] Wing, too.  
[?] Comb. [Why chicken?] The legs look like it, and the body and wings: the wings are black, with white tips, and the body is a little lighter.

The "Wing" idea recurs, this time with a chicken. She uses the color and there is a possibility that she is even using the shading. In other words, she doesn't merely use color but differences in the color. It may be the criticalness she has shown is in part a reflection of a sensitive or differentiated way of responding. Although she gives little, what she gives reflects fair ability. She is concerned with doing right but it is not the kind of reaction which interferes with responding.

## CARD VI

1. 3 min. 45 sec. A rock here, and . . .  
D CF N

[Why a rock?] It is dark, and it is big.  
[Bigger than what?] The sides are bigger than the bottom. [Lots of things are dark. Why is this only a rock?] It looks just like one—it is round.

2. . . . a branch of a tree on it. [ $4\frac{1}{4}$  min.]  
W Fc N

[Where?] [What kind?] "Salt" tree [*Barringtonia racemosa*]. [Why?] The branch is dark here [middle], light here, darker here and light here—it is speckled.

Another repetition of content—after a long reaction time (as on II). But unlike II she integrates the rock with a tree and here uses shading nicely. Why is it that on II and VI you get a long reaction time and then a rock response? What is the significance of the fact that she can respond to the shading? Can this be taken as a sign of unusual sensitivity to her environment—not in a negative sense but in the sense that she is aware of more of what goes on than most? It is so unusual to get a shading response that one must give it special emphasis. (Did she see penises in II and VI—her associations equate it with rock? If so, she is able to give another kind of content.)

## CARD VII

(After  $1\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't think of anything here.

Rejected. Why? And she holds it for less time than II and VI.

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 33 sec. A plant and . . .  
dr FC N

[What kind?] Hibiscus. [Why?] Because it has a big red flower. [Where?] [What is this?] Leaves. [Why?] It is green.

2. . . . two rats. [1 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
D FC,FM N

[How about the rats?] They are pink. Their hind legs and snouts look just like rats. [Why do the legs look just like rats?] They are big near the body, smaller farther down. [When you told me of this, you spoke of both (i.e., rats and plant) at once—are they together or separate?] The rat is climbing on the plant. [Are there such things as pink rats?] The little ones [i.e., mice, but there is only one word for both rats and mice] are pink.

She uses chromatic color for the first time—in fact she uses it twice. In her second response she explains the color in a resourceful way. Sarah appears to be able to use her capacities rather well. Even though she was given an inquisition she stood up under it well, and the quality of her responsiveness does not suffer. Sarah appears to be a rather intelligent woman. She is not only perceptive but responsive, although her responsiveness will not be self-expressive or personal.

## CARD IX

1. 32 sec. Just a plant. [ $\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W FC N

[What kind?] That kind (pointing out the window at a plant with pink flowers). [Why?] Because it has small pink flowers. [What else?] Green leaves, and dry leaves below.

Another repetition of content. Color used and each color stands for a different part of the plant—the orange-brown is dried leaves, etc. Although this may be a CF rather than FC, it seems that Sarah does not tend to respond in a truly vague way. She even points to the plant she is talking about. She is not at a loss for an explanation.

## CARD X

1. 29 sec. A tree. [ $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W FC N

[How about it?] A *Cananga odorata*—the sweet-smelling plant. [Why?] The leaves and flowers are red, yellow, blue, etc. [What is this?] Trunk.

Another whole which appears to be more vague than IX. Even here she gives the name of the tree, describes its characteristics, etc.



## FRANCES

AGE: 21 years.

(The subject appeared to be under mounting tension throughout the test, with which she had great difficulty. There was appreciable perseveration in giving rock and stone responses, often in combination with other responses where she apparently felt the other response was not acceptable. As the TAT remained to be administered it did not appear feasible to re-administer the test, ruling out rocks, as she might have blocked completely. In scoring, for all responses in which rocks were reported in conjunction with something else the rock portion of the response was ignored.)

### CARD I

1. 37 sec. Stone . . . with holes in it.

[3½ min.]

W, S C'F N

[How much of it is the rock?] All of it. [Why a rock?] It is grey, with irregular edges. [What kind of rock?] Basalt. [Why basalt?] It just looks like it. [Why not coral?—these are the only two kinds of rock.] Coral is light colored. [How about the holes?] Just holes. [Are they just on the surface, or do they go through?] They go through. [How do we know they go through?] They are just that kind of holes. If they were in the sea, fish would swim through them.

She gives a vague response to the whole, even using the white space. Although she held the card 3½ min. she could not give much. Is this related to the tension which the examiner noted?

### CARD II

1. 1 min. 3 sec. Another stone.

W CF N

[How much of the picture is this rock?] All the black portion. [Why a rock?] It is black. [Is that all?] Yes . . . also the irregular outline.

2. This red thing is a dog—but really just a rock.

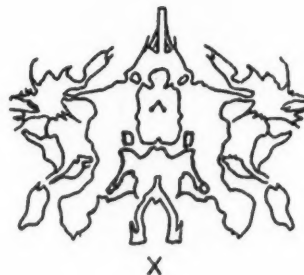
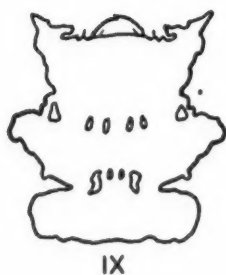
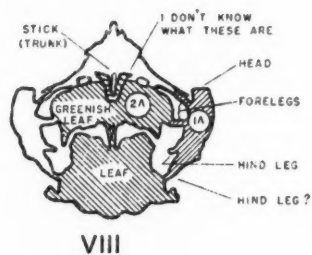
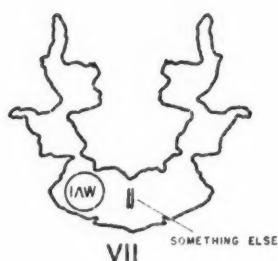
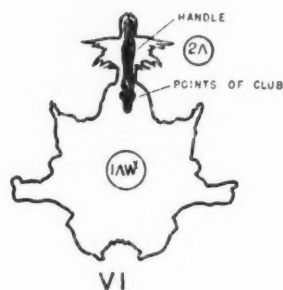
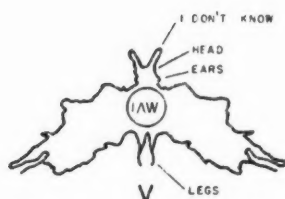
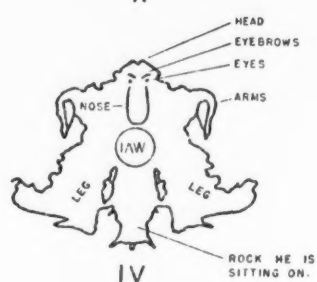
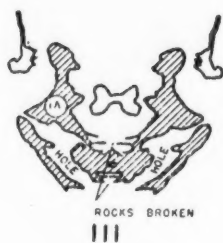
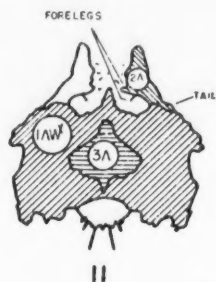
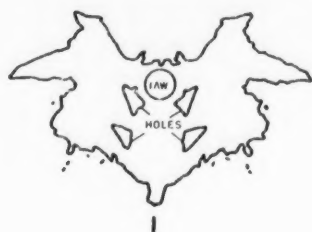
D FM- A

[Tracing.] There are no ears. Forelegs. The hind legs are on the rock. These two dogs are going to jump up on the sharp point of the rock. [More parts of the body?] Tail.

3. Another hole in the middle of the rock . . . I don't know about this [red below]. [Total time not recorded.]

S F N

[Why a hole?] It is in the middle. It is obviously a hole.



LOCATIONS CHART: FRANCES

She starts off with another stone, then gives a dog response which is poor in form, and then the hole in the rock. Why the perseveration of content? Is it due to a feeling of impotence? If so, one would expect her to give one response and let it go at that. Is it a device to defend herself against giving a certain and/or personal kind of content? That the tension and her concreteness ("a dog, but really a rock") interferes with functioning is seen in the dog response, which is somewhat confabulatory: she only sees the forelegs and tail. If it is all due to impotence or uncertainty as to how to proceed why does she respond relatively quickly? (In Card I also.) Is there any significance to the dogs jumping on the sharp point of the rock?—a strange content.

## CARD III

1. 40 sec. Rocks—three on each side. These are separated a bit, making a hole. Here the edges of the rock are broken. . . . I don't know what these red things are. [10 min.]

dr C'F N

[Why rocks?] There are rocks like this.  
[What kind?] Both basalt and coral.  
[What characteristics of the rock are you referring to when you say there are rocks like this?] The light and dark parts.

Again she responds relatively quickly and again the same content. Now she holds the card a long time. These factors emphasize two things: how strong are the factors producing the tension and how inadequate she is in handling such strong feeling. This is a good example of what has been said many times before: in the face of strong feeling which they cannot or should not express the Trukese have difficulty responding and their adequacy is markedly reduced. They inhibit, respond concretely, and avoid expression. What is "stone" or "rock" a symbol for? And the holes? Is there some kind of sexual symbolism? Is the mounting tension due to her being with a male examiner? Is the "dogs jumping on the sharp point of the rock" a reflection of sexual drive?

## CARD IV

1. 50 sec. A ghost—it looks like a ghost, but they just made a picture of a rock. There are no rocks like this here—maybe there are some like this with things hanging down in America. I said ghost because of its head—nose, eyebrows, eyes, mouth, legs, though they don't look much like legs. This in the middle is a rock the ghost is sitting on. These are arms, though the fingers are not clear. [9 min.]

W M H

[Why eyes?] I saw lids, narrowed. [Why lids?] They are elevated. [Nose?] It is long. We cannot see the mouth. There are ears, but we cannot see them because there is a lot of hair. [Why do you think there is a lot of hair?] I just think so. [How about the ghost? Why do you think it is a ghost?] I just think it is.

She cannot divorce the rock and the ghost. Although the ghost is well described she is compelled to say it is only a rock. That much more is going on inside is indicated by the long time during which she holds the card. Is the rock a reflection of concreteness or obsessive tendencies? That Frances is perhaps capable of more adequate responsiveness

is indicated by the goodness of this response, the way it is elaborated and the possibility that she is using shading. That Frances is responding subjectively is indicated not only by the tension but by her giving two movement responses.

## CARD V

1. 1 min. 30 sec. Just another picture of a rock, like what I do not know. . . . Here it looks like a head, but whether the head of a ghost or a person I do not know. Ears; I don't know what these are . . . but I think it is just a rock. We don't see the arms because they are lost in this ["wings"]. Legs, but no toes, because it is made of rock. [11½ min.]

W F N

[Examiner tried at first to treat the rock as a separate response: Why a rock?] It is black, but there are none like this here. [Why not?] It has a head. [But why are there none here like this?] I have not seen any . . . I looked at the head, and decided it was a person. [How about this person?] I can't see the body. [Anything else?] No. [What sort of a person?] It looks like a picture of a ghost. [Why a ghost?] I don't know.

Similar to IV. The ghost content mirrors her anxiety. There is little doubt about her concreteness but this does not explain her tensions and perseverative content. The safest thing to say is that the rock content protects her from being revealing. But why all the unexpressed feeling? Is she holding the card longer (beginning with Card III) because of the strength of the unexpressed feeling?

## CARD VI

1. 3 min. 10 sec. They have made a picture of a rock, but I don't know like what. . . .

W F N

[Why a rock?] It is just like a rock. [Why?] The outline is irregular. [Anything else?] No.

2. . . . . On the sides it is a rock; but from the top down, in the middle, it is something else; I don't know what (pointing especially at two white spots in middle). I think it is a war club [which usually has large serrations on edges]. (10½ min.)

D F Obj

[Why a war club?] The sharp points, and the handle about here. [What are these?—light spots previously noted.] I don't know. They belong to the long thing below, but I don't know what they are.

The longest reaction time to date. First it's a rock and then comes the war club with sharp points. The symbolism is suggestive: a long aggressive thing. We had a sharp point on Card II and here. Is she sexually aroused? If so, it is equivalent to saying that in phantasy she is being aggressive toward the examiner—she has sexual desire for him. The dogs jump on the sharp point.

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 15 sec. I think it is just another rock—the whole thing. But here is

[Why did you think of rocks?] It is dark. That is all. [Why is this thing not a part

something else, but I don't know what. I just said rocks because they are all joined together. I don't know about the old days, but I have not seen any rocks like this. [6 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]

W C'F N

Another rock but she points to the small center detail and says she doesn't know what that might be. She gives a rather weak explanation of the rock.

#### CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 33 sec. Two animals. Head, forelegs, one hind leg, we can't see the other . . . no, maybe two; I don't know. We can't see the ears. I don't know what sort of an animal it is; I just think it is a monkey or a rat. This one [right] is going to climb up—that is why his legs are this way.

D FM A

2. A plant, but it looks just like a picture of a rock. I don't know what these are. . . . This looks like a stick below. [9 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

dr FC N

of the rocks?] It is part of the rocks; I just don't know what sort of a thing it is in between.

[Tracing.] [How about the parts of the plant?] I don't know where they are. [Why did you think of a plant?] The shape of the leaf. [What is this (above)?] Also a leaf, because it is greenish. [Why a stick?] It runs straight up the middle—it is really the trunk of the tree [same word as for "plant"] and these are the fruit.

The usual animals and then a plant and here again she says it looks like a rock.

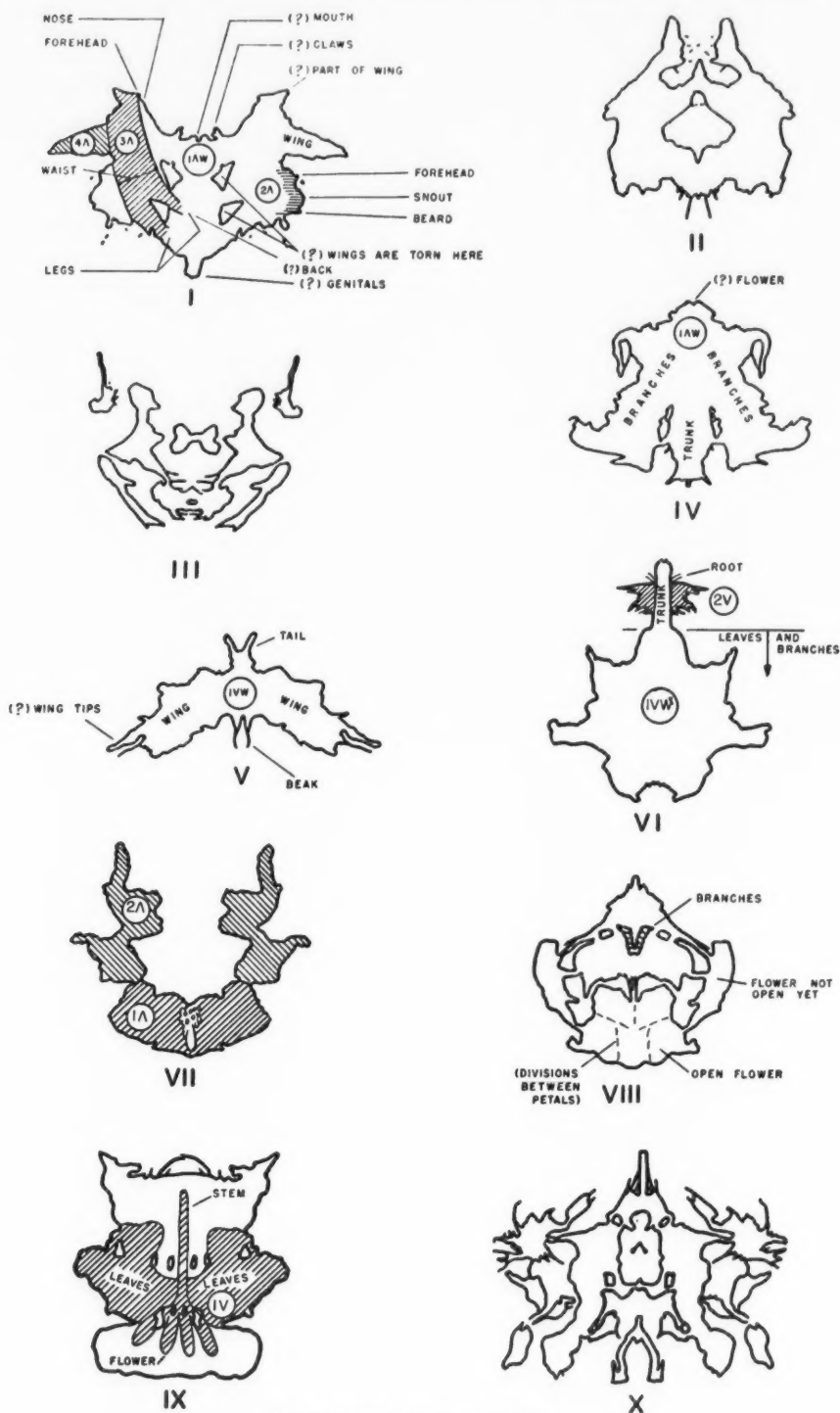
#### CARD IX

(After 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I am very sorry, forgive me, but I don't know about this one.

#### CARD X

(After 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.) Forgive me, but I don't know about this one either.





LOCATIONS CHART: SUSAN

SUSAN

AGE: 23 years.

CARD I

1. 3 min. 23 sec. A bird  
W FC A

[What kind?] A fruit bat. [How much of the picture is a fruit bat?] (Made tracing. At the outset, she indicated with her finger only the middle of the blot and then the upper portion of the sides; but she traced the whole thing and then shaded it all in.) I lied: I said "fruit bat," but now it is just people. [Why not some other kind of bird?] I just thought of it. [Why shading in tracing?] It is black, like a fruit bat.

2. An animal.  
dr F Ad

[Tracing.] I thought of the forehead, nose. It is a goat. [Why?] Beard, snout, forehead.

3. A person.  
dr F H

[Tracing.] [What shall we think about this person?] I just thought of the forehead and legs.

4. An island.  
d F N

[Where?] [Why?] It looks like the end of an island.

5. Another person. (This turned out to be just a mirror image of response 3 above; the examiner told her not to bother to mention these separately.)  
[10½ min.]

After a long reaction time she gives the bat. But she tends to withdraw the bat in favor of people. It is as if she is concerned about correctness. If it is concreteness (if  $x$  then not  $y$ ) she is at least able to overcome it somewhat. She not only can give "people" but animals as well. The person is well carved out in what is an unusual way for the Trukese. She not only has a long reaction time but holds the card the longest of any subject. If she is uncertain she can overcome it and produce answers, quantitatively and qualitatively. However, the evidence for strong uncertainty should not be overlooked: long reaction and total time, person versus bat, and her need to shade in her responses. She reproduces everything even to the black color. Why is it person versus bat and not bat versus animals?

## CARD II

1. (After 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't know. [Did you see something bad and just don't want to tell me, or did you just not see anything at all?]

11 min. 15 sec. Blood. I don't know what the black is. [14 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

D C At

[Where?] Here, and here. [All red portions.] [Why blood?] It is red. [Is that all?] Yes.

The longest reaction time of any subject, and she really rejects the card. In answer to the examiner's loaded question she does not answer but gives a pure C response. What was going on inside? Did she not answer the examiner's question because he was correct? This card is in marked contrast to I. This is one of the few times we get a pure C response. The only control feature is the long reaction time. Is the blood a reflection of anatomical associations which she is afraid to give?

## CARD III

1. 26 sec. Blood again. I don't know about the black. [1 min.]

D C At

(Indicated all the red places.) [Why blood?] It is red—that is all.

She gets rid of the card very quickly after giving blood again. She has found a way to handle the situation. In Card II the response came out after a long time and now it comes very quickly. The response here is rather impulsive but it may be solely a learned way to "escape"—learned on Card II. The contrast of Card I as against II and III is indeed striking. One may conclude that some deeply personal material was experienced which she could not reveal. Kate, Frances, and Susan show strong feeling against which they invoke strong inhibitory forces. Women appear more "emotional," but this is inhibited to a large extent.

## CARD IV

1. (After 2 min.) I think this sort of thing must belong in America, because I do not recognize it. . . . Why don't you tell me what it is so I will know. [Told her there is no one correct answer.] 3 min. 55 sec. One tree. [4 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

W F N

Trunk, and all the rest is branches. [What is this?] A flower.

She reacts aggressively to the examiner. She becomes dependent but hostile. The aggressive response is unusual for the Trukese. When taken together with her pure C response one may ask if this woman has difficulty controlling or inhibiting feeling which should not be expressed. But it should be kept in mind that this does not come out until she feels under pressure.

## CARD V

1. 4 min. 55 sec. (Card was turned after 4 min.) A bird. [5½ min.]  
W F A
- [What kind?] A duck. [Why?] Tail, beak, which is very long, wings. That's all. [Are these part of bird?] Yes, they are the wing tips. [Why a duck?] Because the beak is long.

After a long reaction time she gives the popular answer.

## CARD VI

1. 1 min. 30 sec. (Card was turned after 10 sec.) A plant. That's all. [Nothing more?]  
W F N
- [Tracing.] [What shall we think about this?] All of it is branches and leaves; this kind of tree has no flowers.
2. The leaves of a banana plant. [3 min.]  
D F N
- [How about the banana leaves?] All of this. There are a lot of leaves. The banana plant is behind the tree. [How do we know it is behind, and not in front?] Because we cannot see the trunk of the banana plant.

Essentially the same content as in Card IV. Is this evasiveness? To Cards II and III she gives the same response, and to IV and VI the same. She certainly has contracted after Card I.

## CARD VII

- D F N
1. 58 sec. An island with one tree on it.
- [Tracing.] [Why a tree?] The trunk, and very small leaves. [What kind of tree (word also means plant, etc.) is this?] A carrot. [What is it useful for?] We put a sprig over our ears to attract a sweetheart. [What sort of an island?] A small island, like Pis [a low reef island, but populated]. [How are we looking at it?] I just think it is an island.
2. Little islands. [2 min.]  
D F N
- [How about the little islands?] They are two little islands beside the bigger one.

Why the sexual association? Is it aggressive in the sense that the woman initiates an activity to attract a man? Her comment indicates that she has been thinking of things other than plants and islands. It may reflect her feeling toward the examiner. It appears that women are more aggressive (sexually?) than men. Is it in the sexual area where women gain power over men?

## CARD VIII

1. 50 sec. A flower which is open, two not yet open, and the plant they are
- [Why a plant?] Just like that plant (pointing out window to plant with red

growing on. [2 min.]

W FC N

[See note on FC scores below.]

flowers)—it has five petals. The plant part of it [the blot] is not like it [the plant outside the window] because the leaves are not separated. [Why is this the flower and this the plant?] The branches of the plant made me think the plant was here; the flower is on top [though actually bottom as card was held]. [Any other reason for feeling it is the same kind of plant as those outside the window?] Just the five petals.

She is the only one who omits the animals. She is evading any kind of personal content.

#### CARD IX

1. 2 min. 29 sec. A kind of plant that grows inland here—leaves, flowers, trunk. [4½ min.]

dr FC N

[Tracing.] [What kind of tree?] "Red." [This is a translation of the native name; its popular name for Americans is "tiger's claw.""] [Why is it like it?] (This question was repeated in several different ways, but without anything but "just looks like it" answers.)

(Examiner's note: Here and in response VIII: 1 above, no explicit color response was given. However, I felt certain from the context this was involved. After completing the test I inquired whether she had thought of color at the time, and she said yes, but she had thought so hard about the pictures she could no longer think about the reasons. This is also ambiguous, but FC appears justified.)

A plant, rather well carved out.

#### CARD X

(After 1½ min.) I cannot know about this. (After 3½ min.) I cannot think what this is, because there are so many different things. [Just think of them one at a time.] (After 5 min.) I don't know.

Rejected—because she sees too many things. This seems like a lame excuse because she showed on Card I that she can handle details and handle them well.



# ELEANOR

AGE: 24 years.

## CARD I

1. 46 sec. A fruit bat—there are three of them joined together. I think they are fighting. I think these two have lost to the one on top. [3 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]

W FM A

1a.

dr FM A

[Tracing.] We don't see the heads of the ones below because they are behind the back of the others. We don't see the legs of the ones on top because they are hidden behind the others. [Why fruit bats?] Just looks like that. [Question rephrased and repeated several times, with similar answers.] Actually this [bottom] looks like a turtle [tracing], but I realized a fruit bat could not be in the sea [all turtles on Truk are sea turtles], so I just said three fruit bats. (Examiner pointed out it was all right to have diverse objects in one picture.) [Why turtle?] It just looks like one. [Why not something else—another kind of animal?] It doesn't look like a pig. . . . [Why?] Because pigs walk on legs, but this is spread out flat, with its forelegs out, on its belly. That is why it is a turtle.

Her main response is well organized. She breaks up the whole and then organizes the parts in an un-Trukese manner. That she has concrete tendencies is seen in the reason she gave for not giving the turtle response spontaneously. But it is to her credit that despite the concreteness she does give the turtle. Both of her responses are unusually well seen. Her first response, it should be noted, is aggressive in content. Also despite an inquisition by the examiner, she does not become reticent.

## CARD II

1. 2 min. 33 sec. The door of my house. They painted the house black here, and red here. We just see one end.

W,S FC,FC Obj

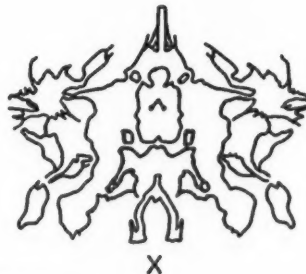
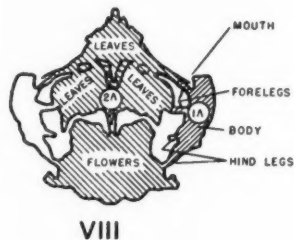
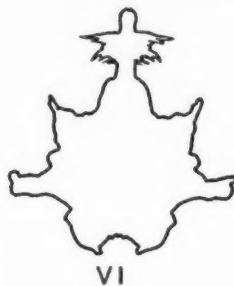
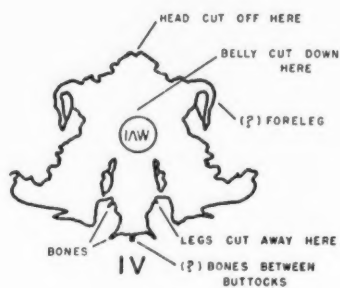
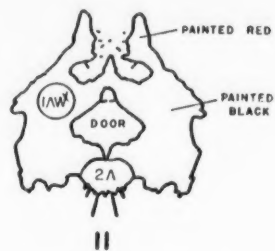
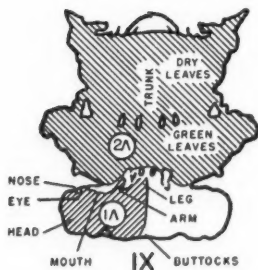
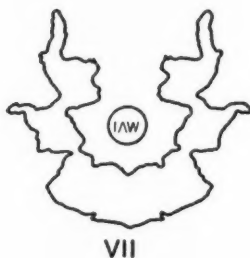
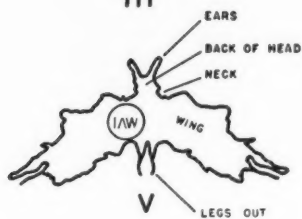
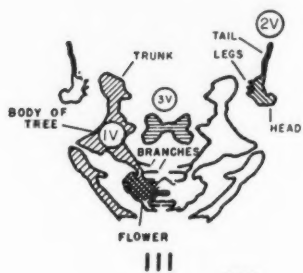
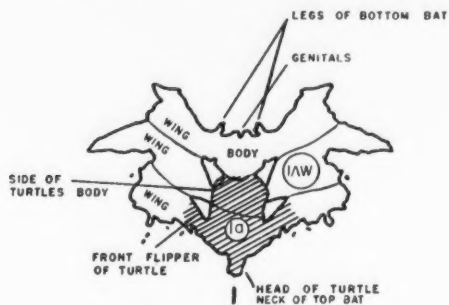
2. The light of their lamp. [7 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

D CF Obj

[Why door?] It is open here, and we can come out here. [We are viewing it from where?] Outside.

[Why the light of a lamp?] It is not a lamp, I think—it is a fire. [Why fire?] It has the red light of a fire.

After a long reaction time she gives a very personal response whose form is not very good. She then follows this response with one of indefinite form. According to the



LOCATIONS CHART: ELEANOR

examiner, Eleanor's description of her house is rather impressionistic. Certainly the form level of her responses in this card is well below that on Card I. When you take this together with her long reaction time and personal content, one wonders why all this happens on this card. Were "bad" associations engendered by this first colored card? Note how she improves her second response: the lamp becomes fire.

## CARD III

1. 2 min. 42 sec. Plants—someone has carried them away and put them down.

W F N

2. A monkey.

D FM A

3. A flower that has fallen from this plant

[resp. 1]. [5½ min.]

D CF N

[Tracing.] [Why this (blackening on tracing) on the flower?] The flower is budding. [Why?] It is not a flower: it is a budding leaf, all compacted together. [Why did someone carry it away and put it down?] Because there are no roots—it is just lying on the ground.

He is looking at his tail. [Why monkey?] Because of the long tail.

[Why flower?] It looks like it. Someone has stuck two together, then thrown them down on the path. [But why flower?] It is red.

Again a long reaction time and again her first response is pretty vague. Her second response is of the quality found in Card I. Her third response is again vague. In this card she consistently held the card upside down. Note: there are some aggressive associations to the first and third responses: "someone has carried them away" and "someone has thrown them down in the path." But if this is aggressive it is much more disguised than in Card I. It should have been pointed out in Card I that Eleanor not only gives you fighting bats but also tells you who won: "the bat on top"—the one whose genitals she sees.

## CARD IV

1. 5 min. 6 sec. An animal—they killed—it they cut off its head, cut its belly, and cut the hind legs away from the body. [8½ min.]

W F A

[What kind of an animal?] I don't know. [How do we know the belly is cut?] Because the body is laid out flat. We know the legs have been cut away because we see the bones. [?] The head has been thrown away.

The longest reaction time yet and then some really aggressive content: the head cut away, the belly cut, etc. A thorough-going kind of castration.

## CARD V

1. 2 min. 50 sec. A fruit bat. [3¼ min.]

W FM,FC' A

[Why a fruit bat?] The wings are out—it is flying. The legs are out back, because it is flying. [Why not something else that flies?] Because it is black.

The usual bat.

## CARD VI

(After 3 min.) I don't know this one.

## CARD VII

1. 34 sec. An island. [ $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W F N

[We are looking at it from where?] There are several islands together . . . we are looking at them from the side. [Where is the ocean, then?] Here—the white around the outside . . . no . . . where is it? . . . it isn't an island, because it sticks up. [Then what is it?] I don't know.

She gives essentially vague content which she has difficulty justifying. What continues to be striking is the contrast between Card I and those that follow. Something happened in II which caused a much more inadequate way of responding. One can only assume it was something of a personal nature. (See note below for qualification of first sentence above.)

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 50 sec. Two rats. [See resp. 2 for movement.]  
D FM A
2. They [the rats] are climbing on this tree. [4 min.]  
dr FC N

[Why rats?] The mouth—it looks only like a rat's mouth.

[Where is it?] Here. It has no trunk—it has been cut down. The red is a flower, and the green is leaves. [Only one flower?] Yes.

Here again something is "cut down." Her tree is not well described.

## CARD IX

1. 2 min. 33 sec. (After  $2\frac{1}{4}$  min., said) I don't know. . . . [Look some more.] The head of a person . . . eye . . . two of them. . . children? . . . their buttocks are together.

D F H

[Tracing.] There are no legs (though she shortly after mentioned legs in identifying the parts of the tracing). [Why child?] Because it is just a small person—it is just a short one. [What else do we know?] They are naked. [How do we know that?] We can see the skin. [Why?] We don't see any clothes.

2. There is a tree here. The leaves are green, and there are dry yellow leaves below. [ $6\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

dr FC N

[What else do we see?] Trunk. [Anything else?] No.

She rejects this card but when prodded she gives her first humans: people—children—buttocks together—naked. The fact that this content comes after she is ready to give

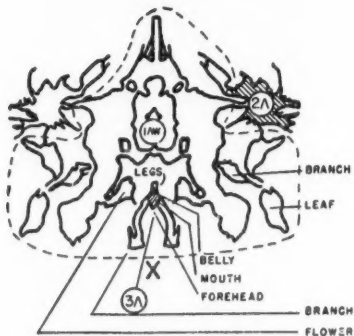
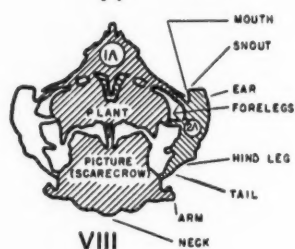
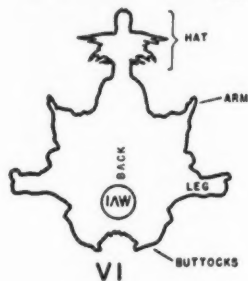
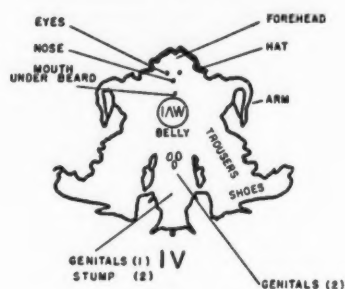
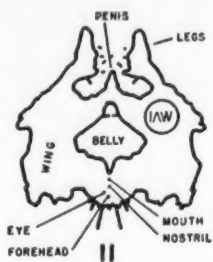
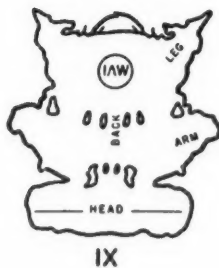
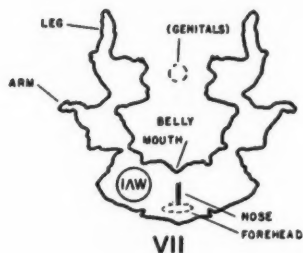
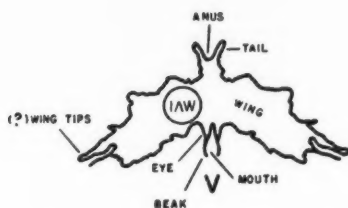
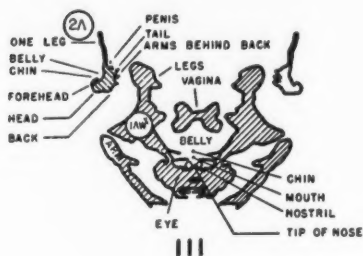
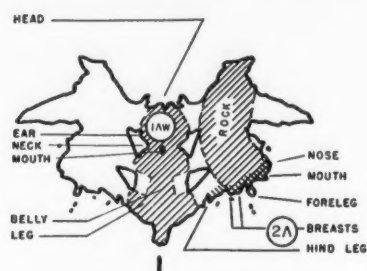
up indicates its importance to the inhibitory forces producing the rejection. Is it possible that in Card II she saw disturbing personal-sexual-bodily material and that her performance fell off in quality because she had difficulty in expressing or handling such material in this situation. Her second response in this card is a tree—fairly usual.

CARD X

(After  $2\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I am sorry, but I do not know any more.

NOTE: She appears to be able to talk relatively freely and explains her responses without the examiner having to "pull teeth." Also, even in the case of responses which have been called vague Eleanor gives rather complete explanations. Whereas many others give vague explanations for essentially vague content, Eleanor's elaborations make her vague responses much less so (Cards III, VII).





LOCATIONS CHART: IRENE

IRENE

AGE: 30 years.

CARD I

1. 21 sec. A person, seated on a rock.  
Head, ears, mouth, neck, belly, legs—  
he is seated.

W M- H

[Where is the rock he is seated on?] He is not really seated on it, but just leaning back on it. We cannot see it. [Where is it?] Here, behind the animal [i.e., hidden by the animal] [see resp. 2 for animal]. [Why did you say rock at first?] Because it looks like a rock, but the animal is in front of it. It is standing up, and the animal has come in under it. (She answered "It just looks like it" to a variety of further questions.)

2. An animal on the rock [of resp. 1].  
Mouth, nose, hind leg, back, hind leg  
—that first one was a foreleg—breasts.

[10½ min.]

dr FM- A

[What kind of animal?] A rat. [?] Head, forelegs, and chest are big, but the rest is small. [Note movement in inquiry for response 1.]

She responds relatively quickly with a poorly seen response. Her other response is also a minus. She holds the card for a long time although the first response came out quickly. Was she spending most of her thoughts on the second response, the second time (Kate was the first) breasts have been given? It is difficult to determine the reason for her inadequate, unrealistic responses—as poor as have been given. She gives movement, the subjective type of response, but the significance of the content is unclear.

CARD II

1. 8 sec. A fruit bat, wings, whiskers,  
eyes, nose, mouth, white belly, legs,  
penis. [2¾ min.]

W FM-,FC' A

[Why a fruit bat?] It is flying—wings out, legs back, white belly. [Why are the legs here?] Out back, while flying. [Any other reason for saying fruit bat?] No, that is all.

Again, quick responsiveness, and again a minus response, although not as bad as on Card I. It is a white belly presumably because the card is white there—a very concrete approach. She is the first female to give a penis. So far two of her responses contain explicit sexual content. What is perhaps most outstanding so far is her uncritical, impulsive way of responding. This is rather different from the others.

CARD III

1. 35 sec. A person—head, arms, eyes,  
ears, neck, nose—nostrils and tip—

[Genitals?] Vagina. [Why?] The curve of the legs, with the vagina in the middle

mouth, chin, belly runs down here,  
legs, genitals. Holding arms over head.  
Shoes on feet.

W M- H

2. A plant. Wait a minute, let me think.  
. . . it is a monkey. Chin, forehead,  
head, legs, belly, back, mane, tail, penis.  
[Time not recorded exactly—about  
10 min.]

D FM A

—it looks like it. [Eye?] We can't see it;  
we can just tell from the position of the  
nose.

[?] I called it a plant at first glance, but  
on closer look saw it was a monkey. I can  
no longer think of it as a plant. We only  
see one leg. The arms are held out in back.

Starts off with another minus which again contains explicit sexual content. Although her reaction time increases, she still is unable to give a realistically explained response. Why does she respond so poorly and differently? This difference is so marked that one must assume that she has had a different background (family, etc.) from the others. The fact that she withdraws her "plant" response in favor of her "monkey" illustrates that when she does stop to reflect, the quality of her response is better than when she blunders ahead. Again, she mentions the sexual areas. We have three things to keep in mind: the sexual content, the uncritical way of responding, and the preponderance of the personal type of response. One might put it in this way: why is her description of the human form so distorted (for us)? Does this reflect her own conception of her body: that her conception of herself as a woman is different, a source of concern to her?

#### CARD IV

1. 13 sec. A man: arms, legs, penis and  
testicles together [(1) on location  
chart], head, forehead, a long beard,  
eyes, nose, mouth, but we cannot see  
it for his beard, his ears are behind his  
hair, shoes, belly, he has on trousers—  
big trousers. . . . I want to change  
my mind—this (2) is the penis and  
testicles: he is sitting on a stump  
[which was formerly genitals]. [6  
min.]

W M H

(While examiner was labelling the loca-  
tion sheet, she said) What did you write  
for this?—I think it is a hat, and a long  
face below. [Why eyes?] Just looks like  
them—the eyebrows are above. [What is  
there about the picture that is like eyes?]  
They are closed: I think he has come a  
long way and is sitting, tired out, on the  
stump, his arms out.

Again she responds quickly but gives a rather good response except for distorting the penis-genital area. However, she spontaneously "corrects" it, although there is little in the blot to justify her change. It is interesting that initially she gives the disproportionate genitals but changes it to very small ones at the same time that the content changes: a tired man sitting on a stump. There is strong sexual interest here, but she is different from the others in that she sees male sexuality. Does this represent a source of deprivation? Although we have said that Irene is uncritical, it should be borne in mind that she is capable of improving her responses and this occurs spontaneously.

## CARD V

1. 9 sec. A bird: mouth, wings, tail; I cannot see his legs; eye—we just see one—upper and lower halves of beak, anus. [2 min.]  
 W FM,FC' A
- [Why a bird?] Has wings out, flying, and mouth open. [What kind of a bird?] A black tern. [Why?] Shape of tail, shape of beak, black color.

Quick responsiveness and gives the popular response. She mentions the anus—she is really set to see sexual parts. The ease and frequency with which she gives movement is reminiscent of Charles.

## CARD VI

1. 38 sec. A person: arms, legs, buttocks, back; there is a hat; the face is turned the other way. Is wearing a poncho, and has arms and legs out. Is sitting down. [3 min.]  
 W M- H
- [Why back?] No features of the face are visible. [Why poncho?] It does not look like any other kind of clothes.

Again fast, and again a poor response. She is a "different" person in comparison with the others: disorderly, flighty, impulsive.

## CARD VII

1. 8 sec. A child: head, forehead, nose, mouth, arms, legs, belly; genitals would be here but I don't see them. I think it is wearing some sort of hat, because I cannot see the ears or the eyes. It is lying with its arms out. [4 min.]  
 W M- H
- [No inquiry.]

Another minus. She locates genitals which are not there. Another distorted body. It would seem that her conception of herself (body) must be different from other women: The consistent way in which she is set to see genitals suggests strongly that sexual functioning is in some way or other disturbed. Is she sexually deprived?

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 10 sec. It is not a person—a picture of a plant. It is standing on the ground—it looks like a picture of people but it isn't.  
 D F- N
- 1a. dr F Obj
- [How about the plant?] It is a picture of a plant made to look like a person. [Why like a person?] Arms, neck, but no head—it is on the plant. [Where is the plant?] (Indicated blue and grey area.) The rest is just a picture—a scarecrow. [Why a plant?] I don't see any legs—it is not like a person. [Any other reason?] None.

2. Two animals. I don't remember the name of this animal—it was in a Japanese picture—ah! rabbit . . . no, a cat [there are many cats on Truk]. Tail, hind leg, forelegs, snout, mouth, head, ear. It is climbing on this plant. [6 min.]  
D FM A

She gives a very confused response here and it is as if she is literally responding to what is not there—her line between phantasy and reality is rather poorly defined. Although her reaction time went up the result now is poor.

## CARD IX

1. 45 sec. A picture of a rock. Head—but not a real head. Just a picture of a rock. Arms akimbo, legs. Is standing. The back. [4 min.]  
W M- H
- [Why a rock when you spoke of parts of the human body?] I did not see eyes, nose, ears. The back does not look like a person's back.

Her concreteness (as in VIII) comes out again. Nothing new to be said.

## CARD X

1. 22 sec. A tree—leaf, branch, a big branch, flower.  
W F N
- [Why a tree?] So many branches.
2. There are also plants. I am just sure this is a plant.  
D F N
- [Plants separate from tree?] Yes. [Why?] They have branches, but are not joined to the other tree. They fell off the tree. [Note: word for "tree" and "bush," as well as "wood," "stick," etc., are all one word.]
3. Between two branches of the tree there is a little person. Head, forehead, mouth, arms on the tree, belly, legs. He is in the tree. [4 min.]  
D F H

She gives three responses. The first two are vague and the third is the first time she gives a human form which is probably acceptable.



# IDA

AGE: 40 years.

## CARD I

1. 1 min. 23 sec. Person. [3½ min.]  
D F Hd

(Tracing: this was very difficult to get her to do; examiner had her trace it all out with her finger first, then the pencil.) No legs, arms or head. [Why did you think of a person's body?] Maybe it is a man. [Why did you think of a man?] I don't know.

This woman has never been to school, according to the examiner, and part of her difficulty may be due to what is for her the strangeness of the task. Although this response is not scored minus, there is a question about the acceptability of the form. Why does she give "man" as the content? Why not a more impersonal content? A possibility to check is that women respond more personally (human form and movement) than men.

## CARD II

1. 2 min. 31 sec. (After 1 min.) Why is it red? [Just used that color ink.] . . . It is like the last one. [How?] I think it is a man, but I don't know. [5¼ min.]  
W F- Hd

[Where is the man in the picture?] [How about this?] It is not part of the man. [What part of the man do we see?] The body only—no head, arms or legs. [Whole trunk?] Yes. [Why a man's body?] I don't know. [How about this?] I don't know. [?] I don't know. [?] This may be a woman. [What is the meaning of this red place for a man or woman?] There is no meaning for a man. [For a woman?] It has meaning. She has just given birth, and blood is coming out.

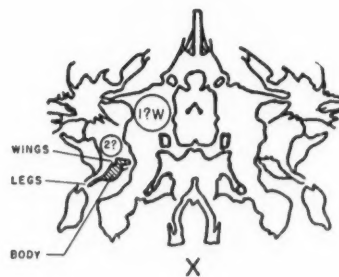
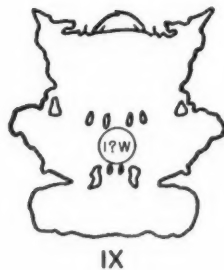
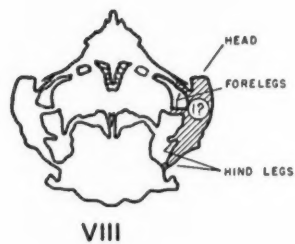
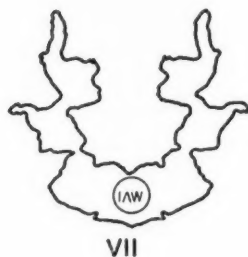
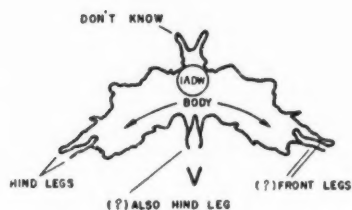
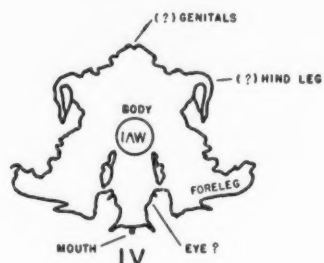
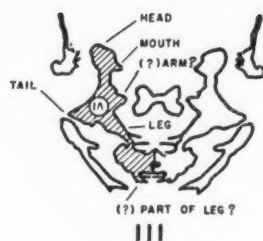
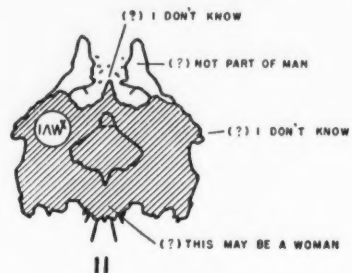
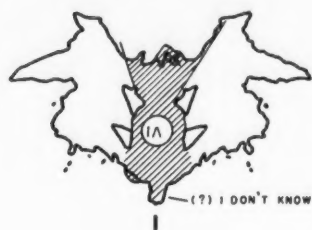
- 1a. D CF bl

Her reaction time increases and her indecision also. She asks herself questions, a characteristic found in others, and which indicates a kind of control over spontaneous reactivity. She starts off by calling it a man but after much questioning it becomes a woman giving birth because of the blood below. It is interesting that despite her indecision, fearfulness, and perhaps even confusion (and evasiveness) a very personal and sexual content emerges. Did she see the blood initially and refrain from mentioning it? The response, in terms of form, is poor.

## CARD III

1. 2 min. 47 sec. I don't know whether this is an animal or a man. [4 min.]  
dr F(F-?) H

[Where?] [One or two?] Two. [Parts of body?] Head, mouth, tail, leg. [What is this?] I don't know . . . arm? [What is this?] I don't know . . . part of leg?



LOCATIONS CHART: IDA

She is very indecisive and the response is questionable. It seems as if she feels she must give something but she does not commit herself on details. This is a typical Trukese withdrawal: under strong pressure their adequacy is reduced and is accompanied by evasiveness.

## CARD IV

1. 1 min. 24 sec. Is it an animal? . . . It is an animal. [3 min.]

W F A

1a.

D F Hd

[What sort of an animal?] I don't know whether a land or a sea animal. Are these eyes, or what? [Why eyes?] Because they are darker. This is the mouth. [How much more of the animal do we see?] Just the head. [?] Hind legs. [?] Forelegs. [?] Genitals. [Any more idea as to the kind of animals?] Just an animal, but the genitals. . . . [What about the genitals?] It looks like a woman's genitals, but the body of an animal.

She is still uncertain and one wonders whether it is not the conflict of animal versus woman's genitals. If it is *x* it can't be *y*. She does not mention the woman's genitals until near the end (as also on Card II) and it is likely that she did not want to mention it. Although one gets human figures frequently there is no movement. She cannot express easily what is in her mind. The Trukese feel more than they express. They can express what is conventional. They are not necessarily shallow in the sense that nothing is underneath; it is just that they do not express it.

## CARD V

1. 1 min. 31 sec. An animal? [2 min.]

DW F- A

(What sort of an animal?) I don't know. I just thought of an animal because of his hind legs. I don't know what this is. [How far across does the animal extend?] The whole thing is his body. [What about these?] I said, hind legs. [That was the other end—are there four hind legs?] Oh! Where are the front legs? I guess they are the front legs. [What are these?] I don't know; I guess they are also hind legs.

A confabulatory response. Unlike her reaction to the other cards, she returns this one quickly. Spontaneously she says she doesn't know what the other projections are. Is this an avoidance of sexual content? She can talk about female, but not male, genitals.

## CARD VI

1. 1 min. 23 sec. A leaf? [2 min.]

dr F N

[Why did you think of a leaf?] It looks like a spider lily leaf. [Why?] (She pointed out the leaf, and made a tracing.

However, she said the leaf actually consisted of the "wings" at the top *and* a stalk down the middle.

The first non-animal or non-human response. Is this avoidance of the personal content which she has been giving so reluctantly, and about which she has been questioned so much?

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 45 sec. A rock? [3 min.]  
W F N

[Why a rock?] I don't know. (This was repeated several times with variations.) Because I did not see a body, legs, or arms.

After a long reaction time she gives a vague and impersonal content which she cannot explain very well. Her statement about body, legs, or arms seems like "methinks the lady doth protest too much."

## CARD VIII

1. 18 sec. [Card position not noted.]  
Animal—they are climbing up. [1½  
min.]  
D FM A

[What kind of an animal?] I don't know . . . a pig? . . . a rat? . . . I don't know which. [?] Head, forelegs, hind legs.

The popular animals.

## CARD IX

1. 49 sec. [Card position not noted.] A  
plant. [1 min.]  
W F N

[How much of the picture is a plant?] I don't know. [Where does it begin?] I don't know. [Why is it a picture of a plant?] I don't know. (Repeated this question in various forms for five minutes with no result.)

A plant which she cannot or will not elaborate upon. Is this a defense? If you say you don't know, what can the examiner do?

## CARD X

1. 57 sec. [Card position not noted.] Also  
a plant.  
W F N
2. [Card position not noted.] Bird on the  
plant. [2¾ min.]  
D FM- A

[How much pertains to the plant—all, or only a part?] All. [What kind of a plant?] I don't know what kind. [Why did you think of a plant?] I just thought of the plant, and the birds on it.

[How about the bird?] It has just landed on the tree. [How do we know it just landed?] I don't know what kind of a bird it is, or what it is doing—perhaps it is eating. [?] Legs, wings, body. No head.

She continues to be vague or evasive. It should be noted that after Card II (blood—in the inquiry) no more color is used.

## NANCY

AGE: 42 years.

(Examiner's assistant, Andy, present throughout test. Sample blot used for instruction; saw bird in it.)

### CARD I

1. 2 min. 25 sec. A bird. A fruit bat.

[5 min.]

W FM,FC' A

[Why?] Wings, legs, neck, mouth [only location of wings noted through oversight]. [Why not another kind of bird?] It looks like it—the wings are black, and spread out the way they are when a fruit bat flies.

She gives the popular response. A long reaction time and she holds the card a long time but little is revealed.

### CARD II

1. 45 sec. Moon. [1½ min.]

W F- N

[How much is moon?] (Indicated all the black area.) [Also this?] Yes—stars. [And this?] It is not part of the moon. [Why moon?] Because it is round, like the moon. [Why stars?] Round, like stars. [What is this?—space in middle.] I am bad at this. [No.] I don't know about this.

This is a poor response to the whole card. After much questioning she says she is "bad" at this. Was this a statement to forestall any more questions?

### CARD III

1. 30 sec. A bird. [1 min.]

D FM- A

[How about it?] It is clearly flying: legs, wing, neck and head, mouth and nose.

Although the response is poor, she says it is "clearly" flying. Why is she so definite? Especially after her comment about her ability on Card II. Note also that her reaction time decreases after Card I where she gave an acceptable response.

### CARD IV

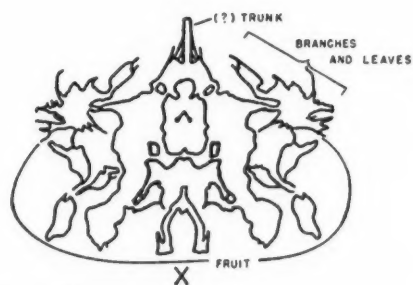
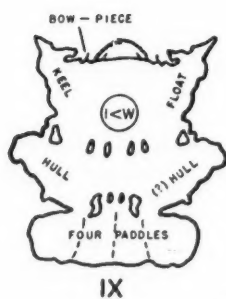
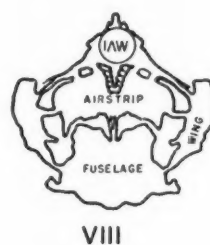
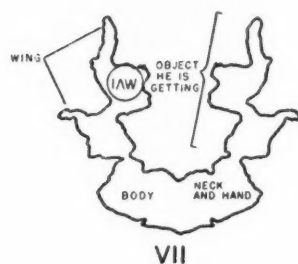
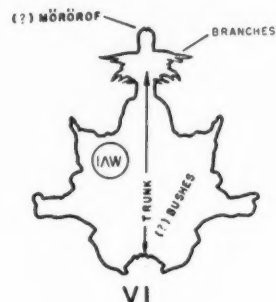
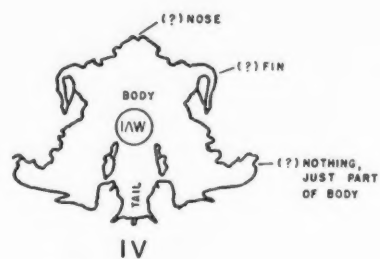
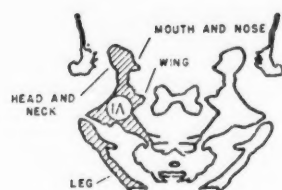
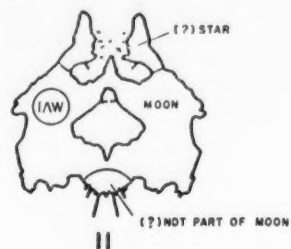
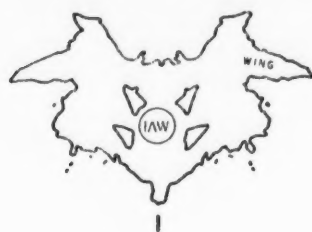
1. 1 min. 15 sec. A fish—tail, body.

[2 min.]

W F→FC' A

[How much is body?] All the rest [except the tail]. [?] Nose. [?] Fin. [?] Nothing: just part of the body. [Why a fish, and not something else?] It looks like [a kind of reef fish, which is very timid]; it is very black.





LOCATIONS CHART: NANCY

A whole response which is a "borderline acceptable" response. Note that she gives one response per card, and three of the four have been wholes. It would seem that her set is a rigid and concrete one: each card is a "thing" and having found it she need give no more.

## CARD V

1. 1 min. 15 sec. I wonder what this ["wing tips"] is . . . another fish, a sting-ray—it is black, and has wings. [3 min.]

W FC A

[What shall we think about this sting-ray?] Long wings, tail. [What else?] Nothing. [?] Feelers on head. [?] Forepart of body. [?] Wing tips. [Any other reason?] It just looks like one.

Another whole, the popular.

## CARD VI

1. 1 min. 5 sec. A coconut tree—branches. [2 min.]

W F N

[How about it?] Long trunk. [How about this?] Bushes under the coconut tree. [What is this?] *Mörörof* [a parasite plant which grows on the tops of plants and trees, including coconuts].

She must use the whole.

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 3 sec. A bird—the whole thing. [2½ min.]

W FM- A

[How many?] The whole thing is one bird. [How about it?] It is clearly flying—it was on a breadfruit tree, flew up, and then came down to get something, just like a person. [Where is wing?] Here and here, body, neck, and head, object it is getting.

Another whole but this time a minus. Again one gets the "clearly flying." For the first time she tells a little story like Warren's. There is nothing so far to indicate that she is particularly tense, feels under pressure and must avoid saying certain things. Her poor responses do not seem to come out of that kind of context; if they did one would not be likely to get any expression of "definiteness."

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 33 sec. An airplane—it has come here and landed, on an airstrip. [3 min.]

W F- Obj

[Why an airstrip?] It just looks like it—this looks like an airplane that has landed, and this is the airstrip. [Why isn't it part of the blot so identified].

A rather bizarre minus. Another whole.

## CARD IX

1. 40 sec. I don't know . . . an outrigger canoe—hull, keel, float, paddles.

[What is this?] Keel. [But you said the keel is here.] Keel . . . no, the keel is

[Total time not recorded.]

W F- Obj

here . . . all this is the hull. [How are we looking at the boat?] From the side—we see the bow-piece [a carved piece of wood which stands up on the bow, but otherwise does not resemble the portion of the blot so identified].

Another minus to the whole.

CARD X

1. 2 min. A breadfruit tree—the whole thing is the branches and leaves—fruit.

[3½ min.]

W F N

[Where is the fruit?] This is the fruit, and the leaves. [?] The trunk. [Breadfruit normally hangs below the branches, near their ends.]

A vague whole response.

## NORMA

AGE: 43 years.

(Another man was present throughout the administration.)

### CARD I

1. 1 min. 46 sec. Animal. [ $2\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W F A

[What sort of an animal?] I don't know . . . an animal that flies. [?] A sea tern. [Parts of body?] . . . [Wings?] Here. [Body?] Here. [Do we see the head?] No. [Do we see the tail?] Here. [Anything else?] I don't know. [Why did you think of an animal that flies?] I just thought so. [Why did you think of a sea tern, and not some other sort?] Is it a fruit bat?

She gives the popular response but it is clear that the number of questions asked by the examiner confuses her. She changes from a sea tern to a fruit bat, but one wonders if this isn't in the hope that she will please the examiner. Note that she asks if it is a fruit bat—she doesn't say it is.

### CARD II

1. 1 min. 30 sec. A leaf . . . ? [What else?] (Pointed to white space in middle.) Another sort . . . [of what?] . . . I don't know. [ $3\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W F N

[Where is it? Examiner repeated this question in various ways several times.] (She pointed to the white space.) [Is that the leaf?] (She then pointed to the black area.) [Does this (red area) belong to the leaf?] . . . (No answer.)

She now says "A leaf?" Probably as a result of Card I she is hesitant to make a definite statement, in marked contrast to the previous woman who saw things "clearly." In the inquiry she says nothing but mutely points to the card.

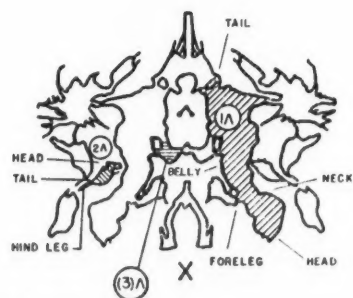
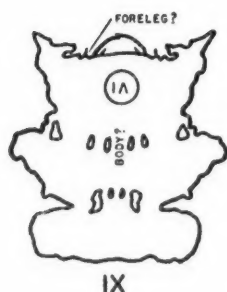
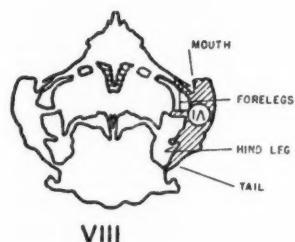
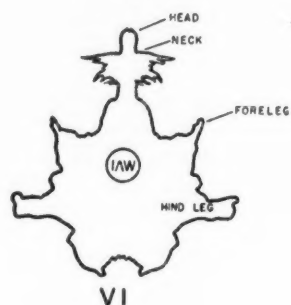
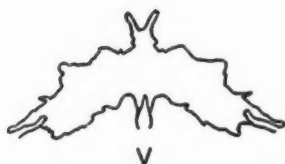
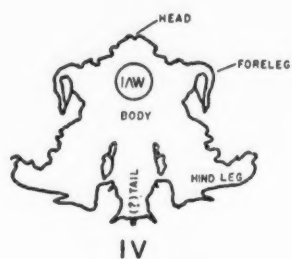
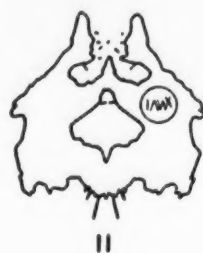
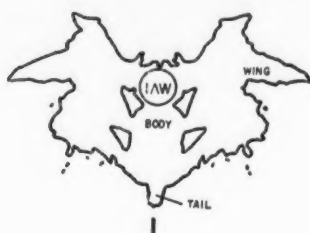
### CARD III

(After  $3\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know about these. . . .

Rejected. It appears that she was more affected by the examiner's inquisition than any of the others. She became insecure and withdrew.

### CARD IV

1. (After  $\frac{3}{4}$  min.) I don't know . . . [What sort of an animal?—repeated question with different phrasing.] I don't  
(1 min. 55 sec.). I don't know if it



LOCATIONS CHART: NORMA



is an animal . . . ? [2½ min.]  
W F A

know. [Asked about forelegs, hind legs, body, head.] (She indicated these.) [What is this?] Tail . . . no . . . (lapsed into silence). [What about this animal?] I don't know.

She is afraid to commit herself. Although the response is acceptable she has great difficulty talking, lapses into silence, largely due to the questioning.

## CARD V

(No reaction to this at all. Examiner asked several times "What is it?" etc., and she just said she did not know.)

## CARD VI

1. 20 sec. A picture of an animal.  
[2½ min.]  
W F A

[What kind of an animal?] A cow. [Why?] I am wrong—it is not a cow, because there are no horns. [Then what is it?] I don't know. [Parts of body?] Hind leg, foreleg, head, neck. [What else?] Nothing. [How about the animal?] I don't know.

After the examiner's first question she says, "I am wrong," but cannot or will not say anything which will expose her to further questioning.

## CARD VII

1. 2 min. 46 sec. I don't know what kind of birds these are. . . . [3 min.]  
D F- A

Now I don't see it . . . [Where is the wing?] Here. [What is this?] Leg. Neck, mouth, tail.

She has caught on. She starts off by telling the examiner she doesn't know what kind of birds she sees. Then in the inquiry she says, "I don't see it," obviously in an attempt to avoid questioning. The response is a minus. It is to her credit that it is not until Card VII that you get a clearly poor response.

## CARD VIII

1. 1 min. 10 sec. Foreleg, neck, mouth, tail, another foreleg, hind leg (went on to name same details on animal on the other side of the blot also).  
[3 min.]  
D F A

[An animal?] Yes. [What kind?] A kind we can eat. [Name?] Dog, pig . . . what is another. . . ? [Why can we eat it?] I don't know why—Trukese people just eat animals.

She gives the parts of the popular answer, and in the inquiry asks the examiner what other kind of animal it could be.

## CARD IX

1. 1 min. 47 sec. Foreleg? . . . Body?  
    . . . [Anything else?] I don't know.  
    . . . (6½ min.)  
    dr F- A

Another minus. Note how she asks questions. She is dependent.

## CARD X

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. 1 min. 3 sec. Another animal.<br>D F A         | [How about it?] I don't know what kind.<br>[Do we see the forelegs, hind legs, or<br>what?] Foreleg, neck, head, belly, tail.<br>[Why animal?] I just thought so. |
| 2. Another animal.<br>D F A                       | [What kind?] I don't know. [Do we see<br>head? And what else?] Head, hind leg,<br>tail.   |
| 3. This. [What is it?] I don't know.<br>[2½ min.] |   |

Her first response is of dubious quality. Her second response is somewhat better and the third is unscorable. It is to her credit that she could respond as much as she did.

RACHEL

AGE: 48 years.

CARD I

1. 26 sec. A bird.  
D FM- A

[Tracing.] I thought of a heron. His wing—he is about to fly away—neck, tail, leg, body, feathers because it looks big and fat. [Why heron?] Because he is big—he is about to fly.

2. A cow.  
D FM- A

[Tracing.] Head, foreleg, back, hind legs, big neck. [Why a cow?] Big body, big legs, and is standing up.

3. Rocks the cow is on. The bird came and sat down with the cow. [3½ min.]  
dr F N

[Tracing.] [Why rock?] Because it is long; this one [below—not in tracing] is smaller, and is therefore not a rock. [Many things are long—why do you think this is only a rock?] Just because it is long; there is no other reason.

Relatively quickly she gives a bird although it looks little like a heron. Spontaneously she gives details: "feathers, because it is big and fat." Her second response is another minus. Note how the idea of "bigness" recurs. In her third response, the rocks, she weaves a story. In fact the story raises the possibility of a human movement scoring. She does not appear under pressure. She responds with her little story. One does not get the picture of a woman who feels in conflict in this situation. Why is bigness presumably important to her? Does she have the idea that she is big? Small?

CARD II

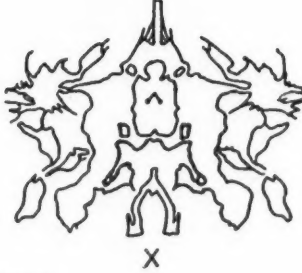
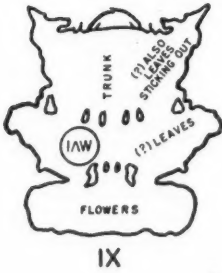
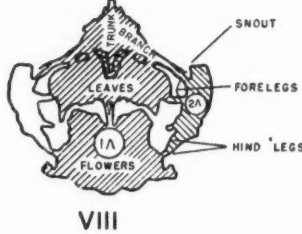
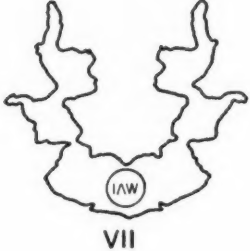
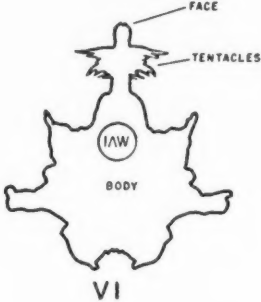
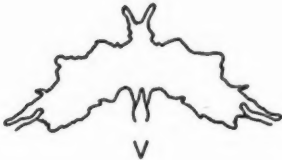
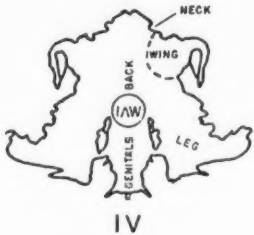
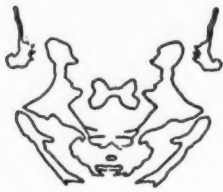
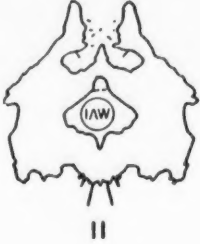
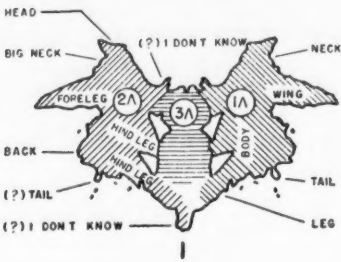
1. 5 min. 42 sec. I don't know why it is red and black. . . . I think it is a cloud—it is red, black, white, and red, like a cloud. [8 min.]  
W CF N

[Only the color, or is there another reason?] No, that is all.

After a very long reaction time she gives a vague, diffuse response to the whole. From her verbalization one might conclude that she feels she has to respond to the whole card. It is not clear why she took so long and why she had so much difficulty.

CARD III

(After 5 min.) There is no sort of plant or animal or anything I have ever seen on Truk that looks like this. I am sorry, but I don't know this one.



LOCATIONS CHART: RACHEL

A rejection. Again it appears she felt she had to respond to the whole. In contrast to some others she gives a reason for her rejection: a reason which in a way absolves her from any blame. The degree to which she verbalizes even when at a loss bespeaks a degree of self-confidence or assertiveness not found in some of the others. Note how her statement is declarative and not interrogatory.

## CARD IV

1. 3 min. 58 sec. It looks like a fruit bat perhaps. Neck, all this is its wings, legs, genitals. [5 $\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
W FM(FM-?) A

Neck, wings, legs, genitals, back. [Why fruit bat?] Because it is spread out to fly off and hang from the branch of a bread-fruit tree. [But why not another kind of bird?] Because it is big but flat. [Why does it look flat?] It is just like that.

She is able to give a whole but in the process she gives a disproportionate genital area—approaching a minus. She has a rigid set—the whole card must be used. Note again how a distinguishing characteristic of the bird is bigness. Passivity does not seem to be a primary value with her. Put more cautiously; bigness does seem to be a primary value. She talks relatively spontaneously once she starts to give a response.

## CARD V

(After 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know. [Think about it.] (After 5 min.) I really, truly, do not know.

Another rejection, and despite prodding she remains firm: "I really, truly, do not know."

## CARD VI

1. 6 min. 40 sec. An octopus (she gave the specific name of a small variety of octopus), because these are the tentacles, big at the end and smaller toward the big body. [8 min.]  
W F- A

Tentacles—there are four on each side; some are big and some are small. Also body, face. [Why an octopus?] Because there is a kind with a big, flat body like this. [Any other reason?] (Described fishing for them, normally a woman's function.) The body looks just like one.

She has the longest reaction time of anyone and she ends up with a minus response. Again the "bigness" comes out. Bigness and flatness have occurred together twice now.

## CARD VII

1. 1 min. 47 sec. Just another cloud—it is dark around the edges and light in the middle [i.e., the space between]. [2 $\frac{1}{4}$  min.]  
W K,CF N

[Any other reason?] There are lots of white places between the darker areas (also indicating around the outside); the whole thing is joined together.

A vague, diffuse response to the whole. She must respond to the whole. Then why did she have trouble on V? The phrase "just another cloud" does not sound like something a passive or submissive or fearful person would say.



## CARD VIII

1. 2 min. 31 sec. A bush—this is a kind of bush that is orange.

dr FC N

[What kind of a bush?] Canna [said to be worn on the ear as a sign of a broken heart; it is very doubtful any such symbolism is involved in this response]; its flower is orange. These are the leaves, spread out, and the trunk. There are a lot of flowers bunched together, and branches.

2. Rats—they are climbing on these bushes. [ $5\frac{1}{2}$  min.]

D FM A

[Why rats?] They are climbing on the bush. Rats run around in the bushes a lot. [Any other reason?] It looks like one—small snout, small legs.

Her first response utilizes the color. Her second is the popular one but note how she does not say snout and legs but small snout and small legs. She is very much aware of size.

## CARD IX

1. 1 min. 17 sec. A tree, with pretty flowers, trunk, and neat looking branches. [4 min.]

W FC N

[Where are the flowers?] Here. [Why?] Because they are a pretty red. [Where is the trunk?] Here. [Why?] The trunk grew up, then the branches grew down again, and later it flowered and they were red. [What is this?] Leaves. [Why?] They grow out from the trunk and keep the flowers alive. [And this?] Also leaves, sticking out in all directions. [Note: as in VIII: 1, the whole plant is seen upside down.]

Another whole and again she weaves a little story.

## CARD X

(After  $2\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know. [Think some more.] (After  $4\frac{1}{2}$  min.) I don't know what I would think about—I just don't know this one.

NOTE: Variable reaction times. . . . Her minuses are the "big" things and a near minus (Card IV) was genitals.

## RUTH

AGE: 50 years.

(Due to circulatory troubles, this subject had to sit on the floor; she was also readily discouraged, so no tracings were even attempted.)

### CARD I

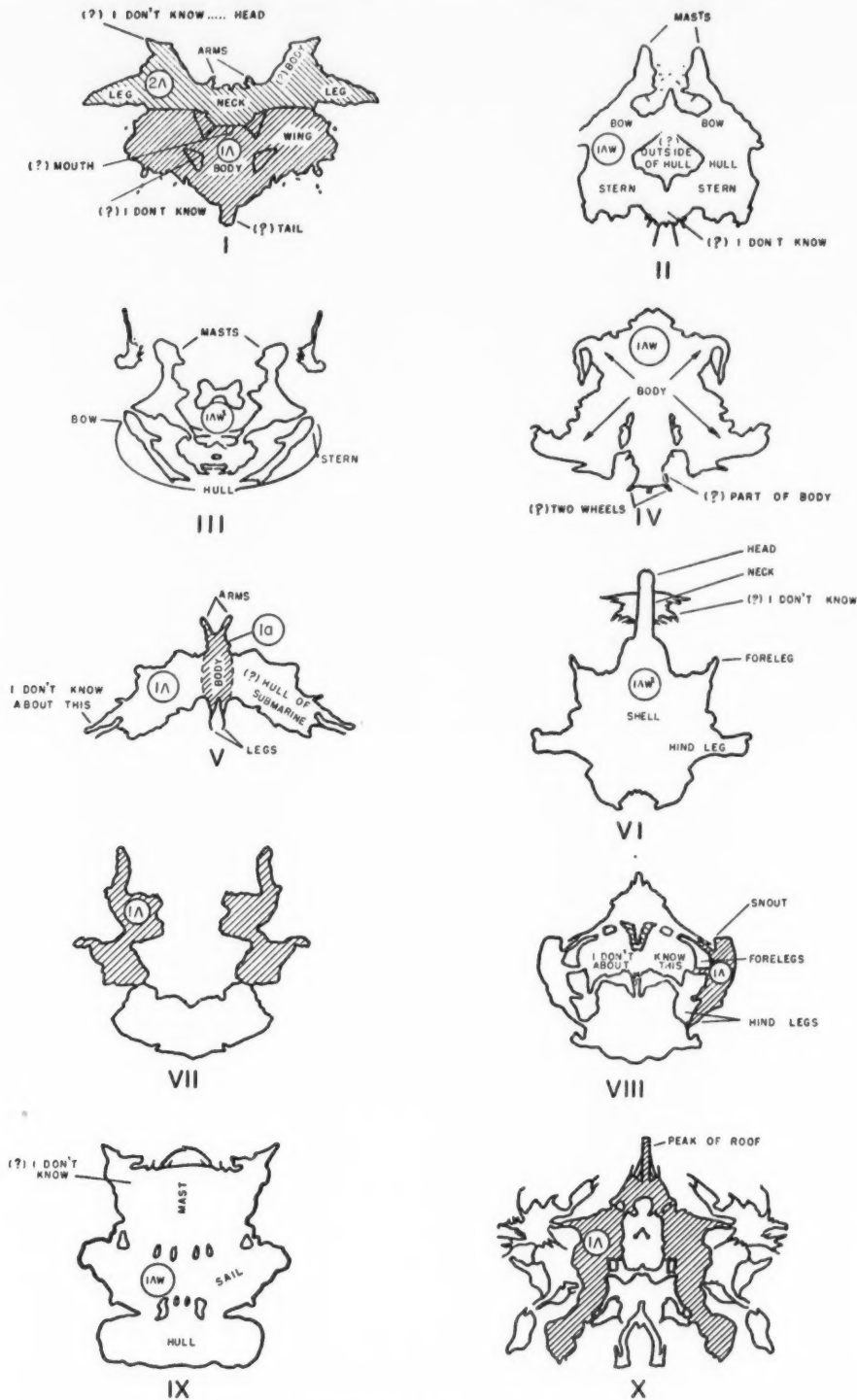
1. 1 min. 25 sec. A fruit bat . . . (long scrutiny of the card) . . . (at 5 min.)  
I think of a fruit bat because it looks just like one.  
dr F A  
[Where?] (Lower half only.) (Also gave body parts in response to a series of "What is this?" questions.) [Why just a fruit bat?—this question rephrased and repeated several times.] Because of the looks of the wings, which are close to each other.
2. A person—arms, legs. [8 min.]  
dr F- H  
(Body parts identified with help of a lot of questions.) Legs, arms, neck. [?] Body. [?] I don't know this. [Do we see head?] If that is the body [see above], this [detail not know above] must be the head. [Why a person?] Because of the appearance of the arms, legs, and neck. (Further questions did not add to this.)

The first response is an unusual (in terms of area) but acceptable fruit bat. Her second response is a clear minus and is in marked contrast to the first. It is difficult to explain at this point. Was she under the impression that she had to give something to the half of the blot not included in the first response?

### CARD II

1. 3 min. 34 sec. A boat—I see the mast  
—I think of a sailing canoe. [7 min.]  
W F- Obj  
[Where are the masts of the sailing canoe?] Here; but it is not a sailing canoe: it is a sailboat. [What else?] Hull. [What else?] That is all I know. [What is this?] The outside of the hull. [Where is bow? Stern? What is this?] I don't know. [Why a sailboat?] Those masts. [Why not a sailing canoe?] It does not look like it.

She uses the whole card for a very poor response. The response seems confabulatory because it was the mast which determined the content and the rest is confused. Her reaction time went up markedly.



LOCATIONS CHART: RUTH

## CARD III

1. 5 min. 23 sec. A ship. [ $7\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W F- Obj

[?] Masts, hull. [What are these?] I don't know any of these. [Bow? Stern? Why a ship?] It just looks like one.

Reaction time much longer. This time a ship and again poorly seen. We know from the examiner that she was readily discouraged but this would not explain her poor responses. What we do not know is how hard she was trying. She holds Cards II and III a long time but we have little or no idea what she was thinking of.

## CARD IV

1. 50 sec. An automobile. [ $1\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W F- Obj

[What do you see of the automobile?] Just the body. [What else?] That is all. [Wheels?] Here. [How many?] Two. [Why automobile?] The look of the body. [What about the body?] I don't know any more.

Another whole and a minus. For one who has trouble walking she sees a lot of vehicles.

## CARD V

1. 12 min. 22 sec. A submarine. [13 min.]  
D F- H  
dr F- Obj

[What do we see?] Just a person on it [1a]—legs, arms, body. I don't know about these. [How about the person?] I don't know anything about it. [What is this?] The hull of the submarine. [Why just a submarine?] I don't know—that is just it.

After a tremendously long reaction time she comes out with a contamination. She sees a person and a submarine and they are uncritically combined in one response. Although the person is not as bad a minus as some she had given, the submarine is poor. Was the long reaction time due to her own confusion about the two responses? In any event, she seems impotent in the situation. She is extremely concrete. In fact, one might raise the possibility of central nervous system damage.

## CARD VI

1. 2 min. 10 sec. A turtle. [ $2\frac{1}{2}$  min.]  
W F A

[Body part?] [Why a turtle?] The body just looks like one.

In view of what has preceded, this is a surprise: an acceptable whole response. So far she has given two good responses: the bat (Card I) and the turtle (Card VI). Whatever is the cause of her present inadequacy, she seems to have had good potentialities.

## CARD VII

1. 33 sec. A cloud. [ $1\frac{3}{4}$  min.]  
D F N

[Where?] (Indicated upper half only.)  
[What kind of a cloud?] This kind, in

the picture. [Why is it like a cloud?] It looks like one. [If I could not see the cloud in the picture, how would you explain it to me?] I don't know.

She gives clouds to the upper two-thirds of the blot. Why not to the whole? Why hasn't she used the cloud concept before? Why did she give more specific forms which were unacceptable?

## CARD VIII

1. 4 min. 36 sec. Animals. I don't know about this. [6 min.]

D F A

[What kind of animal?] Pig. [Why? . . . Why not something else?] Nothing else looks like this. [Why?] I just think of the hind legs, forelegs, snout. [If I had never seen a pig, how would you explain about a pig from this picture so I would recognize one?] I don't know.

She gives the popular animals. She oscillates between responses which are good and those which are very bad.

## CARD IX

1. 7 min. 57 sec. A sailing canoe—hull, sail, mast. [9 min.]

W F- Obj

[What is this?] I don't know. [Why a sailing canoe?] Just the look of the hull, sail and mast.

A long reaction and another poor response.

## CARD X

1. 5 min. 18 sec. A house. [6½ min.]  
dr F- Obj

[Where?] Here—I don't know about these (indicated all except brown at top). [What is this?] The peak of the roof. [What kind of a house?] A raised frame house. [There are only two common kinds—this and a thatched hut on the ground.] [Why?] It just looks like it.

Another minus.

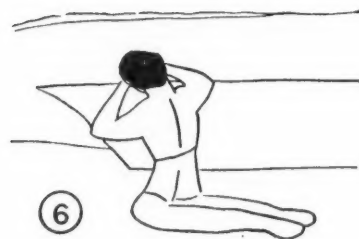
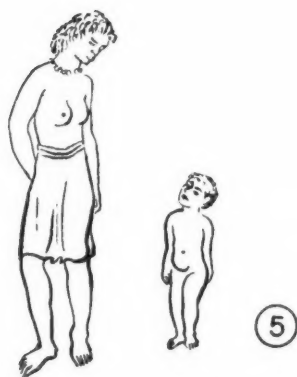
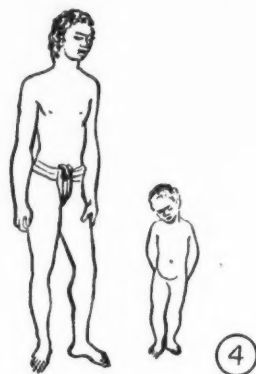
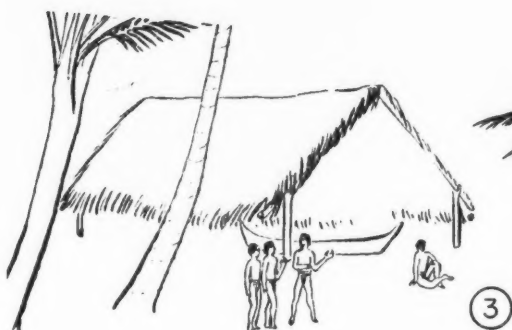
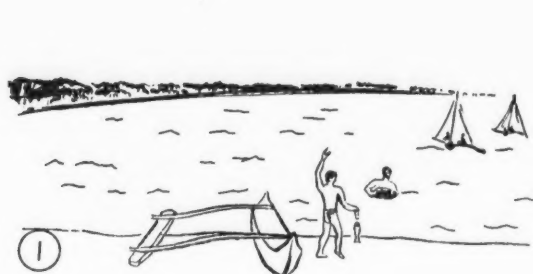
NOTE: Did she feel intimidated by the examiner's questions? . . . She perseverates content.



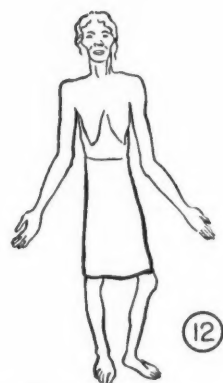
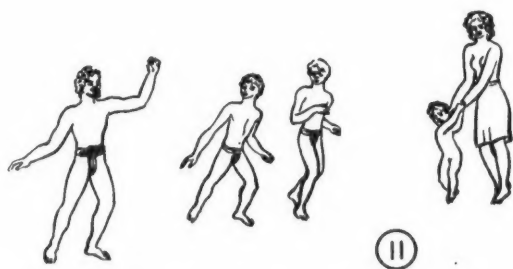
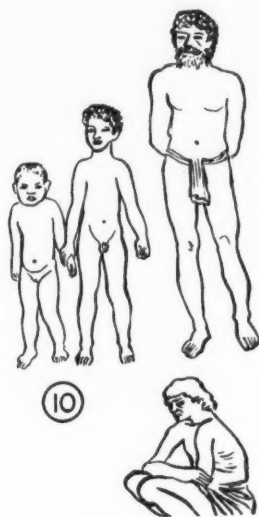
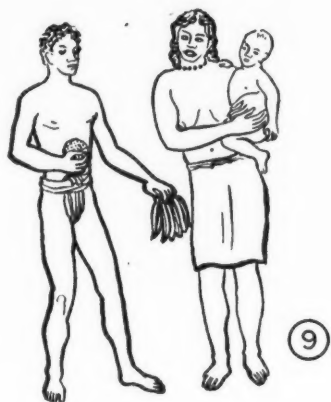
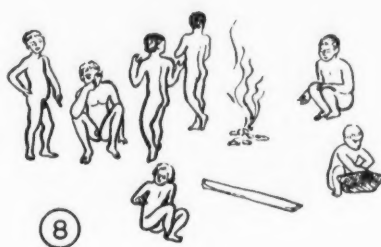
## APPENDIX B

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST PICTURES AND RECORDS

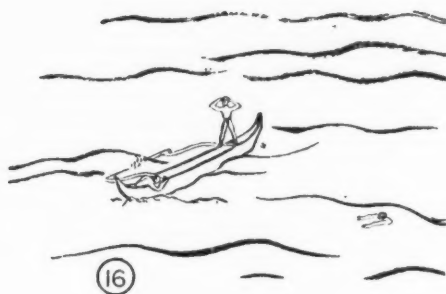
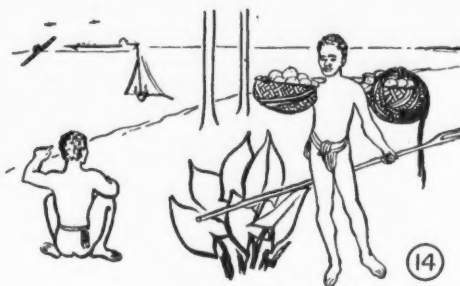
PICTURES FURNISHED BY WILLIAM E. HENRY



THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST PICTURES (SPECIALLY PREPARED BY WILLIAM E. HENRY  
FOR THE COORDINATED INVESTIGATION OF MICRONESIAN ANTHROPOLOGY)



THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST PICTURES—Continued



THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST PICTURES

## TRUKESE MEN

### SAM

AGE: 13 years.

1. These men have been out fishing in the morning, casting a line from the boat. Now they have come ashore, and this man is holding up his hand to point out to the other man where he caught his fish, which he is holding in his other hand. The men on the other boats—there are two men to a boat—have not caught anything because they have had no bites on their hooks. They are looking over, and asking themselves why the others have caught fish, but they have not. The other man is coming out of the water, carrying a fish trap. This man is holding up his hand, telling the other, "Let's go on home." So they left, and went home, ate and slept. They slept and slept, and then decided to go out fishing again. So they went out again, and again caught fish, and then went home again. They pulled their boat up on the ground above the beach because they were through with it and left it.

4. This man has beaten his son here. He beat him in the morning, and then at noon, and beat him again because he had used bad language, and had stolen things. The boy cried because he had been beaten. Now he is scared of his father. Later they returned to their house, and the boy did not get beaten any more, because he was very meek and humble to his father because he was scared of him. His father is just looking at him with bowed head and has his hands at his sides because he knows he will not do anything bad any more, because now he understands. The boy is just humble and polite to people too, because he has learned. The next day, his father brought the boy lots of food—breadfruit, sugar cane and coconuts—so he would eat and be happy and forget his anger at his father for having beaten him.

5. This woman is speaking sharply to her son because he has been bad, but he does not understand, and is looking up and saying, "What?" They had been out on the path, and it was time to go home, and she told him to come along; but he was naughty and did not come. She came back and told him again, and he came along with her. When they got back to the house, she started to talk to him, but she talked very fast and mumbled, and he did not understand, and asked her, "What?" with his face turned up to her. She did not like his being naughty, because she was a very gentle and humble person. Later, they ate and it was all over. That's all.

7. These women have come out of their house and are going to go off to work. They live in this house. Those others live over there, and they are watching them leave, wondering where they will go. They will go off to work, come back, eat, wash their clothes, and sleep. Then they will clean up everything around the house in the morning, and in the house, and wash all the clothes. Then they will go out to work, come back, wash all their clothes and put on clean ones. They are very good people; see how neat the house is, and how neat they are. There isn't any work for those women, because they



are just sloppy. But these women are neat; this one has on a coconut frond skirt, the others of cloth, but they are all neat. This one is very good-looking too.

[Overnight interruption.]

8. These people are all in their house; they are broiling fish in the fire. The mother of these children [upper right] does not like these two girls [seated, center and third from left] and this boy [left of fire]. These two are leaving, because they dislike their mother; the other girl asks them if they are coming back, but they are not coming back. Their mother just likes the other two boys [left and seated lower right] and their father [second left]. This boy is getting fish out of the basket; he has given one to his mother, who is tending it as it broils on the fire, and to the boy [on the left] who is now giving it to his father. But his father is embarrassed by his wife's dislike for the children, and is not taking it. There is no food for this girl [seated center] because her mother dislikes her. She just likes the three of them, and those two are not going to come back.

9. This couple and their child have come from their house and are on the path coming back from their garden, where they have cut this hand of bananas and this soursop, which are for the child. The man is handing it to his wife, but she is not taking it, because she cannot carry it along with the child. The child is looking at it and wants it, but he cannot get it himself. She is just looking at her husband and glaring, because she does not like him; he is offering her the bananas, but she cannot take them because her arms are occupied holding up the child. He is holding the soursop up with his other hand because he wants to give it to her too, but she will not take it because she is holding the child. Later they went to their house. That's all.

10. This is a girl and this a boy, and these their parents, who are old. They were married and had these two children, which was good because they are fine fat children both of them. They have been out strolling under the moon, and their parents have been out to look for them and have found them; the boy is holding his sister's hand so that if they see a ghost he can pull her along quickly and they will get away: she cannot yet run fast, but he can. They went off to their gardens, and got some soursop and some bananas. The man has beaten his wife because he is angry at her for disliking the children. She dislikes the girl because she eats her [the mother's] food, and she has beaten her and she cried. Now their father has beaten her, and the girl is laughing because she is happy. The boy is looking on and he is happy too. The woman is just sitting there and not saying anything; she is crying. That is all.

11. This man [left] is angry at these two, and has drawn back his hand to hit them. But they have fled to this woman, their mother, for he is an older man and strong and they are afraid of him. He is their father, and they don't want to hit him. The little boy wants to go to his father, but his mother is holding him because she sees he is angry and about to hit his boys. She is holding him by the ear and by his hair so he will not get away and go to his father, for she is through with him and is going to divorce him because he hates her children. The two older boys are calling out to her that she should be through with her husband because he hates them; she says yes, she is through. She is holding her child because now he is hers, and no longer his.

12. A ghost . . . ? [Up to you.] No, it isn't a ghost, but an old woman. She is

dancing, because she knows the old dances. She is holding up her hands and lifting a foot in the dance. People are looking on, but we cannot see them. She is laughing, because she is dancing; they are laughing at her, because she does not really know how to dance, but is just trying it out. She is not embarrassed; she cannot be embarrassed, because she is an old woman and no longer attractive. That's all.

13. This man and his wife are up in their garden; these are all their breadfruit trees. They are through with their work and are going home. They went home, cooked their breadfruit and bananas and ate. The next morning, they went out again, went back and ate, then went out again. He climbed this tree and cut some breadfruit, and came down again, and she picked them up under the tree. They are just alone on their land; they have no children, and live alone in their house. They married, and their mothers and fathers are dead. They have no children, for the man has a bad disposition, and is angry every day. His wife does not look at him, for she is afraid he will hit her and kill her. This is her property [trees on left] and this his [trees on right]; first he cut some breadfruit from her trees, and now he has come down from cutting fruit from his tree. They are going to eat from each of their trees. They are going home, and will not come back; they will eat. But he stays here, because people have been stealing from their garden all the different kinds of food that are there.

15. These two young men are brothers; they are in their garden. These are their coconut trees and their plants; these are useful plants, for they get food from them. They are sitting here on this rock. This one [left] is asking his older brother, "What will we do now?" He does not reply, but just sits with his arms folded, because he is sick, on this rock, which is a mortar for pounding breadfruit. His brother has his arm around him to keep him from falling over, for there is no place for him to lie down out here in the bush. He is worried about him, for if he were to die, he would be left alone; they are very fond of each other. This [left] belongs to the younger brother; this [right] to the older. But they just use it all together as if it were one, for they got it from their parents.

16. These two brothers have gone out fishing, but this one in the stern has collapsed from exhaustion paddling the canoe. The other is standing up shielding his eyes from the rays of the sun, looking for their companion. He calls him, and he is swimming as fast as he can toward the boat to poke the other man in the neck so he will breathe again, but he cannot get there quickly because the waves are big. . . . Look: the float has broken in two from the big waves. The boat is drifting with the wind, and it is hard for him to get to it. He finally got there, and they went back to their island. They poked his neck, and he breathed a little, but they did not do it soon enough, and he died and was buried. This man has collapsed from bailing the canoe because it is full of leaks. The other man told him to bail some more but he could not because he collapsed; later the other man did it.

18. These fruit bats are at their place; they stay in this tree. This person is lying down with his hands over his head so they will not hurt his eyes. They are attacking the rest of his body: this one has flown up to land on his back; this one is sitting on his buttocks and attacking it; this one is flying away, and this one coming in. This one [lower right] has not yet landed on him. The boy came here walking at noon, and came to this place; the bats started attacking his face, and he beat them away and lay down

in the grass. They are scratching him with the claws they use to hang on trees with, for they are very sharp. This one [lower right] is older, and they are his children. Later he is going to bite the boy all over, on the back and the arm and the ears. The others' teeth are not sharp yet, but they scratch with their claws.

#### MIKE

AGE: 17 years.

1. These two sailing canoes have come in from fishing. This man is getting a fish trap out of the water. Later they will wait for the sailing canoes to come in and help the people carry them up out of the water, into the house, or where . . . ?

4. This man has beaten his son. He asked him, "Why were you just out playing?" The boy went out playing, and later his father went out to look for him, and I think he beat him. That is all, because there are not many people in the picture. . . . If there were a lot, it would be a long story. [Was asked after the first to make it a little longer.]

7. These women are going to dance in the meeting house and they are talking it over. One of them suggested they go in and start, but the rest said they should wait until their companions arrived. Those women coming up see these and are saying, "Oh, there they are outside the meeting house." And these women see the others and are saying, "Oh, there they are coming up outside the meeting house." Later they went in to dance and people came to watch. This one [standing, middle, behind] suggested they dance individually, but this one [standing, right] said no, they would be embarrassed; it would be better if they danced together and later they could dance alone. Those women called out, "Where are we going to dance?" and they answered, "Here in the meeting house; hurry so we will get started quickly. When you get here we will start." These called out to the others, "Did you see the people on the way who are going to come to watch?" but they said they had not. "Well, one of you go off and find them and tell them we are in a hurry; we want to start dancing." The person who had gone off to find the audience came back and said, "I found them and told them to come; let's get ready so we can start as soon as they come, because we will be dancing again tonight." "Where were they?" "They are coming down this path." That is all.

8. These people are all naked! This one [seated upper] said to the two [backs to us], "You two go off and cut some breadfruit and bring them back and we will broil them so we will not be hungry. We can play and play here and not get hungry. Go on, but hurry back, because we are hungry." Later they told them again to hurry so it would not be dark. "Tomorrow we will come back here again, after going home to sleep. We will again get our own breadfruit and sugar cane and coconuts, and we will not be hungry." The two replied, "That's right. We will use this as a place to play every day, because we can get our own breadfruit and sugar cane and bananas and coconuts right here." Then they added, "Don't go off while we are out looking for food." "We won't, but hurry." Then they discussed it together, and decided that when they went home they would ask a few more to join them, because it was such a fine place to play around in. Later, they brought back the food and cooked it and ate it.

9. This woman told her husband to get on out and look for some food, because there was none, but he was not getting it. He told her they might as well wait until

tomorrow; but she kept insisting, and finally he went out to the house of some relatives, and asked them for some food. They gave him some bananas and this breadfruit, and he brought them home. He suggested to his wife that they broil the bananas for the child now, and save the breadfruit for tomorrow, because otherwise the child would be hungry again in the morning, and there would be nothing for him to eat. But his wife asked to have the breadfruit to broil, as they were all hungry. Finally he agreed, and she started cooking. The baby was still crying, and his father told him not to cry because he had brought him his food. The child saw the food and stopped crying.

10. (Laughed.) [Why are you laughing?] I am laughing at this girl. . . . I don't know about this one.

11. These two just arrived, but this man had been here all along. "Where are you going?" "We are going over to the other side." "What are you going to do?" "We are just going over and coming right back." "All right, but hurry back." "We are going off now, but we won't come back here, because we are in a hurry." "Why are you in a hurry?" "We are just going off right now, but we will not come back here; we will go over there." "All right, go on." . . . What will we say about that woman? . . . This woman asked them, "Where are you going on the other side?" "Why do you ask?" "I just wanted to know." "Well, we are just going over there, and then we will come back to our house." The man said, "If there is any food, bring it on over." "There isn't any, as we did not work on food yesterday." That is all.

12. I don't know what this looks like.

15. This man [left] came up; the other was already here. "What are you doing here?" "I was just relaxing here." "Why are you just relaxing here? Let's go off to your house and see if there is any food and we can eat." "No, you go to your house and see if there is any food and bring it here, and we will just eat here." That is all I know.

16. This is just one man [the one in the water and the one collapsed in the boat]. He was in the water, and this man came up in his canoe. He called to him, and told him to swim over quickly, and they would be off. He swam over, climbed aboard, and collapsed in the stern. The other man said to him, "Don't just lie out that way or you will get sunburned." "That's all right, I'll just stay here." "Well, then at least get down in the canoe where the sun will not get at you so much." "No, I'll just stay here; I am too worn out to move." "All right, you stay there, but don't paddle any more if you are tired out; I will paddle us in."

18. I don't understand about these birds.

#### ROGER

AGE: 17 years.

1. This boat on the shore belongs to the two men. They have been out fishing. The one in the water has brought some fish in the net and the one on shore has put them in the boat. Later, they will go out and dive for some more fish and put them in the boat. The two boats in the distance have been fishing too; they are going to go to their island in the distance. That is all.

2. This boy is holding the trunk of the tree. This woman has fed the chicken. The other two are watching. That is all. [There is no story?] No, there is no story.



3. These men have carried their boat in the house; they brought it in to keep it from getting wet in the rain, because it would rot. That is all. [Started each time after only a few seconds. Suggested he think a little longer before starting, to see if he could think of a story. Said all right, but doubted there would be.]

4. These are two people, a man and a boy. The boy is his son. That is all. [Urged to think of a story; perhaps what they said to each other.] The man asked his son why he cried. "I cried because I haven't eaten." "Don't cry, because I will go and get some food for you." He stopped crying at this. That is all. [What did they do when they were through talking?] They went in their house. That's all; they just went in their house. [Did the father bring some food?] Yes.

5. This woman said to her child, "What are you doing?" Her child said, "I want to nurse at your breast." She said, "We will go into the house, and I will let you nurse." So they went into the house, and the baby nursed. When they were through, they went outside; she picked up the baby and they went walking. Later, the child cried again, because it wanted to nurse, and the mother nursed it again. [?] It is a boy. Later, they slept together in their house. That is all. [That is a good story.]

6. This man is reading a book at the table. Later, he goes out in the sea, and gets a fish. He broils it and eats it. When it is done, he goes and cuts a coconut and drinks it. Then he sleeps. After sleeping for a while, he goes back in the sea. After staying there for a while, he goes and picks an orange. [?] He didn't get any fish this time. He ate the orange, and later ate rice. Then he went to find a woman and sleep with her. He did this and then came and slept in his house. That's all. [It is good to think of what happened before the picture too.]

7. These women have been dancing outside their house. The woman on the left is the dance master. The women here are one team, those in the distance another team; the latter have been spying on the former to see how well they are doing it. They think these people are pretty good. Then the dance master of this team says, "Let's go in the house," so they go in, and stay there a while. Meanwhile the members of the other team come and dance. Later the first team comes out, and they fight, because the second team beat the first. But the dance master says to her team, "Let's go quickly and sleep, or we will also be beaten in the fight. If we don't go and sleep we will all be dead." So they went and slept. That ended the fight. That is all.

8. These boys are sons of this man who is seated. They have been out fishing. They came back and built a fire and roasted the fish. This boy [right, upper] threw a rock at his father's genitals. He said, "Don't play around; it is bad." So that boy told this one [with the basket], "Put away the fish in that basket." So he put it away. This boy [foreground] picked up their knife. Then their father said, "Let's go home." So they went home; they slept for some time. Then they woke up and their father said, "Let's go fishing again." So they went fishing, later came back and ate, and slept. That's all.

9. These two are married. The man has been inland, where he got this papaya and hand of bananas. He said, "Give this food to the child so he will eat the papaya and bananas." She said, "Where did you get these?" He said, "Don't ask; I just went and looked for them." So she said, "Carry them; we will go in the house and feed our child." So they went in the house and fed their baby. But he did not like it; he cried. His mother asked him why he was crying. He said he did not like banana and papaya; he wanted to



nurse. So he nursed; the man was angry, and threw away the fruit and went away inland. He no longer came back; the woman cried and cried, because she loved him. That's all.

10. These two men and two children are looking at a great big animal. The little girl asks them, "Why are we staying here in front of this animal when we are scared?" This man [standing] says, "Why should we leave when we haven't yet beaten him?" But this man [seated] said, "Let's go in our house and get an axe and come back and hit him." So they went to their house and got an axe and the two men returned. The big animal frowned at them. This man [standing] said, "Give me the axe." So he gave him the axe. He said to the other, "When I am fighting, stay behind me, not at my side." The animal charged, and opened his mouth to bite him. He struck at the animal with the axe, but it flew out of his hands, and they grappled. He said to his partner, "Quick, go and get the axe and cut his legs." So he went and got the axe and cut the animal's legs. The animal fell and died. So they said, "We will take one of his claws and bring it to the children to have." So they took a claw and brought it to the children. The girl asked, "What is this?" This man [standing] said, "This is a claw from that animal. I killed it because it frightened you." She was happy, and loved her father because she realized he loved her. They stayed in the house for a while, and then the little girl told her father, "I am going to go and get some food for us." So she went out and got some food and brought it in. They ate. Her father said to the boy, "Why haven't you yet gotten any food, when this little girl, who isn't yet grown, went out and got some?" The boy was upset; he wondered why his father had asked him why he hadn't gotten any food. He hated his father for it, and decided to leave. He left and went inland. Later, his father asked the girl, "Where is the boy?" she said, "He ran away." "Why?" "Because he didn't like your thinking he didn't bring any food." So they went out and looked. The boy was up in a tree, and he took a fruit and threw it at his father. His father looked about, but did not know where he was. So the boy took another fruit, threw it, and hit his father on the head. His father looked some more. Then the boy took yet another fruit and hit his father on the head again. Then his father looked up and saw him. "Why did you hit me on the head?" "Because I was angry at you for asking why I didn't bring any food." His father felt sorry for him, and said, "Well, that's that. Let's go." So they went home. Their father told the little girl to give the boy some food to eat, because he was hungry. She gave him some and he ate and ate. Then they all slept. That's all.

11. These three men are racing. This man [left] is the fastest, this [middle] number two. This woman said, "You will race for this child; the one who wins will adopt him." These two were the fastest, but they did not want to adopt the child, so they slowed down. But this man [right] ran as fast as he could, and he won. So she said, "You will adopt this child." So he took the child. Then this man [left] said to the woman, "I want to marry you." But she said, "This isn't possible; if you had taken the child, you could have married me, but this man adopted him." So he was mad at the man who adopted the child and said, "Why did you run so fast? Give me that child; I am going to adopt him." But he said, "You can't do that, because I was the fastest." So they fought. But the woman said, "If you fight, I will not marry either of you; I will marry that man [middle]." So she married him [middle] and they took the child. The other two were finished. That's all.

12. This is an old woman. She is doing a dance for a ghost, because the ghost said if she didn't do a dance for him, he would eat her. So she did a dance. But he said, "If you don't do a very good dance, I will eat you and eat you." She was frightened, because she could no longer do a good dance. So the ghost ate her; he ate half of her, so that only the lower part of her body remained. Then her spirit asked the ghost, "Why did you eat me? We are going to fight." So they fought, and the spirit killed the ghost. That's all.

[At this point he asked for an hour's rest, which was granted. The test was not resumed until the next day.]

13. These two are married. The man had said to the woman, "Let's go inland and look for some food. We are hungry." So they went. He cut some breadfruit, and then she went and got some bananas. Then he said, "Let's go to our house and eat it." They went to their house, and broiled the breadfruit. Then she cooked the bananas, and when they were done, she called her husband and said, "Let's eat." They ate and ate, and when they were through, he went out and cut some coconuts. But he fell out of the tree when he was cutting coconuts. His wife came to him, and said, "Why did you fall out of the tree?" He said, "I don't know." She took hold of his leg, which was broken, and he cried out. She asked him why he cried out, and he said, "Because it hurts terribly, so that I am almost dead." Then she cried, hard. He said, "Don't cry. If you cry and cry, I will be dead." But she could not stop crying so he died. That's all.

14. These two men are brothers (real, not classificatory). They have been inland, cutting breadfruit. They have come down to the shore. This man [seated] says to this one, "Wait! Look at the airplanes, the ship, and the sailing canoe." "Where?" "There." He looked, and was frightened of the noise of the airplane. He said, "I think we shall be killed." "Why? It isn't possible." "They will shoot us." "If they shoot us, we will flee." The airplane came, and shot at them. They fled back inland. The two men in the boat wondered why they had fled, because they were not aware of the shooting. They waved at the airplane, and the pilot was happy at this. Then this man [standing] said, "Why did we flee?" "Because the airplane frightened us." "We will fight." They fought and fought, and this man [standing] lost. That's all.

15. These two men just sleep and sleep all day. They cannot do any work. This man [left] asked, "Why do we just sleep all day? Why don't we ever do any work?" "If you want to do your work, okay. But I cannot do any work. Until the day I die I will not be able to do any work." This man [left] went off to do his work, but the other one just wanted to sleep. He went and tended his garden. His plants had large fruit on them—I don't know what kind—and he took one and ate it. He went to the other man and said, "This is mighty good!" "Bring me a little to eat." "It isn't possible, because you just slept and slept; if you want some, go to your own garden." So he went to his own garden to tend it. The plants had grown, but there was no fruit. He came back and said, "What will I do? Why have your plants borne fruit, but mine have not?" "It can't be helped. You just slept, and did not tend your garden." So he was angry, and took out his knife and cut down all his brother's plants. His brother was angry, but just left and went inland, for he could not strike his older brother. That's all.

16. These three men went out fishing in their canoe. But now they can no longer paddle, because a great storm has come up, with big waves and a heavy wind. This man

[standing] says, "What shall we do? We cannot paddle, and the waves are big and the wind strong." So this man cried and cried. They did not see their companion, for he had fallen out of the canoe. He waved and shouted, but they did not hear him on account of the wind. This man still cried, and prayed. Later, they got back to their island, but they no longer had the other man with them, because they could not see him. He died. They went into their house, and that night his spirit came in. His eyes were like fire, first small, then big. They were frightened, and thought he would eat them. They slept, and the spirit took a big rock and knocked down their house. They fled, to where there were a lot of people. They said to the people, "Please take care of us, for the spirit of our dead brother is going to eat us." So they said, "Come on and sleep with us." So they slept with them, though not soundly. The next day they decided to go out fishing again. They went outside the reef. The dead man had given his body to a big fish. They saw this fish, and said, "Oh! Look at that big fish. We will spear him." So they took their spears and tried to spear him. But he just came up under the boat and bit a hole in it. They were frightened, for they could not understand how a fish could bite a hole in a canoe. They jumped overboard and swam for shore. The fish followed them, and bit one on the leg, then the other. Then he bit them again and again, and ate them all up so there was nothing left. That's all.

17. This is another great storm. A great wind came, and all the palm trees leaned over. Two of them fell over on this house [left] and crushed everyone in it except for two. Then the waves came, and they rushed out to climb trees, thinking the waves would not come up that far. But the waves did come, and they rushed back to the house. But they found everyone dead, crushed or drowned. The people of the other house came over to look, and found everyone but these two killed. Then another great wave came, and wiped out all the rest. That's all.

18. These birds are at their nest—the mother [on "body"] and the three children. She laid eggs, and later they hatched and the three birds flew up. They stayed in the nest. Then one day she said, "Let's go out fishing." So they went out fishing [the birds in the distance are they, flying out to go fishing]. They came back to the nest. Then a man came, and threw a rock and killed one [in the air]. He threw another rock and another [below] fell and was dead. Their mother cried and cried because she loved them. Then he threw another rock, and the last one fell and was dead. Then he killed the mother. There were no more. He took them home, broiled them on the fire, and ate them. They were rich and juicy. That's all.

19. [Did not know what to do with this (blank card). Interruption before he had a chance really to try.]

#### ANDY

AGE: 19 years.

[Long pause. Said he didn't know what they were talking about, wondered if they were Puluwat people. I told him just to think up something; there was no right answer. Further long pause.] I think that on these boats there are two men each; they have gone fishing. The man in the water has a fish basket—a sort of trap—and the man on shore is asking him if there are any fish in it. That's all.

2. These are Puluwat people. [?] I know this from the style of house, and the

necklaces and bracelets, and clothes. I think they are talking together, but I don't know what they are saying. . . . I think this woman is married, and these are their children. I think there is a husband because there are children; otherwise there would not be. The children are thinking about something, and only the woman is speaking; but I don't know what about. These are fish baskets. They have come back from fishing, the children only. Their mother has come out to meet them. That's all.

3. These men are thinking about going fishing. This one [seated] isn't going; he will stay to watch the house. They want to get a lot of fish, but I don't think they will be able to. They will just go out fishing, get fish, and bring them back and eat them. On this island, there isn't any other sort of food against a time when they are hungry. The seated man is an expert canoe-maker; the others are fishermen. This men's house is not like the meeting houses here; they don't have any pandanus thatch, or corrugated iron; they just make it of coconut leaves. They stay in the men's house because they have no wives; they are just bachelors. These men are young; the other man is somewhat older, maybe thirty. [Did they go fishing? How did they make out?] They got a lot of fish. They used to go fishing with spears, but they did not get many. So this man [standing, facing] suggested they use fish traps and they wouldn't have to work much. Just put them out, and the next day go and get the fish. He is a thinker, like you; he is not a brother of theirs; he is unmarried and just came to live with them. They like him very much. Because they use this method, they don't have to work hard, and they have lots of food; they just go out one day and get enough fish for several days; then they just stay home. When they come in, this man [seated] is happy. This man [left] knows a lot of stories; every night before they go to sleep, he tells them stories. But this man [seated] is very bright; he hears a story and remembers it. Later, this man [story-teller] got married and left them. There were only three left; but this man [seated] had learned the stories and substituted for him in story-telling.

4. This man is a powerful fighter. He has been teaching his boy how to fight. They started when he was twenty-five and the boy five. He taught him all kinds of fighting, and one day tried him out. He thought he was very good, and said, "If anyone fights with you, you will not lose." When the man was forty-five he died, leaving his son alone. He had no house, no parents, no other relatives. One day the people of the island went walking near where he lived alone; he had no house, but he kept the place where he lived very neat. A boy came to play, and teased him; he became angry, and fought him. He broke the boy's arms, and killed him. The boy's father and all the people were angry, and came and beat him. But they could not hurt him; one big man stabbed at him with a knife, but he knocked it out of the man's hand and it flew away. The people were all astounded and drew back. But they thought he knew only one way of fighting. Another man said, "You all keep out of this; I will fight him alone, because I know how to fight." So he took a big stick and swung it at him. But he just fended it off and it fell to the ground. So then the challenger said, "We shall not fight him any more; he knows how to fight too well. There is no point in fighting him because we shall all be dead. I know more ways of fighting, and I will try some more." So he tried again, and again; he knew fifteen ways of fighting and he tried them all, but the boy always won. He was only young, but he was strong from his dead father, as if his father's spirit was in him giving him strength. So they decided they would take him with them, and he would fight



for them. They built him a house and fed him so he would be strong, and he grew bigger, till he was in his teens and very strong. One day there was a big fight on the island; the people were divided in half, and they fought. But five men of this boy's side did not want to fight; they were afraid, and went to stay with him. He was asleep. All the people on his side were beaten and fled. The winners wanted to beat everybody, so they came to look for the other six. They came to his house and the five were scared, because he was still asleep. One of the enemy came up with a spear, to kill him while he was asleep. He stabbed at him, but the boy woke up and fended the blow, and threw the spear away. The man was frightened and fled. Then the boy got up and spoke angry words to the people. They were all angry at this, and closed in on him. But he fended them all off, and threw them away; he did not hit them, as he did not need to. Finally they were all driven off except one very strong and skilful man. He said, "You know how to fight. But I am big and you are still small, so we shall fight and I will kill you. I will only have to try one kind of fighting, and you will be dead." The boy said, "You are indeed bigger than I am, and perhaps I will be killed. But we shall try it, and see who is the best. If I lose I will be dead, but if you lose you will be dead. The others lost, but I let them run away; but if you lose I will kill you." A mighty tough boy, that. So the man thought he would grab the boy's hair and toss him away. He made a grab, but the boy fended it off. The boy said, "Do you want to fight, or are you just playing? Why do you just play about?" The man said, "Why do you talk that way when you are small, and I am big. You talk as if it were the other way around." He was a little frightened. The boy said, "No! You may be big in the body and I small, but in other things I think I may be big and you small. If you want to fight, let's try it." So he picked up a little stick and hit the man on the forehead so fast he could not fend it off. It made a swelling. He was frightened, because the boy could leap up in the air to fight. He took a knife, and stabbed at the boy; but the boy grabbed his wrist and wrenched the knife out and it fell. He tried three kinds of fighting, and each time the boy fended him off. Then the man thought, "Now I know. He is the son of my dead brother." The boy's father had not wanted his brother to know who his son was, because if he had known he would have fought with him. So he asked the boy his father's name, and he told him. Then the man told him the situation, and burst into tears. He asked him why he had not told him at the outset who his father was. Then the boy cried too. The man said, "Now let's go to my house and you will live with me." The boy said, "Wait a minute, I will go and talk to the people I have been living with." So he went and told them, and they were sad because he was leaving them, and they cried. But they told him to leave, and some day come back to visit. Then they left together, and the boy was very happy, for it was as if he had found his father again.

5. This woman knows a lot of magic. If she is angry at someone, she will quickly make a magical spell, and the person will soon be dead. She just has sweethearts; she has not married. One day she and her little boy went out, because they had no food. They looked for two breadfruit trees. They found them, but there were no breadfruit on them. So she cut off a little piece from a tree, and made a medicine. At once, there were breadfruit all over them. But they were only a boy and a woman, and they could not climb the trees to get the fruit. So she made another form of magic to make him strong. Then she told him to climb up. He didn't think he could, but he climbed up. He was



frightened, because he was so small and was climbing the tree. He climbed up and cut all the breadfruit—twenty in all. He expected his mother to carry part of the breadfruit, but she had him carry them all; she wanted him to be able to do all sorts of work himself, so when she was gone he would be able to carry on. He carried all of them home, and she cooked three of them and made fresh pounded breadfruit every day so they would last. But the boy cried because they did not have any fish or anything to go with them, to make them easy to swallow. So she told him to go and get two ripe coconuts. He got them, and she grated and squeezed them, making dry coconut gratings. She told him to go to the sea, and throw the gratings in. He did not know what to do about it, but just went out and threw it in. Lots of fish came, and he grabbed a big one. He brought it home. She asked him if there were lots of fish, and he said yes, but he could not carry any more. So she said, "All right, that's all. Go and get the coconut gratings." So he went and got it, and all the fish left. One day, the woman was sick. She was sick for a long time, and while she was sick, he took care of her, and she taught him all the magic. Then one day she was close to death, and the boy thought about what sort of medicine he would use for her, because he knew them all. He decided on one, and did it, and she was strong again. Later, one night they were asleep, and the boy woke up. There was a man sleeping with his mother; he was angry, and was going to hit him. But his mother said, "Don't say anything, because now we are married; this is your father. Don't do any magic against him, because one day I will be dead, and if he were dead there would be no one to care for you." So he said he was very sorry he had been angry, and he was very happy that at last he had a father. They lived together for some time, and then one day another man came and became very fond of his mother and wanted to take her away. So his father and this man fought. The boy was angry to see this man strike his father, and picked up a little bit of medicine and threw it at him. It struck the man on the arm, and he was dead; but it bounced off and hit his father and he was dead too. His mother was very angry at him and said, "Now there are only two of us; your father is dead. There is no point in our continuing to live this way." So they died too. That's all.

[Ran out of time. Continued two days later.]

6. I don't know what to think about just one person. [Previously remarked it was easy to think of long stories when there were just two people in the picture.] This man is a thinker, though he thinks in his head only; he does not write. There is another thinker out of the picture to the right. This one thinks that the other one will come to him, and they will have a battle of the minds. When the other one came, this one was lying down as if sick. The other one said, "How are you?" "I am very sick." [?] He isn't really sick, he is just lying. The other man asked him why he was sick, and he said, "I am sick because day and night I just think about something, but I cannot arrive at a decision, so I cannot sleep." "What are you thinking about?" "I am trying to decide which of my plants I can convert into money." "Well, you can get up, because we shall have a battle of the minds over this, and think and think and see who has the solution." So this man said all right; but he did not actually know what to do. He just decided he would continue to pretend to be sick, and see what he could find out. So he stayed lying down, and they thought and thought. Then the other man said, "Ah! I know what sort of plant to use!" "Well, you tell me, and we will see whether you have thought of

the same thing I have." So the other man told him, and then he said, "Oh, that's right. That's just what I thought of." He was lying, but he had found out. So he sold lots of this plant, and had lots of money. His mind was not as good as the other man's, but he came out better than the other man. Later, he told the other man to leave, and told of the ruse he had pulled. The other man was pretty angry, but he did not fight because he was a thinker only.

7. In this house there live nine women and one man. The women are all unmarried. If a man wants to come, he comes in, gives the man money, and has intercourse with a woman. Then he goes away again. There are lots of men. One day nine men came, had intercourse, and left, then nine more, and so on. Later, the men all drank. Then nine more men came, and while they were still there, nine more. The second nine came in and saw the others having intercourse with the women, and did not like it. They talked among themselves, trying to decide whether they should come back later, or wait till the others were through. But they felt that either way they would not want to have intercourse, because others had been there before them. They were angry, and decided to fight. So they took sticks and beat the men who were having intercourse; they could not fight back because they were still copulating. They finally gave up and left. The master was angry, and asked them what they were doing. They told him. He said that was no good, and that they could not have intercourse with the women. They were then angry, and asked him if he wanted to fight. He was a tough man, and warned them not to fight him. But they took sticks and tried to beat him, but he just hit them back till they fled. Later the nine who had been beaten came back to have intercourse. This woman [standing at tree] was unhappy, because her lover had a big cut on his back and on his face. "What shall we do? I think you had better just have intercourse with me and not give the master any money." But he gave the master money anyway, so she gave him an equal amount of money. Later, one day another nine men came, and started having intercourse, and later yet another nine. The second nine said, "Hurry up, because we want to have intercourse too." But the first nine would not hurry; they wanted to have intercourse slowly, and do it twice before they left. So the second nine decided to fight them, and they fought. The master asked them why they were doing this, and they told him. So he told the nine who had come, "You haven't given me any money; these nine have, so you must leave." But they kept on fighting, so he started to beat the second nine, and the first nine also beat them, and they fled. Later one of them came back, and asked the master why he drove them away when they just wanted to have intercourse with his girls. He said they had been bad. He was disgusted, and told them all to leave; he decided not to let any more people come. He had started this business because the women were his sisters, and there was no money in the family. Now there was plenty of money, and no more need to do it.

8. These are all boys, except one man [upper right] and two girls [lower middle and directly above]. This was in the old days, when the people did not know about clothes, and it did not matter if people looked at each other's genitals. They played about, and later these three [man, lower girl, and boy lower right] went out walking. They saw some oranges, and the man told the girl to climb the tree and get them. She said all right, and climbed up. She got lots, but while she was up there, she stood on two branches with her legs apart, and the man looked at her vulva. He said, "Oh, dear!"

"Why do you say that?" "Because I think you will be sick." "Why?" "Because I looked at your vulva and saw yaws." Her vulva was red, but she had no yaws; he just said he thought so. So she came down and spread her legs and looked down and saw it was red and asked, "What shall I do?" "I will give you a cure." "Do it quickly, because I will be unhappy if the yaws are not finished quickly." So he told her to spread her legs and lie down. He sat down in front of her, and put his penis in her vagina. He copulated with her. After a while she said, "Oh, it hurts. I don't think it will be gone." "Oh yes it will, wait a little." So they did it some more, and she trembled all over and felt wonderful. Later, they were embarrassed. The others did not know, and just sat around any way at all, with their legs spread out, but these two sat with their legs together to hide their genitals, because they had had intercourse and knew what the genitals were for. The others wondered why they did this. One day this boy [seated, left] asked the girl why she sat that way. She told him to go with her, and they went to the orange tree. He climbed up, and she looked at him. His foreskin was pulled back, and the end of his penis was red. She said, "Oh, dear!" "Why?" "Tomorrow you will be sick." "Why?" "Because there are yaws on your penis." "What shall I do?" "Come down and I will cure you." So he came down, and spread his legs and looked at his penis and saw it was red. So he told her to cure him quickly. So she lay down and spread her legs and told him to put his penis in her vagina and move it around, and he would be cured. So he did this, and after a while he felt wonderful, and thought he would do it and do it. But after a while she trembled and said it hurt and told him to stop. But he told her she had started it and he was going to keep on. So he kept on till he was through. Then the three of them were embarrassed to have their genitals seen; but they had no clothes. That is why we are all embarrassed now; they started it.

9. In this island there are bananas, pineapples and coconuts, but no breadfruit. He went out and got a bunch of bananas and a pineapple and brought them in. "Oh, this is fine; where did you get them?" He lied, and said from their garden. But he had actually taken them from another man's garden. He was not a good man; he just scowled all day. She told him to go off and prepare the food himself, as she had something else she had to do. So he went off to fix it, but he wondered why she asked him to do it when it was woman's work. Meanwhile she had gone to be with her lover. He thought and thought, and decided that she was no good, and he would kill her. So he got a bottle and broke it and put the pieces in her food. Her food and his and the boy's were all the same. Then he went out to call her; she came quickly and left her lover when he called her. He asked her where she had been, and she said she had gone to bathe and had come right back. She said, "Let's go and eat." So they went into the house, and he showed them their dishes and his. But when she had been with her lover, she had sensed that he was going to try to kill her. When they ate, he ate his, and she fed the boy, and at the same time ate a little of his food herself. But she did not eat any of hers, for she suspected there was something in it. He went out, and she threw away her food. He went out to find her lover; he found him and killed him. Meanwhile she suspected this, and put some glass in another banana for him. He came back, and asked her if she was through eating. She said yes, and he said he was still hungry. So she gave him the banana; he ate it, and then swallowed it and it cut him. He fell down and was close to death. She said, "Why did you kill my lover? He was much better than my hus-

band." But he could no longer speak, and then died. The boy cried and cried. But his mother said, "Don't cry, because he tried to kill me first." So the boy decided there was no point in crying and stopped. That's all.

[Overnight interruption. It should be noted in reference to the above stories that the preceding night Andy had had intercourse with a young girl with whom he had recently taken up. This is a fairly exceptional procedure for him compared to most of the young men.]

10. This man is a photographer [not in the picture]. He came to these people and said, "I am going to take your picture, because I am the photographer for all the islands. You will give me fifteen dollars." This man [in picture] said, "If we give you fifteen dollars, will you give us back the picture?" "I will give you one and keep one." [This had been the anthropologists' field procedure.] "Why won't you give us two, when we are giving you all this money? There should be lots to warrant this amount of money." This photographer was a great liar and was always cheating the people. They had an argument, and finally this man agreed to give the photographer fifteen dollars if he would give them two pictures, and the photographer agreed. When the photographer made the picture, the man called this woman, his wife. But she did not want to be in the picture with him, though he did not understand this; he did not know the reason. Actually, she was thinking hard of her lover; so, when the photographer made the picture, she was not in it. She thought about this fifteen dollars of theirs her husband was giving him, and did not like it. So she went in the house and got a big knife. While he was sighting the picture, she came up behind him and cut off his head. He lay there dead, and, as he had already taken their fifteen dollars, she went into his pocket after it. She found all the money he had taken from all the people on the island, and they took it for themselves. They were very happy, except for her husband, who knew that the photographer was a man of some importance, and wondered what would happen if members of his family came to look for him. But the woman was happy because she knew that he was the only person in his family; there were no other members. One night they were sleeping; the man was on one side, the boy next to him and then the girl, as in the picture, and then the wife. Her lover came in to her. This man was asleep, but she did not know it. When her lover came in, she started to give him some money; but her husband woke up, and he fought with her lover. They fought and fought, and she cried and cried, because she did not know what to do. This man was a big man, but her lover was a fine young man; that was why she liked him so much. This boy was the man's own son, but the girl was the daughter of the lover. They fought and fought, and finally the woman fled; as they fought, the lover worked the man over to where there were four rocks together. He worked him around till he fell into the hole made by the rocks, and he was pinned. The young man ran away as fast as he could go. Later, the man got out and went back to his house. But the girl was gone, only the boy remaining. They were just together, the two of them. That's all.

11. These people are very skillful dancers. All day long they just practice dancing. They go to a different house every day and do a dance, and from each they receive seventy-eight dollars. When they started this, the wife said to the others she thought that if they practiced dancing every day they could make a good thing of it, as they had no money. So they did and one day they went to a house and tried it. The master of the house thought



it was wonderful, and told them he would tell all the people in the other houses about it and they would go to them and do a dance and they would give them seventy-eight dollars each time. So they went to the houses, and each day did a different kind of dance, till they had been to fourteen houses, which exhausted the varieties of dances. They had taken in a lot of money. Then she thought up another series, even better, and they went to eighteen more houses, different from the first, and each time they received one hundred dollars. When they had been to all eighteen, the people of the first fourteen heard from the others of this new dance, and they asked them very nicely to come back and do the same thing for them. So they went back, and did it, and took in lots of money. They all received the money, but the woman, because she had started it and knew it especially well, and could move her body beautifully, was the favorite of the people, and they gave her lots of clothes, until finally she had nineteen boxes of clothes. Then she suggested that they stop for a while, because they had lots of wealth, and they were exhausted from dancing every day. So the man said, "Fine. You are only a woman, but you are better than I. Your mind is most exceptional." So they rested, and every day she just walked around and ate and slept, while they did all the work of getting food; she did not help them, for it was because of her ideas that they had all their wealth. That's all.

12. I feel sorry for this woman. . . . This is a woman everyone feels sorry for, for people come to her and make her dance and threaten her with beatings if she doesn't. One day a group of people came to her, and among them a man, very much a man. The others told her to dance, and she said she could not, because she was old and weak. But they said, "If you don't dance we will beat you." But this man felt sorry for her, and turned on his companions and beat them all till they were dead. Then he took everything off their bodies and gave it to her. She thanked him profusely, and told him how sorry she was that she had nothing, so that she could not give him a return gift. He said that was all right, he did not want anything, as he had done it only because he was sorry for her. Then she thought and said there was one thing she had she could give him which she thought he would like very much. He asked her what. "You go and look under that rock." "Why?" "Never mind. You just go and look." So he went over, and looked under. There was a young girl of such beauty that he was dazzled; she was the daughter of the old woman. He recovered, and went in. "Why did you come into my house?" "Because that woman told me to, because she was fond of me." "I think I know why she told you to. She wants us to get married. Let's go and talk to her and see about it." So they went and talked to her, and after they had talked and talked, they decided it would be a very good thing if they married. So they were married. That's all.

13. These two live on an island; they have plenty of food, but the rest of the people do not. Every day they got some of the food and gave it to the people to eat—one banana plant every day. It was hard work, but he only got fifteen cents from every household. He did all the work, while his wife had little to do. He thought about this, and decided he would put an end to it. So he built a restaurant. One day a man came and saw the wonderful food and asked if he could buy some. The man said, "Yes. Everybody can come and eat here. I am not going to do any of that heavy work any more." This man who came wanted to try everything, but they would let him have only one bowl of food. So he left, and ran off to round up all his brothers, thinking that if they all ate, he could have part of theirs. They all came and they all ate, and spent a lot of money.



They ate two servings, and then the couple would not give them any more. So he still wanted to eat, and went out and got all the members of his family. They all came and ate, and in this way everybody on the island came to know about it, and every day they came to eat and spent a lot of money. After a while, the couple had lots and lots of money, and they decided to call it off. So they closed the restaurant. Then the man and his wife each called in all the members of their families, and gave them money; before they had not been able to, but now they had plenty. Then they decided not to buy any food, but just eat their own. So every day they ate their own food; he got the food, and she fixed it, and also fixed some for sale. In this way their money could not run out. But one day a woman came to buy food; she was big and strong. She asked to buy food, and they gave her a serving. She ate it, but was not satiated. She asked for another and they said no, she could have only one serving. The strong woman said to the other, "Why can't I have another? This is just like a store and we should be able to buy all we want. I am going to fight you!" But the other woman said, "You had better not, because if you do, I will hit you once and you will be dead." At this this strong woman was very angry, and she grabbed the woman by the hair of her head and threw her out; she was dead. Her husband saw this, and he was afraid; he decided the only thing to do was to marry this woman, so he did, and that was that. There was no use in all the work the other woman did, because in no time at all the strong woman took everything away from her. That's all.

14. These men live on this island. This man [standing] had just come back from picking breadfruit. That man [seated] said, "There is something I have never seen before." "What?" "Come and look for yourself." He went and looked, and they were not just sure what they should do. Meanwhile the men on the boat were frightened. The men here discussed what to do; this man [standing] said, "I don't think it would be a good idea to cook this breadfruit now when those things are coming, for we will be frightened." "We will not be frightened, because I think we shall go and get on that boat [the carrier]." "Why do you think we should do that? I know we will be frightened." "No! They will have all sorts of wonderful things on that boat." This man was still something of a weakling, but they went to their house and got all sorts of things of Trukese manufacture and went on their boat out to the carrier. When they got there the men on it, who were Americans, looked down and saw all the things they had and said they looked fine. They asked them what they wanted, and they said all sorts of things—clothes, money, cigarettes, etc. So they suggested that the two men come aboard. They came aboard, and talked. One of the Americans asked them how they fought on Truk, because he saw that one of them had a warclub. He said, "You just get a long knife, and hit me with it as hard as you can." So he got a knife and came back, but he was afraid that he would kill this man: "I am afraid that if I hit you, you will be dead." "Go ahead and try it; if I die, it will be too bad, but only one of us will be dead." So he took a great cut at him, and this man swung his club and parried the blow and the knife went flying away. The American decided that these men knew how to fight better than anyone else, and went and talked to the captain and told him to get the engines going and leave quickly and take these people along. So they got under way, and took the men along. The men did not like it, but they could not help it; the Americans gave them clothes and everything, and asked them what they wanted to fight with, for they were going to fight for them. They offered them rifles and pistols and cutlasses. They did not know

how to use the guns, so they took the cutlasses. The Americans had come to this island looking for some people with whom they were at war, and now they went to another island looking for the enemy. They came to one, where all the people shot at them. They put the two Trukese over in a boat, and all the rest stayed on the ship. They went inshore, ducking the bullets as they came. When they came ashore the people stopped firing and started to hit them with cutlasses. But the two parried the blows and struck them back; they fought and fought till all of the enemy put up their hands in surrender. The men on the ship were watching this through binoculars, and when they saw the enemy surrender they were very happy, and struck up the band. A while before, they had been near defeat, and now they had won, all on account of the two Trukese they had picked up.

15. These two men are brothers; this one [right] is the older. One day the older brother went out to tend his garden. While he was there, another man came up, and said, "Why are you cutting the plants in my garden?" "Why are you lying? This is my garden. Look! There is the border: from here over it is mine, from there on it is yours." "No. It is all mine. If you don't like it, let's fight. If I win I will take it all; if you win you will take it all." But this man did not like to fight, and never did, so he said, "No. I don't like this sort of thing." "All right, if you don't want to fight, I will just take it all." "Well, then we shall fight. Today, I will start fighting; I have never fought before, because I love everybody." So they fought and fought, and finally this man who did not like to fight was beaten. The other man said, "Well, now it is all mine." This man said nothing; he was desolate. He just left and went back and sat down. Then his brother came and sat down beside him. But he just sat there with his arms folded. "What's the matter with you? Are you sick? . . . I know, you got in a fight, and were beaten." "No." Then he saw a cut on his brother's right cheek; this is the time of the picture. Then he realized what had happened, and said, "You just stay here and I will go up and tend our garden." "No, no." But he was determined to go, and left. He went up to the garden, and started working. After a while the other man came and said, "What are you doing here?" "Why shouldn't I be here? Do you think this is your garden?" "Yes; I fought with that man and he lost, so it is my garden." "All right, we won't waste any more words; we will just fight." The man was a little frightened, and could not see why such a young man should be so courageous. "Why do you want to fight when you are so young and I am so strong? Look at my arms, and my strong head and body." "It doesn't matter whether you are big or not; we will just try fighting. Look, I will try my strength on a tree." So he hit a tree with his fist, and it fell over. The other man was frightened at this display. The young man said, "Come on and fight—quick! Why are you so slow?" He talked tough to scare the other man, who said rather quietly, "All right, we will try it." "What do you mean 'try it'?" Come on and fight." The other man came up, and planned to hit the young man once and knock him out. He struck a mighty blow, but the young man fended it off with one hand and struck him with the other and killed him. Then he picked up the body and carried it down to where his brother was still sitting and threw it down at his feet. "There is the man you fought with; he is dead. I think he beat you because you were afraid of him." That's all.

16. One Saturday all the boats went out fishing. A great wind came up and one after another the boats sank. This man is standing up in his canoe looking for the

canoe of his brother; he is looking and looking and looking, but he does not see him. This man in the stern has been paddling, but now he is seasick from the waves, and is just lying in the boat. Another boat has sunk nearby, but this man got out of it and is trying to swim toward the canoe, but the man standing up does not see him, for he is just scanning the ocean for his brother's canoe. But this man swimming is actually his brother. As he is swimming along, he sees a big shark coming up; he doesn't know what to do. Then the man in the boat sees his brother and the shark, and starts paddling toward him to get there before the shark. He shouts to his companion to paddle, but he cannot; he has collapsed from seasickness. He shouts at him, but to no avail. So he jumps in the ocean and swims to his brother, and they battle the shark. They fight and fight, and finally this man [standing] grabs the shark and flings him in the canoe. They all get in and go ashore. They built a big oven and put the shark in it, and everybody had some to eat. Then they told him he should be their chief, because he had killed such a powerful beast in the sea. So he said, "Thank you very much. I will be your chief, but you must do everything properly and quickly when I tell you to; I will take care of you justly and properly." So they said this was fine, but if ever people went out beyond the reef and a shark came, he must quickly go out and kill it. He said he had already intended to, so it was all settled. That's all.

17. These three man were by their house when a typhoon came. There were great waves sweeping on shore, and the coconut trees were falling over all over the place. There was one tree near the house which was about to go over, so these two tried to hold it up. They rushed over and clung to it. But this man looked out and saw a great wave coming, and decided it would inundate the whole island. He rushed into the house and decided to go to sleep so that he would not see the wave coming which would wash them all away. So he went in and slept, and when he woke up, the water had all receded. They laughed at him, for the seas had come not of themselves, but because these two had told them to. This man had boasted every day of his courage, and how he was not afraid of anything. So to test him, they had called upon the wind and waves, and they had come and this man had just been terrified. That's all.

18. This man lived on an island where there were lots of these birds. The people all wanted to eat them, but could not catch them. So this man decided that he would go and lie down like this beside the tree in which they roosted, and they would think he was also a tree and light on him. So he did, and at nightfall when they came in, one of them saw him and said to the others, "You all go to the other tree; I am going to sleep here. This is my sleeping place because I saw it first; you keep away." He spread his wings to keep them away, but they kept coming. The man grabbed them as they came until he had caught fifteen. Then this bird [above] realized what was happening and said to himself, "Why are they such fools? I am the only one with any sense; I will go and tell the other birds." So he left, and the man took the fifteen birds down and penned them up. Every day he took one out and ate it, till they were all gone. Then he thought some more about what he would do. He went back up to the rookery, and again lay down. Every evening now this bird came first to see whether there was anybody there. But the man had covered himself with branches, so the bird announced that there was no one here, and told them all to sleep on the new tree. So they all went to roost there, and this man quietly reached up and pulled one down, wrung its neck and got another, and

another, till all were gone. He got thirty-five. He brought them all home, but they were all dead and he realized they would spoil. So he cooked them all. He ate two, and then two more, and then slept. Later he woke up and ate two more, and so on. He finally got so big he looked pregnant, and then all by himself gave birth to all the different sorts of animals. That is why there are so many different kinds now; formerly there were just these birds; now there are all kinds. That's all.

### TONY

AGE: 23 years.

1. This man is a fisherman, fishing with a trap. He is calling the people on the boats to come over to him, and they are planning to return to him.

4. This man is living on his own island, and this is his boy. [In commenting on the shortness of the previous one, pointed out he did not say where the men were.] Ever since he was a little boy his father has cared for him very well, feeding him, perhaps getting him drinking nuts and the like. Now he is a little grown up, and they are out walking and playing. His father is telling him they are going to go back home; but the boy does not yet want to, he just wants to stay out playing all the time. So he is looking down and scowling.

5. This woman has grown from a little baby until now she is grown up and married, and this is her daughter. The woman knows a lot about the old days, particularly dancing. She and her daughter have been out strolling; she said it was time to go home, but her daughter told her she wanted to keep on playing for a while. So they stayed out, and she taught her daughter things about the old days, and how people looked. Then her daughter told her it was time to go home, for they were hungry.

7. These women are members of one lineage, and they are outside this house, relaxing and talking things over. This woman [standing right] suggested they go and bathe, but this one [standing behind] did not want to. She also asked the other three, but they did not want to; the first three tend to do things together, and similarly the other three. That is why they are sitting down; the other three are pretty sexy, for they are the young women, the others being older. That is all, for I don't know much about these women.

8. These boys are out playing. This boy brought their food out in the basket, and now they are broiling it on their fire. Then they ate; they all ate except that boy [third from left] and he is asking something to eat of his companion. He has no food because he has no one to love him: he has no mother or father.

9. This man and this woman are married. He is telling her to carry the bananas, but she says she cannot because she is carrying the child. He points out he is carrying a breadfruit besides, but she says it does not matter, he will just have to carry the bananas too. These two know about the old dances.

10. This man is old, and these are his children. They are out walking around now, for he told them that he was soon to leave them, for he was old and soon would die. So he took them out to talk to them and teach them how to lead their lives and all about their island. They are smiling because they are happy on their walk.

11. These men are dancers. The older man is teaching them. They decided to leave



their island and go to Truk to get breechclouts; when they found them they came back and then they were ready to start learning. They are learning now. This woman has come up with her child to look on. The child got down and said he wanted to join in, but she is holding him back and telling him he cannot. This man is a master of dancing.

12. This is an old woman, and she knows a great deal about dancing. That is all she does every day. She likes dancing very much, for she is an old woman who remembers the old days.

13. This married couple stayed in their house until they were hungry. Then they went out to get some breadfruit. They went out and he picked some breadfruit; then he told her to take them home and cook them, and he would come along later and when they were done eat them. The women on these islands do the cooking; the men just get the fruit from the trees, but they cannot cook.

15. These two men were in their house, both of them living in one house, when this man [left] suggested to the other they go off and relax under these trees where it is cool. So they went off, and practised love songs. So here they are sitting under the trees practising for their dances.

16. These men are out on a trip. They were in their house and decided together they would take a trip. So they went out, but a heavy rain and big seas came up, and they could no longer see their island to get back to it. So now this man is standing up looking for their island. The other is just lying down on the boat. Now they are just drifting.

18. This tree is the roosting place of those birds [distant]. They go out and get their fish and then come back here. I don't know what these [foreground] are, whether they are birds or something else.

(Gender of children [inquiry after completion of test] 10. Girl left, boy right. 11. Girl.)

#### EDWARD

AGE: 27 years.

1. I don't know whether these two men live in one house or not. They made a fish trap, and when it was done, they wanted to try it. So they took it out and put it in the sea. Three days later they went out in a canoe to look at it. They both got out of the canoe, but one stayed on the reef while the other dove down after the trap. He brought it up, but it had only one fish in it. He gave it to the man on the reef, who is holding it in one hand with the other raised up, and then set the trap out again. Then they went back to their island. That's all.

4. This child is the child of this man. The man wants to go back to their house but the child just wants to play around and does not want to go with his father. His father tells him to come, but he just looks down at the ground. Then his father picked him up and carried him home to his wife. That's all.

5. This woman's husband told her to go out and find their child because he was naughty and would not come back when he told him to. She went out and looked for him, found him, and told him to come back. He said he wanted to stay there, because he liked playing there. She told him that was bad, that it was naughty not to come back when his father told him to, and he was to come back at once or they would beat him. She picked him up and brought him home to her husband. He asked if she had brought



him, and she said yes. He said, "That is fine. Now we will go strolling and playing outside the house. If he plays around here a while, he will see it is a very nice place, and will not want to go playing far away any more." So they went out and played outside the house, and after that he did not go off on long walks and not come back.

7. These nine women are out strolling outside their house. In the afternoon they talked it over and decided they would go out for a walk after dark. So they went out. These two are seated; the three in between are standing and this one is holding the branch of a tree. Those in the distance are strolling around between the house and the tree. When they were through they went in the house and told their husbands about their walk, and their husbands were very happy that they had had such a pleasant walk outside the house. That is all.

9. This man said to his wife, "Let's go out for a walk and see what we can find to eat, for we are hungry." So they went out, and after a while he said, "Wait here a little while, and I will go out and see what I can find for us to eat." She said, "Fine, but be quick about it, for our child is mighty hungry; he hasn't eaten since morning, and here it is late in the afternoon." So he went out, and after a little while came back carrying this hand of bananas and this breadfruit which had fallen off the branch. She was very happy to see this, and suggested that they go back to their house quickly so that their child could eat. So they went back and he broiled the breadfruit and bananas; when they were done they ate them. . . . That is all.

8. These seven men went out walking. These three are blind, and the other four have taken them along to take care of them for they cannot fend for themselves. They have gotten here, and the four told the three blind men to stay here while they went out to look for food. One of them asked the blind man here to hand him the basket. They told one of their number to sit down with them in case anyone came and they would not know what he was doing. The other three went out and looked for food. After a while they came back with it. They made this fire, broiled the food, and when it was done they ate. Then they went back to their house.

10. A boy and a girl. (Then flicked his finger up at her vagina, said, "Vagina" and laughed.) This man and his wife lived in their house. Then after a while, she became pregnant and gave birth to this boy. He grew and grew, and could walk. Then he used to go out with them when they went to get food or work in the garden. Later, she became pregnant again, and gave birth to this girl. She grew and grew, and pretty soon she too could walk and go out with them when they worked in their gardens or made food. Now he is an old man and she middle aged. The two children of theirs still don't wear clothes because they don't understand about it; their parents have not told them to because they are crazy. That is all. (While the examiner was writing this Edward whistled and again ran his finger over the girl's vagina.)

11. These two men are brothers; the older [right] said to the younger, "Let's go out for a walk and see the wife of that man [left]." So they went out and went to her house. They went in, and the older asked her if she would go out with them. She said, "Yes, I would like to. But wait a while until my child has gone to sleep a little." So they waited, and then the child fell asleep. They started to go, but the child cried; so she picked him up and they went out. Later, her husband came home and found she wasn't there. He was angry and went out to look for her. He found them, the men talking to

her. He chased them and chased them, but they were very fast in getting away from him and he did not catch them. They did not want him to catch them, for he had a scowl on his face all the time because he was just becoming adult. [?] All men who are about to become adult have bad thoughts. That is all.

12. This old woman lived all by herself in her house. One day a man came to her, also old. He asked her who lived in the house with her, and she said no one, she lived all alone. He asked her if there were any children, or a husband, or sisters, and she said no, they were all dead and only she remained. So he said that the same was true of him; he was the last of his family. He asked her to come and live with him, and she said she would. So they went off and lived together in his house. But he did not take her as a wife, but rather as if she were his mother; he felt sorry for her and wanted to take care of her. He told her that she was just to take it easy, and not try to do any heavy work; she would just cook the food and rest. In the morning he went out and worked in the garden, then at noon came back to eat. Then he went out again and weeded the garden in the afternoon. In the evening he came back and they ate and then went to sleep. They did not sleep under one netting; he slept under one and she under another. The next day he set out again to the garden; she told him to be sure and come back in time for lunch. He went out and worked and worked and when it was almost time to come he saw a rat eating out of his garden. He chased it and hit it and it was dead. Then he went home. She asked him when he got home why he was late. He said he had seen a rat eating in the garden, and had hit it and now it was dead. She said, "all right, let's eat." So they ate. Then he said he did not think he would go out and work again that day because he was tired from working every day, and he wanted to take a half day off. She said that was fine. She decided she would go out and bathe, because she was hot. She went out and bathed, and then came back. On the way back there was a breeze blowing and it blew on her bare arms and legs and body, and she was cold; that is why her legs are bow-legged now.

13. This man and woman are married. One day he said, "Let's go out and get some breadfruit, because we are hungry." So they went out to their breadfruit trees, and he climbed up and cut some breadfruit. When he was all through, he told her to pick them up off the ground, because he was through. She picked them up and he climbed down out of the tree. Then they set off together. Later, he saw some bananas, and cut off a hand and gave it to her to carry too. They got to their house and she told him she would cook the food and he should go out and get something to go with it or else they could not eat. So he asked her for his spear, and she gave it to him, and he went out into the sea. He dove down under a rock and saw a crab; he speared it. Then he dove under another rock and saw a fish and speared that. [He gave the names of these fish.] Then he decided this was enough to go with the food and went home with them. He gave them to his wife and she cooked them and they ate. Then it got to be night and they lay down. Then he said, "Now let's tell stories." She said that was fine, and he began: "I am going to tell about a ghost. A man and his wife lived on an island. They had no children; there were just the two of them. One day he said they should go out and get some food, because if they did not go out and look for food they would soon be dead. So they went out and got some food and brought it back. Then she told him to go out and get something to eat with it, but to be quick about it because she was mighty

hungry. He went out and came back and she cooked the shellfish and then they ate. It was night. Meanwhile a ghost saw their house, and he decided he would go and get her and marry her. They went to sleep." The reason he was telling this story was because he knew there really was a ghost on the island that night that wanted to eat people. He went on, "The ghost came and talked to the man's wife, and asked her to come outside with him. She went out, and he took her off to his house. Later, her husband woke up and found she was gone. He knew what had happened and thought the ghost might as well come and get him too, for it was proper that if she was dead he would be dead too. That is the end of the story." But she did not see the real meaning of the story, and he did not tell her; she just thought it was a real legend. So they went to sleep.

15. These two men are in houses near each other. One day one of them said, "Tomorrow let's go out on my boat and fish." "All right." So the next day they went out. One of them said to the other, "Dive in and see what you can find." He had been standing up looking for fish. So the other dove in and looked and looked and could not find anything. He climbed back in the boat and they went off and looked some more. Then he told him to dive in again and look for fish, and he did. Then he paddled off in the canoe and left him to die, for he did not like him; he had been thinking bad thoughts about his [the survivor's] wife. He went back to the island alone, and after a while the other man's wife came to him and asked him where her husband was. "We came back and bathed; I came back quickly but I guess he was slow." She went away, but later came back again and asked him about her husband. "I don't know what happened to him; I just know I left him bathing and came back quickly." The next morning she went over to the side of the island and looked for her husband, and found him washed up on the beach, dead. She dug a hole in the sand and buried him, and then came back to his erstwhile companion and accused him of having killed her husband. But he just said he did not know anything more than that he had left him at the bathing place. That is all.

18. This bird [lower middle] came and built this nest in the tree and laid three eggs. After a while, they hatched out and there were three little birds. But there were no feathers on their wings and they could not leave the nest. Their mother kept going out and bringing them food. They grew bigger and there were a few feathers on them; they were stronger, but they still could not leave the nest. Then they grew bigger still, and they could fly. They were beautiful little birds. They all went off together, and flew around. After a while their mother suggested they come back and see if the nest was still intact. So they went back, and found it wasn't broken down. They went away again, and a week later came back again. The nest was still in good shape. Then their mother said, "When we leave here, we will no longer stay together." "Why?" "Because now you are all strong and able to fly, and there is no more reason for us to stay together. You just go wherever you want to." So that is what they did.

#### PAUL

AGE: 28 years.

1. In the distance is an island; these three boats are out fishing. The boat in the foreground has no sail, so the two men using it have stopped here and are using a fish

trap. They have looked in the fish trap, and gotten out a fish. This man is holding up his hand to tell the other two boats to hurry; he is telling him they have fish. They are just men alone, on all three boats; none of them are women, for they are wearing breechclouts only, like Puluwat men. The island in the distance is their own. In the morning when they set out, they got everything together—rope, spear, bailer, paddles, etc., and brought them to the boat and set off. For the men running the other boat it was slower, because they had to bring the sail, step the mast, and rig it. Also their wives were slow. The men here got their fish first, and got home first, and cooked and ate it, giving some to their wives and telling their wives to bring some starchy food to go with it. The others were slower getting done, and did not get back as soon. They brought their boats into the boathouse, and washed the boats down with fresh water and then brought a share of the fish to the men who had made the boats, for they were new boats; had they been old boats these things would not have been necessary.

2. The two women are sisters, the seated one is younger and unmarried. The other one's husband has gone out fishing; these are her children. The boy looks like his father, and the girl like her mother, for this is true of all children. The house is old-style with a roof of ivory-nut thatch, and wall of coconut fronds. They are through eating, and they are feeding the chickens; the two who are seated are just watching. The mother is feeding the chicken here with one hand, and counting all the chickens with the other. The boy is planning to go up and get a coconut to cut the meat out to give the chicken. This girl, though she is not really old enough, has had intercourse; she is covering her breasts with her arms because she is embarrassed. She will be married soon. The chicken has some chicks, because her tail feathers are gone, a sign of brooding; I don't know how many she has.

3. This man [seated] owns this boathouse, and has been building this canoe. Now he is tired, and has gone outside to rest, because he has been working hard. These three men came up. The first man [right] remarked that the boat-builder was just sitting around and doing nothing. The second man told him that he was doing a wonderful job; it was a very good canoe. The third man did not say anything. The first man said he was going to request that they buy the canoe, but the second man protested that they had no goods or money to exchange for it. The third man was in favor of buying it. The outrigger and boom had not yet been completed, and the boat-builder was trying to decide whether he would paint it first, or put on the boom first; he decided to paint it first, and then put on the boom and mast and sail. He is waiting for his wife to bring him some food, for he has been working all by himself, and now he is hungry and tired. This coconut tree [left] is no good, it is crazy, for the leaves are growing all over the place and there are no nuts; the other one is all right, but he is too tired to climb it to get a coconut. The other men are arguing among themselves as to whether or not they will buy the boat, for they want it very much to use fishing; the two on the left are married, and they are thinking of their wives and children and feeding them. They argued and argued, but the man in the middle did not want to buy it, so they did not, for they could not agree. The house has no gables on the end because it is for boats, and with their high prows they would break it down. But it is a good boathouse, for the roof is thatched with ivory-nut leaves.

4. This little boy wandered away from the house without telling his parents; he



just strolled away. They looked for him in the house, and later outside, and finally his father went out to look for him. He looked and looked and finally found him. The little boy was frightened for he thought his father was going to beat him. His father was planning to, for he was angry, but then he looked at the boy and saw that he looked just like himself—face, body, and everything—and the boy was scared, so he felt sorry for the boy and his anger cooled. They went back to the house and the father spoke to his wife, telling her he had brought the boy home. He told her the boy had been very naughty. She was angry at him too, and asked her husband if he had beat him. He said no, for he had thought of it, but later had realized that he too had done this sort of thing when he was small, and if he had done it when he was small it was not proper that he should punish his son for doing the same thing now. So they just warned the boy about going away alone again, for he might fall in the water, or someone might come and beat him.

5. This woman and her daughter are out walking; they are going to another house to play with some children who live there. The girl is tired, and lagged behind. Her mother says, "Why are you lagging behind; let's go." "My feet hurt; carry me." She is lying. Her mother is angry: "If your feet hurt, you should stay behind in the house with your father." But she doesn't want to; she wants to go and play with the children. Her mother says, "We are going to go back." "No, I will go with you, but you carry me on your back." So she said, "All right, I will carry you, but today only. From now on we will not go out together, because you were bad." "Yes, today only; from now on we are through going out walking to play." So they went to the other house, and ate some bananas, and the girl had a fine time playing with the boys and girls. They went home again, and the girl was happy from her play, and strong, so she walked by herself. When they got home, the woman told her husband about their daughter, and how she had to carry her. He was angry and said, "From now on, you will not go out walking any more, because you were naughty. You cannot play with those children any more." The girl was unhappy, because she liked playing with them, and she cried. She cried and cried until finally they said, "All right, we will go out and play again tomorrow." Then she stopped crying. That is all.

6. This man is kneeling, because his work is hard; that is why he is not standing or sitting on a seat. He has his hands up because he is thinking hard. He is going to draw a picture of that island in the distance on this piece of paper. He will do it with a pencil here, and then take it home and finish it and hang it up in his house. He wants to hang it in his house so people will come and see it and remark about it, because that island is very beautiful. He likes the looks of it. That is why he is kneeling, not sitting; he wants it to be finished quickly. If he just sat, he would rest a bit and work a bit and rest a bit; but this way his knees and body hurt and he cannot rest. That is all.

7. These three women [standing at tree and seated] live in this house. These two [standing and seated right] are sisters; the other is a daughter of this one [standing]. They have no children; this one [daughter] is just married, this one [standing] had only one child, this daughter, while the third is barren. The tree has no value, for this kind of tree bears no fruit. These other people have come to watch something: the husbands of these three women are doing a dance. They are watching, and the others are coming up to watch too. The two are talking together, saying they too should do this



dance, because it is very good; the third is just watching. Later, when the dance was over, they went back to their house, and told the men of the house they should do this sort of a dance too, because it was good. But the men said it was not for them; if the women wanted to do it, all right, but they were just going to try very hard to keep getting in food and utensils so they would not be lacking; they were angry. The people who live in this house also returned to their house, and the men asked if there was any food, because they were hungry. They ate, and then the women suggested they all go fishing, but the men said, "No, if we all go fishing, there will be no starchy food. Two of us will go fishing, and the rest will go get starchy food." So the husbands of these two [left and right] went fishing, and the rest went out after food. The two women whose husbands went fishing accompanied them. In the evening, they all returned, ate, and got ready to sleep. They discussed what they would do the next day, and decided they would go out and work in the gardens, and when this was done, come back and eat and dance. So they did this. When they were dancing, these other women decided they wanted to go and watch. They told their husbands they were going to go and bathe. They went out to bathe, but they planned afterward to go and watch the dancing. But while they were bathing their husbands came and asked them what they were going to do when they were through, and they said they were going back to their house. The men said fine. So they went back to their house. That night the dancing people again discussed what they were going to do, and they decided again just to work and dance both. They did so, but the other women just stayed in the house with their husbands, because their husbands were jealous all the time. That is all.

8. These boys have built a fire, because they have just been out swimming, and are cold. They have all warmed up except this one [upper right] who is still staying close to the fire. This one [lower right] is unhappy; he is just looking in his fish basket and thinking that he has no fish, and wondering what he is going to do about food when he gets home. These two [left of fire] are ready to go home. This one [left] remarks upon the large penis of the one next to him, for he [second left] and the one who is still cold are somewhat older. But they are all still a little cold, and they do not laugh; he is just amusing himself. These two [left of fire] say, "We are going home." The other four are waiting for the fifth who is looking in his basket, and for the one who is cold too. The one looking in the basket is not anxious to go home, for he feels his parents will be angry at him for having just gone swimming; they will say there was no point to his swimming if he did not get a fish. Had he brought a fish, they would have been happy. That is all.

9. These two and their child went out walking from their house to the house of the man's mother. They had no bananas at that time. They got to the house and went in; they stayed there a while talking with the people in the house, and then decided to leave. The man asked if there were any bananas, and they gave him some. He was standing, and went over to his wife and told her to stand up and take the bananas for them and their child to eat. She stood up, and told him to give them to her, but he should take the soursop. [Interruption for examiner to write; then:] She told him to carry both the bananas and the soursop, because she had the baby to carry. He again told her to carry the bananas; she wanted to, but she could not because of the baby, so he carried them. They went to their house, and she was happy because her husband had brought

the bananas. They ate the bananas and gave some to their child, and then got ready to sleep. They were very happy at having had a pleasant visit and having eaten the bananas.

10. This man and his two children have gone out walking. The older child is holding the hand of the younger while they are walking. They walked a little way, and came upon their wife and mother, respectively. She was sitting down. The man asked her what she was doing, and she said she had been out strolling. She is rather weak, for her two children are quite grown up and she is an old woman. When they were through walking, they went back to their house. They discussed where they would go the next day. But the man said, "They are not to go out walking any more. If you take them out and teach them places to go walking, later they will go out by themselves, and go to the ocean and fall off a rock and drown, or something of the sort." But their mother said, "No, if they go out they will get big and strong; it will be good for them." The boy heard this, and was angry with his father: "If we go out, we will not go far, nor to the ocean; we will just go where we went today." So their father said, "All right, go ahead. But if you get into trouble, it will be up to you and your mother." That is all.

11. These people—a man, his wife, two sons and small daughter—have gone out of their house to dance. The little girl is frightened, for she thinks they are going to beat her. But her mother assures her that they are just dancing, and later she is happy, because they dance so well. Their father is exceptionally skillful at dancing, and their mother tells them all to watch him closely so they can learn how to dance as well; she also tells her daughter to watch and learn so she can be as good as they. Later they went to their house, and their father taught them some more. His wife asked him how he happened to be so good at dancing, and he said that when he was small, there were a lot of good dancers on the island, and he watched them and learned from them and now was as good as they were. She asked him to keep on doing dancing, so the children would learn. He said he would, but they would all have to apply themselves very hard to their work so that they would be done with it and still have time for dancing. She asked him to dance again the next day because the children liked it so much. That is all.

12. This old woman has come out of her house. Hers is a very difficult lot, for she lives alone in her rather messy house; her husband is dead, and she has no father, mother, or sisters, for they too are all dead. She is weak, for she has no food. She went to another house, not far from hers, and asked them for food. She told them she got weak very quickly, showing them her body, for she had no food. They told her there was some food; they gave her some, and told her to eat it then. She smiled and was happy. They looked at her poor thin body and felt sorry for her. They told her that whenever they had some food, they would bring it to her, and any time they did not come and she needed food, she was to come to their house, for they would take care of her. She was very happy and thanked them very much. She thought she would come to their house every day. She told them that if there was any kind of light work she could do they should bring it to her, but they assured her this was not necessary. She was very happy, and all the way home kept thinking of how she appreciated what they had done, and wondered why they were so kind. They just felt sorry for her because she had no relatives: no husband, no mother, no father, no brothers, no sisters, or any relatives at all. There was nothing in her house either; her only possession was the lavalava she was

wearing. But now she was happy because she had eaten her fill; she did not have to eat much before she was quickly filled up, for she could no longer eat a lot.

13. This man and his wife have been out to get food. They went up on the mountain, and he picked breadfruit; he climbed the tree and picked six, which fell down to the ground below. He picked them up and gave them to his wife to carry. She had gotten a bunch of green bananas, and they brought them down to their house. They cooked them up and pounded them together, and ate them. They decided it was very good, and when it was gone they would again go up and get some more, for he said that on the same tree there were a lot more. She said that the rest of the bananas were not yet good, but that in a couple of day they would be, so that would be fine. They agreed that there were not very many bananas left, but lots of breadfruit, so they could not be in very bad straights. The next day they went out fishing; she looked for squid, and he for fish. She got five squid, and he ten fish. They brought them back and broiled them, and were very happy; they ate till they were full. They decided to leave the next morning early and go out and get some breadfruit and bananas. His wife said that would be fine and they should go really early, as they had no food for breakfast or lunch, and if they did not go quickly it would be a bad thing. The next morning they went out early and got the breadfruit and bananas, and brought them in and cooked them and ate some along with some of the fish from the day before. They were very happy and loved each other. They decided not to go out and get any food the next day, but just tend their gardens. The wife suggested it first, pointing out that if they did not work on their manioc and potatoes, when the breadfruit and bananas were gone they would be in trouble. He said hers was a very good thought, and that although he had also thought of it, he had not yet said anything about it. So they decided on that. That is all.

14. These two men came out of their house and came up on the mountain here to pick breadfruit. This man [left] saw the carrier, and said, "Look at that American carrier." The other said, "I thought I heard the airplanes, but I was not listening very well because I was carrying such a heavy load." "Come and look at them." But he was anxious to get home and fix the breadfruit, so he said he would come back later and look. He went home, and he and his wife cooked and pounded the breadfruit. When it was done, he went to the other man's house, and asked him about the carrier and the airplanes. He said they had gone. He was disappointed, but the other said they would come back the next day. So the next day this man went up here on top of the mountain to look for it, but it was not there; it had gone to some other islands. He came back, and met the other man on the path. He was angry. He asked him why he had said it would come back and it had not come back. The other man apologized, and said he did not really know, he just thought it would come. So every day they went up on the mountain to look, but the carrier never came back. They were a little crazy to do this. . . . This boat went out fishing, but when the airplanes came down over the water, they were frightened, for they thought they were some kind of bird. They went back quickly. After that they wanted to go out fishing, but they were scared. The carrier never came back. That is all.

[Two-day interruption.]

15. These two men have come from their houses and are talking here on the path about what this man [right] is going to do for work today. The other man asked him

what he was going to do, and he said, "I just don't know what to think about my work today." "We should just think about one kind of work for one day, because we cannot do many different kinds of work in one day and do them well." "I agree with you, but I cannot decide between going fishing, fixing food, or tending my gardens." "Well, don't think of all of these at once. Just think of one thing and go ahead and do it. If you want to go fishing, go fishing; if you want to get food, get food; and if you want to tend your gardens, go to your gardens." "All right, I will tend my gardens, because the sun is high already and it is a long way to the breadfruit trees and it takes time to get ready to go fishing. But what are you going to do today?" "I think I am just going to go strolling today, because at first I was planning to do all sorts of work too, but I decided if I tried that it would never be done, so today I am just going strolling. Tomorrow, if I decide on one kind of work I will just go out and do it and it will be done." "All right. Well, I am going to go out and do work in my gardens right now, because it is late."

16. These men have gone out fishing in their canoe from their island. But a great storm struck, with wind and rain. They have drifted far from land. This man stood up to look around, for he could no longer see anything around them. The other man is unhappy at their plight and is crying. The third man is swimming as hard as he can toward the boat, because he wants to get there and out of the waves and wind. This man just cried and cried, and the man who was standing said, "Don't be so unhappy. At least we are on the boat, but the others are in the water somewhere." There were four of them on the boat, but the man who is standing does not even see the one near them. A great wave came, washing over the float and partly swamping the boat. The man standing said, "If we had realized it was going to be stormy, we would not have come out. Our wives and children must be very unhappy at our having drifted away in the storm. If this storm keeps up until night, and we cannot see land, we will not be able to get back. If we drift and drift today and tonight until tomorrow, we will be far, far away." "I didn't want to go out fishing today anyway, but you insisted on it. Now we will all be dead, and it is your fault, because you just thought of all the fish we would get and told us to come along." They had not caught any fish. The man who is standing thought again that if he had known about the storm, he would not have gone out. He is standing looking for the other two in the water, for he is sorry for them. The other two, in the water, also were thinking they would soon be dead, and that if they had known about the storm they never would have gone out. That is all. [What happened afterwards?] I don't know what happened afterwards. I just know what they said when they were out in the ocean. If the wind and storm continued into the night, they drifted a long way away. I imagine a boat would have gone out to get them. But I don't know any more about the story.

17. What kind of trees are these? [I don't know. You decide.] There are a lot of houses on this island, but we can only see two of them. These trees are pandanus, I think; they look like it. There is a great storm raging, practically a typhoon. It is daytime, but it is dark from the heavy rain. The men are very worried about their trees. One has fallen over, and they are afraid this one will too, and if it does they will not have anything to thatch their roofs with, etc. These two men have run out and are holding the trunk of the tree, trying to hold it up, and they have told the other man to run in the house and get a rope or a stick to prop the tree up with. They told him to



hurry. He ran in the houses and looked for rope, but there was none; he got a stick instead. They propped up the tree. Then they talked about the situation, and were worried, for if all the trees should fall down they would have no thatch for their roofs, for they did not have money to buy pandanus from other people. They decided they would just try to save them all and keep an eye on them all. Later, the storm and wind abated, and they surveyed the damage. Only this one tree had fallen down, and they were happy. But they decided they would replant another pandanus there right away, because if another storm came and blew down some more, they would be in a bad way. That is all I can think of. I cannot think of a real story about this.

18. This man has left his house because he is angry with the people in his house, and has gone away and is lying down in the shadow of this rock, for this is a rock [on the right]. It is evening, and he left the house and went inland to the mountain and lay down because he was angry. This rock is also a roosting place for bats—not fruit bats but small ones that only fly at night—and they are coming in to light. They are going to light on him, because they think he is a rock also, because he is lying still. He is asleep, and he cannot wake up because he is so angry that is all he can think of. He is angry at his wife and his father. He is angry at his father because he was angry at his wife and his father told him not to be angry. He was angry at his wife because she was bad, and would not listen to him when he told her things, and he was angry at his father because he helped her. He slept there that night, and the next day his wife came out to look for him; she had decided to do this the night before. Shortly after noon she found him under the rock, and spoke to him, asking him why he had gone away. He told her why he was angry, and she told him if that was the way he felt about it and did not want to talk to her any more, they should just go back, and he would go to his house and she to hers. He said, "No, I just don't want to talk to you because you don't listen to me when I do. If you don't want to listen to me, we had better be divorced." "If that is it, let's go back to our house. From now on, I will listen to what you tell me and do it. You had better come back and eat." He had not eaten in the evening, morning, or noon. So they went back, and when his father saw them he asked his son, "Why did you throw away your wife? If that is what you want to do, it is a good thing for you to go and sleep on the mountain." But his son said, "We just talked this over on the mountain, and my wife is not going to be bad any more. She is going to listen to what I say, and we are going to love each other." When his father heard this he was happy, and said, "I was very sorry for your wife, because she was alone in the house with us and you deserted her. If you had not been married, I would have gone out and looked for you myself, but because you were married I didn't." That is all.

### CHARLES

AGE: 33 years.

1. This is all one lineage on Romonum. For a long time they were in straits for money; they had no money and no way of getting it. The head of the family wanted to start a store, but he had no money with which to buy the goods to stock the store with; he wanted to start a restaurant, but again he could not do that. [The previous day Charles had expressed the same frustrated desires in his own case.] He told his brothers and



his children to try very hard to get together some money, but in vain. Then one day they decided to start fishing, to get fish for sale. So every day they went out fishing, but they did not get very many fish, perhaps ten in one day. So he decided to try using fish traps. They made a lot of fish traps, and sank them in the sea; every third day they would go and get them up and get a lot of fish out. Meanwhile, they went out fishing with spear and net. They began getting a great many fish, for they were utilizing two sorts of methods simultaneously. They had fish to sell, and hence money, and the head of the family decided to buy two sailing canoes from Pis for until then they had only one paddling canoe. So he did, and they brought the canoes back and started fishing at a greater distance, on the reefs and on the barrier reef. They got a great many fish, and sold them on all the islands around—Tol, Udot, Falabeguets, Fefan, and Uman. They were taking in a lot of money, and the head of the family was very happy, as well as everyone in the family. He decided to buy a whaleboat; he bought a sailing whaleboat on Uman. Then they could take their seine net and fish traps out to the barrier reef, and put the fish traps down there. There were lots of fish, and the take from one trap ran to two or three or even four hundred fish at a time. It was like fishing with dynamite, where you can get several thousand fish from one bomb. They were very wealthy. One day the head of the family called all the members of the family together for a meeting. He told them he was going to divide up the money among them, so that if any of them were in need of money, or wanted to buy cloth or cigarettes or anything, they would have the money to do it. They were all very happy; each person got one or two hundred dollars, or perhaps fifty. Then he talked to them: "You must all work very hard at our fishing. We have worked hard, and now we have lots of money. We must continue to work hard, for that is the way to make money; if we all keep at it, we will be really wealthy, and we will be in good fortune. We must also consider that we are often getting very weary from rowing our whaleboat. It is a long way to the barrier reef, and when there is an adverse wind, we get worn out so that we are likely to get sick. If we keep on working hard, we may get together enough money to buy a motor launch, and then it will be easy." So they all worked very hard at their fishing until one day the head of the family again called the family together for a meeting. "Now we have all worked very hard and we have a lot of money, and we are able to buy a motor launch. Shall we do it?" They all said, "It's up to you; if you want to buy a launch, buy it." But someone asked, "If we buy a launch, who will run the engine?" "That's a good point. I think I will send my boy off to a mechanic's school, and when he has learned all about engines, we will buy the motor launch and he will run the engine." They all approved this, and the boy went off to school. He had only been there two months when he learned all there was to know about engines; he was just like an American [or Japanese: "member of the upper group"]. He wrote a letter and sent it to his father, telling him he felt he knew enough to run the engine, and that he should start to buy their launch. So the head of the family talked to everybody in the family, and they approved, and he bought a launch; it was small, but very fast. His name was Panuk. He called a brother of his, called Mwochenia ["wants lots"], and told him that from then on he was to handle all the fishing, and he, Panuk, would start a store. He divided up the family money equally between them, and the members of the family also divided up, some working with Panuk, and some with Mwochenia. They raced to see which could make money the

fastest. Mwochenia worked very hard at his fishing, and Panuk worked hard at his store. He was a very sharp trader; he raised his prices so that he made a big profit, and all the people bought his goods. He brought in a big stock, everybody bought him out, and then he went in and got some more. He made money hand over fist. Meanwhile, Mwochenia was working hard too. They went out to the barrier reef and fished and fished all day, and got lots of fish. Then they headed back, but stopped off at a little island to rest and sleep the night. But when it got late, they got hungry, and they started to eat some of the fish. They ate and ate till the fish were all gone. Then they slept the night, and the next morning, realizing they had no fish, they again went out to the barrier reef. They fished all day, and had another big catch, and returned. But again they stopped at the little island, and again ate up all their fish. So the next day they went out again, and again returned to the little island and ate up all the fish. The next day Mwochenia realized they were not making any progress, and they would surely lose the race, so he decided they would go out and fish, and return directly to Romonum. So they went out, but when they got to the reef, a typhoon came up, and they could not fish. The wind was from the north, and they blew in away from the reef; they drifted before the wind till they got to Romonum. When they came around by the reef, they came in. Panuk saw them coming, and thought they had a lot of fish and that they would win the race; he went over to see. When he got there, he saw there were no fish. "What is this? Why are there no fish? Mwochenia replied, "It has been very hard. We went out and fished, and had a big haul; but then we stopped to rest at that little island, and were hungry, and ate up all the fish. The next day we went out again, and again ate all the fish. The third day we were planning to come straight back to Romonum, but this typhoon came up, and we could not fish, so here we are." "Well, that is too bad. You are going to lose. You are not going to have any money to pay your fishermen. I cannot give you any money to pay them; I have the money to pay my men, but none to pay yours. You are in a jam. Didn't you know there was a ghost on that island, also called Mwochenia, who made you eat those fish? He told you you were hungry, and told you to eat them all up so you could go out the next day, and again fish, and again come back and rest and eat up all the fish. That is why you have no fish; that is what that ghost, whose name is also 'Wants-lots,' wanted you to do. Now you have lost." So Mwochenia told his fishermen that they would rest for three days and then go out fishing again. He wanted to rest for three days because he wanted to find himself a woman. That night, he went to a woman and started to sleep with her. They slept and slept, and in the morning he could not wake up. They just stayed under the netting. The girl's parents saw she was still sleeping under the netting, and commented on her long sleep. All that day, and again that night and the next day they just stayed under the mosquito netting. Finally on the third day Mwochenia emerged and called his fisherman together, and they got all their fishing equipment together. Then they set out, and went to the outer reef where they fished all day. When it was getting late and was about time for them to start home, they were all swimming off the reef toward their whaleboat. A barracuda which was lurking around the reef saw Mwochenia swimming, and swam up to him and bit him; he bit him in two at the waist, and he was dead. The fishermen lifted his body into the boat, and went back to Romonum. When they arrived, Panuk came out and met them, and asked if they had caught any fish. They said they had caught some, but Mwochenia

was dead. Panuk said, "See, he is dead because of his sins; he just wanted everything, and now the reward for his wishes is his death." The girl he had slept with came up, and saw he was dead, and told the fishermen to bury him. She went off and cried, and later they buried him. Panuk delivered a lecture to him: "You wanted everything, and now look what you have—nothing. You wanted another man's wife, you were greedy about everything, and now you are dead. You have died as the price of your sins." Panuk was very unhappy over the death of his brother; he felt he had worked hard at their work, and anything Panuk had told him to do he did. He missed him very much since he was dead. He decided he too was going to die. He no longer ate, for he thought if he did not eat he would get sick and die. For three days he ate nothing, and on the third day he got very sick, and shortly thereafter died. So Panuk was dead too. Their children carried on their work, but the two of them were dead. That is all.

4. This man and his boy are heavy-hearted. A while ago the man's wife died, and since then they have been unhappy. They tried to do their work, but they could not because they were so unhappy. One day the man decided they would go to another island and try to find a little happiness. So they went out to find a boat to go on, but they could not find anyone who would let them use his boat. They were unhappy about his wife, and unhappy about their boat, for they had none. Finally they went to an old man who lived by himself who was covered with yaws. He had a canoe, but it was big enough for only one person. They asked him if they could use it to go to the other island and return it to him when they came back. He said yes, but what would they do since there were two of them and the boat was big enough only for one. The man said they would try it, and if they could not make it, he would swim and tow the boat and his boy would stay on it. The old man said that was all right, and they took the boat, carried it to the beach, and got aboard. They paddled out, but they had hardly reached the blue water before the boat swamped. The man went overboard, and the boy stayed on the swamped boat. Then they did not know what to do, for if the man got aboard it would sink again, and yet the boy did not know how to bail it out. The boy told his father to climb aboard, and he would go in the sea and hang on. But the man refused to do that, for fear something would happen to the boy. They argued back and forth, and finally the boy jumped overboard and hung onto the side. He told his father to go ahead and climb aboard, and when he had it bailed out, they would think of something good to do. So finally the man climbed on, and told his son to be sure and hang on tight so he would not sink. He bailed out the boat. But while he was doing this, the boat began to move forward; it went swiftly, like a motor launch, for the spirit of his mother was towing the little boy toward the island they were heading for, and the boy was towing the boat. The man was frightened, but did not say anything more; he just sat there without paddling till they reached the island. When they had arrived, the boy said, "Well, let's land." So they landed on the beach, and the man picked up the canoe and carried it up the beach. He had a brother on the island, and they went to stay with him. That night, they had a dance. The men and women danced in separate groups before a fire, deciding which of the other sex they would take as a lover. Then they doused the fire and took their lovers. They were all very happy, and so was that man. They stayed there a month, and the man was very happy, for they had these dances every night; he no longer wanted to go back to his own island. But the boy was not happy, and cried all the time, because of the bad things

his father was doing. One night while his father was out dancing, the boy's mother's spirit came to him and told him that what his father was doing was bad, and that he should tell him they should return to their island. He said he would, and when his father came home, he spoke to him: "I think you are happy. Why are you so happy? I think you have been doing things which make you very happy. But, what about me? Why don't you think of me? Do you think I am happy too?" His father was frightened a little at what his son had said, and said nothing. The boy went on, "Don't you remember how we got here, on a boat which is was impossible to make the journey on, yet we made it. Have you forgotten so soon the things that happened that day we came here? Don't you remember the reason we got here? Have you forgotten my mother?" At this the man was very frightened, and asked his son not to say anything more, because he was so scared. So his son just said, "Father, please let us return to our island." But his father could not permit this, because he was so happy where he was. Finally he asked the boy if they could stay there another month, and then return for sure. There was nothing the boy could do, so he said yes. So every night, his father danced. While he was out dancing, the spirit of the boy's mother came to him again. "Where is your father?" "He is out dancing again." "Didn't you tell him you should go back to your island?" "Yes, but he said we should stay for another month." "Well, when he comes back tomorrow morning, you tell him that you are both going back that very day, and if he refuses, tell him you will go alone." The boy said he would, and the next morning when his father came home he said, "Have you returned?" "Yes." "Well, if you please there is something I want to ask of you. I want us to return to our island today. If you refuse to go back today, I will go by myself." The man was distressed, because he was about to get himself a wife from the women he had danced with. But he said, "When do you want to leave?" "Right today." So he said he would go, and they went and got their boat, the same boat they had come over on, ready. When it was ready, they put it in the water and set off. When they got out in the blue water, it swamped again. The boy said to his father, "You go overboard and I will stay here and bail the boat out." So his father went overside, and the boy bailed the boat. Then he asked his father to swim out ahead, and tow the boat, and he did so. He swam and swam, until they were half way across. Then a great big shark bore down on them from windward. He came up to the boat, and then to the man, and bit him, and swallowed him whole. The boy stayed on the boat, and paddled and paddled till he reached his island. He was alive, but his father was dead. That shark was the spirit of his dead wife. She was angry at him for having played and played with other women, and that was why she wanted them to go home. She entered the body of a shark, and ate him and killed him because he had been bad. That is all.

5. This woman is married, and this is their little girl. Her husband works at making charcoal. They make it of mangrove roots in a great oven underground with a roof over it; they build a fire, and put the mangrove in on top of it, closing the vents. Later, when all the mangrove is charred, they open it up and go in and get the charcoal out. When they go into the heat and smoke, it is very uncomfortable; it is very unpleasant hard work. One day when her husband had gone off to work, his wife decided to go and bathe. But her daughter said she wanted to go along. Her mother said she could not, as they would be slow and would not have food ready for her husband when he



came back from work. Her daughter cried and said she wanted to go, and that they would be quick. But her mother knew that if the girl came along, she would walk slowly, and if she carried her she would be slow herself. But the girl cried, and she picked her up and took her along. They went and bathed, and they were a very long time at it. It was time for her husband's noonday time off, and they were not yet back. He went home, planning to have a quick meal and then go back to work; but when he got there, he found his wife and child gone, so he had to give up the idea of eating. He wrote a note and left it: "You lead a quiet and restful life, and sleep whenever you want. You don't think of me, and my hard work. I have come home to eat, and you are not here, and now I cannot eat and I will not be strong in my work." Then he left. Later, his wife came home, saw the letter, and realized that he had gone back to work without eating. She read the note, and then spoke to her daughter: "Now your father is angry, for we did not get back here to see that he had his lunch. See, I told you to stay here and wait for me so we would not be slow, but you would not. This afternoon, your father will come back and speak very roughly to me, because he is angry. If he says anything to me, it will be your fault, because you were bad. You were very naughty, and now your father is angry with me." In the afternoon, her husband came home, carrying a deep bowl, in which there was a honey-eater bird, and on it another bowl which covered it. He came in the house, and put the bowl down on the table. His wife was fixing the supper, and when it was ready, they ate: he at one end of the table, his wife at the other, and the child at the side. The bowl remained in the middle. When they were through eating, his wife took out the dishes, wiped the table, washed the dishes and dried them. Then he called her. She came and sat down. "What were you thinking of this noon? You did not think of me. You did not think to realize that people can only be strong in their work if they eat. My work is hard, and if I don't eat, I cannot do it properly. We are people, and people's bodies are only strong through eating. You just sit around all day, and don't think of my hard work. It is all right for you not to eat, because you don't do any work. But I have to eat, and you neglected me." She replied, "Please forgive me. I have not treated you properly, and the reason is this girl. I was going out to bathe, and she cried and said she wanted to go along. But I told her she could not, because I was thinking of your lunch and did not want to be late in getting back. But she cried and cried, and after I had told her time and again not to come along, I finally picked her up and took her along. That is why I was not here to get your lunch ready." "All right, this time you say it was the girl's fault. So be it. But if it happens again, you will find out the consequences. . . . Today, I got my wages from the boss of my work. It is in this bowl. It is going to stay here, but I forbid you to have anything to do with it. You must not touch it, move it, look inside it or even get near it. I absolutely forbid you to do anything to it." "All right, I understand." "It will stay here, and neither you nor the girl will do anything with it whatsoever; it is forbidden. If either of you do anything to it, you will discover the consequences." Then it was night, they slept, and the next morning the man ate and set off for work. His wife began her housework, sweeping. She swept out one room, and when it was finished, started the second and swept and swept until all the rooms were done except the one in which they had eaten. She went in there, and started sweeping. That bowl sat on the table, all by itself, with no others to keep it company. She swept and swept, but all the time she was sweeping, she was thinking how



much she wanted to know what was in that bowl. Finally she had finished half the room, and she was up to the table; she felt she just had to look at it. She was going to just take a peek, but then she remembered her husband's strong words, forbidding her to look at it, and stopped. She went off and started sweeping the other half of the room. She could not resist it, and went back to the table to take a look; but then she thought what would happen if her husband found out, and stopped again and went back to her sweeping. She swept and swept, and the other half of the room was done. Then she decided she really would look at it, though she would come up to it very quietly, and barely pick up the cover and peek in so that anything that was in it could not get out. So she lifted up the edge a little and tried to peek in. But it was a deep bowl, and she could not see in, so she opened it a little more. Meanwhile, when she started to open it the bird saw the light, and crouched, ready to jump. When she opened it farther, and then again farther, the bird leapt out and flew off. She started chasing it around the room, but she could not catch it. She cried out in alarm, but she could not get the bird. While she was rushing around, her husband came up to the front door. He heard the noise, and knew his wife had opened the bowl. Then he went on in, and appeared at the door of the room. "What is going on?" His wife realized he knew what she had done, and sat down quietly. He started to speak to her. "Yesterday, you were bad and neglected me, but you blamed it on the child. But actually, it was you who were bad. Why do you think we call children 'not-understand'? Because they don't understand things; they cannot tell good from bad. But yesterday, you agreed with the child, and you took the child along. It was you who were naughty, not the child; you just pushed the blame off on the child. So last night I brought that bird home as a test. I wanted to know what you would do, whether you were really good or not. You broke your word to me again today; you paid no attention to what I said last night. Are you going to tell me this was the child's fault too? Are you going to say the child told you to open the bowl? Now I know you are bad. This very day you are going to leave my house. If you are not quick about it I will beat you." The girl felt sorry for her mother. She asked her father if he would permit her to go with her mother, because she knew her mother was just going off into the bush, and she felt sorry for her. But her father would not give her permission. However, when her mother left, the girl went with her. When they left the house her mother said to her: "See, look what your naughtiness has gotten us into. It was your naughtiness that got us into all this, for you refused to be left behind when I went bathing, and now look at us. It is all your fault." So they went off into the bush, and the man stayed alone in the house. That is all there is about this one. [Note: the episode of the bird in the bowl is a folktale, although this was not realized until the testing was completed.]

7. These women live in this house. Their work is making mats, and they do it every day, from morning till night, for the chief has ordered them to do it, as he wants to send the mats off to another island to sell them. Their husbands do not live here; they are all off on another distant island, working, and they have been there for five years. But today, they have come back. While they were working, a small boy saw a boat coming, with a lot of men on it, and called them. They dropped their work and went outside; that is why they are outside now. They rushed out on the beach and looked at the boat and each saw her husband, and they were very happy. A few had not come out, and they called them, and they came too—that is why they are not at the beach yet. They

waited there on the beach, each seeing her husband, and the men on the boat were picking out their wives from the group on shore, and they were all very happy too. They landed, and the men stepped onto the beach and greeted their wives. "Greetings, my wife. Today we are happy, for we have been separated for a long time, and now we are joined again." Then they asked their wives what work they had been doing every day for so long. They told them the chief had said they should make mats, though they did not know what for. He just said that when they were done, they were to send them to him. At that time they were working very hard on them. Their husbands said that was fine, but now they were to start a week's vacation from their work, and they would prepare a big table and all sorts of food—they would kill a pig, and chickens, and fix breadfruit and everything that was good—so they could have a big feast to celebrate their happiness at their reunion. The boss of the women who were making the mats decided to send a letter to the chief, requesting his permission for the women to rest a week from making mats so they could prepare the feast, and also asked him to come and join them. So he did, and they had their feast and ate and ate. They were all very happy, and after they had eaten they sang and danced and did everything they could do that was happy. The chief was happy at all this too, and when the meeting was nearly over, he addressed the people, and told the women to work hard at their mats, because he had made a deal with the chief of another island: when the mats were done they would send them over to the other chief's island, he would buy them, and then send the money back and each woman would get her share according to the number of mats she had made. Though they had no money at the time, when the mats were finished they would have plenty, and they could buy all sorts of things—clothes, perfume, soap to wash their clothes, and so on. Then the meeting was over, the chief went home, and the women started in again working on their mats. After a while, the chief sent a letter telling them that the time had come to send off the mats for sale. So the men got together all the mats the women had ready and took them to the chief. The chief sold them to the people who wanted to buy them, and gave the money to the men, who had helped their wives with the work. He told the men to tell their wives to continue to work hard at their mats so that they could get lots of money, and buy clothes and all sorts of goods so they would be like white women, combs for their hair, perfume so they would be sweet-smelling, and so on. The men and the women were all very happy at what the chief had said. The chief wanted to change everything around on the island, for at that time they had no clothes and nothing else; they were just living the old way. He wanted to have everything new, and not have them sitting around all day, for every day they did nothing but fix food, eat, and sleep. They did not do any work that was worthwhile and had value. That was why he wanted them to work hard. He also decided he would get someone to teach the children of the island, so they would be smart. So he found a teacher, and sent him to the island; he started teaching children. Little by little, they got more and more money, and were able more and more to dress well and have all sorts of goods, build houses of boards with iron roofs, elevated off the ground with glass windows, and have mosquito nettings and all the things the white people had. All these things gradually increased because the chief was watching over the people of the island. Then he decided they should have a chief of their own on the island, because he was far away on another island, and he could not take care of them properly. So he found a man to be chief, and sent him over

to take over the island, and when there was any news from the area chief, he could pass it on to the people. The people were very happy, and getting better and better off; all the children were very smart and educated, and some of the older people too. The new chief picked out a number of men who did not have any other work, and sent them in to work for the white people. He also picked out the older and smarter boys from the school, and sent them in for advanced schooling. He told all his people they must think first of money and of school. The men who went to work sent back money every time they were paid off, for all their wives and children and relatives to buy things, and the children who went to school graduated and came back to teach. Thus after a while they all had lots of goods, and all lived in houses with iron roofs, boards and glass just like the white people. And they were all very smart and educated. Thus they had started with nothing, and because that chief had planned it all and taken care of them, they had all risen to high status. That is all.

8. The parents of these boys have been dead for some time. Ever since they were small, they have had to take care of themselves; there is no one left in their lineage except themselves, so there is no one to care for them. They eat what they can find, ranging around in the bush looking for wild fruits, and sometimes going down on the beach to fish. One day, the one who was their boss said to his brothers, "Today, we will go down to the beach and get some fish to eat." So they all went down to the beach, and the bigger boys went out and fished, and brought some fish back. Their leader told them to give them to him, and he built a fire and broiled the fish. When they had eaten, they went home. The next morning, the leader told them they would go into the bush and see what they could find in the way of fruit to eat. So they went, and when they had gotten well into it, the leader told them he would take three boys with him, and the other three would go off in the other direction. They would work in two groups, and whichever was finished first would come back to this place and call the other. So they set off. The leader's group went on a little way, and came to an animal's lair, and there was a lion. The lion looked at them, and they were frightened, and were about to flee when the lion spoke to them, "You just stay here, and don't run away, for if you run, I will bite you." They did not know what to do, whether to stay or run; they did not quite believe that if they stayed the lion would not bite them, and yet they knew that if they started to run, the lion would be on them in one bound. The lion spoke again: "It is up to you. If you want to run away, go ahead and try it." The three little boys were shaking with fright, and they got angry with their leader. "This is all your fault; if you had not suggested we come here, we would not have met up with this lion. Perhaps you knew the lion was here all the time, and just brought us here so it would eat us up. You are very bad, very, very bad." In their fright they were blaming it all on him. The lion just looked at them and listened to them blaming their older brother. Then he said, "Come here!" The little boys said, "See! He is going to eat us. Today, we are going to die; this is the end of our lives." Three times the lion called them, but the little boys cried, and could not move. The lion said, "Come here, I won't eat you. If you don't come, I will eat you." The leader was shaking with fright too, but he did not cry for he was older and struggled with himself. "Let's go. If he eats us, it cannot be helped. We will just try it." So they set off, the leader ahead and his little brothers holding his hands. When they got up to the lion, he questioned them: "Where are your parents?" The leader

replied, "We have none; since we were very small, they have been dead." "Why did you come here? Didn't you know there was a lion here?" "No." "What are you doing here?" "We are just looking for food, for we have none." "Do you know that lions like to eat more than anything?" "Yes." "What do they like best of all foods?" "People." "That's right. Why did you come here? Do you want me to eat you?" "It can't be helped. If you want to eat us, eat us; if you can take pity on us, take pity on us." "All right, you people go on home, and bring me back a bucket, but be quick about it. If you bring me the bucket, I will vomit into it. My vomit is gold and silver, and you can have it. But be careful, for if even one coin drops to the ground, I will open my mouth and it will all fly back in again." They were very happy, and told each other they were going to be in great good fortune; then they raced off to their house. They got a bucket and went back, and the lion vomited into it. When it was about half full, they said, "Thank you very much, that is fine, that is plenty," for they were afraid a coin would fall to the ground. "Oh, no, wait a minute and I will vomit a little more." "No, that is fine, thank you very much." So he stopped, and they went off with their bucket. They met the other group, four of them, for two boys had gone with the leader. They asked, "What is that? Where did you steal that money?" The leader said, "We did not steal it. We met a lion, and he asked if there was a bucket in our house, and I said yes, and so we brought it to him and he vomited this money into it." "Well, you were certainly bad. Why is it only half full, and a small bucket at that. Wait a while, and we will go and really get a lot." So they rushed off to their house, and got a great big bucket and set off for the lion's lair. When they got close, the lion heard the creaking of the handle of the bucket, and wondered what they wanted. Finally they got right up to the lair, for the leader had told them about the path. They went up to the lion, and he asked them what they were up to. They told him they had come with their bucket for him to vomit into. He said all right, he would, but warned them that if so much as one coin fell to the ground, all of the money would go into a lump, he would open his mouth, and it would fly back in. They said they knew all about this, and to hurry up. So he started vomiting. After a while, it was half full, and he stopped, for fear some would fall. But they said no, to hurry up and vomit some more, because it was not full. So he went on and vomited some more, till it was up to the lip. Then he stopped again, but again they told him to go on. He insisted it was not wise, but they said just to go on. So he vomited some more, till it was mounded up on top, and then he stopped yet again. But the biggest one said it did not matter if it was full, they wanted still more, and he would put his arms around it to keep the money from spilling over. So he did this, and the lion vomited some more. But he made such a heavy pile of money on top of the boy's arms that they got tired, and he could not hold it up any more. His arms fell away, and all the money on top fell to the ground. Then all the money came together in a lump in the bottom of the bucket, and the lion opened his mouth wide and it popped in. They were all terribly distressed, so much so that they all dove into his mouth. He closed his mouth, and gripped them with his teeth. They tried to get away, but he had bitten into their arms and they could not get away, and all died. That is all. [On investigation, the portion of this story about the lion turned out to be a folktale; he was cautioned against this in the future.]

[Overnight interruption.]

9. This is a married couple and their child. They are in their house on an island.



This island is very short on food, and everyone is suffering from hunger. The woman felt very sorry for their boy, who was very hungry, and asked her husband to go out and look for food—inland, or any other place where there might be some. He did not know what to do, because he could not think of any place to look for food. But he said he would go and try, and left and went inland. He looked and looked, and finally, under a high bush, he found a banana plant with one hand of bananas on it, and a papaya plant with one fruit on it. He cut off the bananas and picked the papaya, and started home. On the way he met his wife and child, on the way to bathe, for she thought that if her son was cool, he would feel a little stronger in spite of his hunger. He showed them what he had gotten, and told them to hurry on and bathe and come back, because he would go home and cook the food and it would be ready for them. They went to the spring and bathed; she bathed the boy all over. There were some breadfruit leaves down in the bottom of the spring which had been there for several months, and she scooped some of these out and gave them to the boy to eat and ate some herself. They felt a little bit better after this, and headed home. When they got there, her husband was about through with the cooking. He had peeled and seeded the papaya, cooked and pounded the bananas and mixed them with coconut cream in a Trukese bowl, and they were all ready. So they ate. They fed the child first, and when he was through, they themselves ate. When they were through, the man said, "Well, today we have eaten, and we are full, thanks to those bananas. But what are we going to eat tomorrow, and the next day, and what are we going to feed the child?" They went to sleep, and the next morning the child woke up and cried, and told his mother he was hungry. Her husband told her, "Pick the child up and take him to the spring and bathe him, and give him some of those breadfruit leaves to eat." So she picked him up and took him to the spring and bathed him, and scooped some more leaves out; they were very soft from having been in the water so long, but the child did not like them. However, his mother told him he had better eat them, as there wasn't anything else to eat, and he ate them. Then they went home again, and the woman asked her husband, "Why are you still here? Why don't you go on off inland and see if you can't find something more to eat today?" "Why not? I might as well, though I am sure there will not be any food today." So he set off again. He looked and looked, and finally up on the mountain he spied a single small green orange on an orange tree. He climbed up and picked it, and later found an unripe papaya, and picked that, and went home. They peeled the papaya and seeded it, and peeled the orange, and fed the child. When he had eaten, his father said, "I have no idea where I can find any more food; I think there really isn't any more. If you don't mind, let's leave this island." All the people on the island had died of hunger; these three were all that were left. "Why not? But where shall we go?" "We will just go and look for another island where there is some food." "All right, tomorrow. It is dark now, so we will wait for daylight." They talked about it some more; his wife hated to leave their island, but he pointed out that there was no point in just staying there to die, so they were agreed they would leave in the morning. The next morning he carried the boat down to the water, and they got aboard; he stayed in the stern, she amidships holding the child, and they paddled off. They paddled and paddled till they came to an island called Nama. When they got close, they saw great breadfruit trees so loaded with ripe fruit that it was falling to the ground, banana plants covered with



bananas that had turned yellow on the tree, orange trees covered with yellow oranges, papaya plants covered with ripe papayas, pineapples ripe and yellow where they grew, and the beach covered with watermelon vines with giant melons weighing perhaps fifteen pounds apiece. When they saw this they were happy, and exclaimed that their lives had been saved. They landed on the beach, among all the watermelons, and walked up the beach. They all raced to the watermelons, and each took one. The child could not open his, so he bit away the rind, and made a hole. He gradually made the hole bigger and bigger, and finally could get his head inside, and ate some more, till it was in two halves. He ate the whole thing. Meanwhile his parents had broken theirs open on rocks, and they too ate all of theirs, eating as fast as they could, as if they were racing. When they were through their bellies were bulging; the child's belly was so full and heavy he could hardly stand up. Then the man said, "See, we have eaten watermelon, and we are alive; our lives have been saved, because I thought of coming here. We could not eat watermelon on our island, because there are none; if we had stayed there, we would have been dead, but now we are alive because I thought of coming to this island." His wife said, "That is right. If we had not come here we certainly would have died of starvation." Then they decided to go inland, and set off and walked till they came to some houses, and walked in among them. The occupants of the houses greeted them. They told them to go to one house, because they had everything ready for them: the house, their mosquito netting, pillows, water, and everything. For they expected people to come from that island where everyone was hungry, and they had made preparations. The man and his wife and their child were all very happy, and they liked this island very much. They stayed on that island the rest of their lives, and were happy. That is all.

10. This is another married couple. They have three children, two boys and a girl, but the oldest boy they sent off to work on another island. He had been there two years when he requested the boss of his work to be allowed to return. He said he had not seen his parents for two years, and he was worried lest they be on the point of death, for they were weak because they were both old. He said he would just go and see how they were, and come back and continue his work. The boss told him that was fine, and he went home. He went and saw them, and asked them "How are you? Are you well? I am well and strong in my work, but I have been worried lest you be weak because you are old." But his parents and his brother and his sister all said they were fine and strong. He stayed there a while, and then when it was time for him to leave they all went down to the beach together. He boarded the boat, and as he drew away, they all waved and said goodbye, and he said goodbye to them. The four of them stayed in their house, but every day the boy kept after his father: "Father, come on and take me to my brother. I miss him very much; every day I stay with you and we eat together, but he is far away, and does not eat with us. He is tired from his work, and his boss is always telling him to do things. I want to go and stay with him, and then we will be just the same, and I will be going through just what he is going through." His father replied, "That is quite right, but wait a while. Wait until you are a little bigger, for you are not yet old enough to do that sort of work." So it rested at that for another week, but the boy could not be happy thinking about his brother. So he again asked his father: "Father, I know it just is not proper that I should stay here and eat all sorts of good food from you when my brother is away and no longer eats with us. Please take me to him right

away." "No, you must wait a little longer. Wait another month, and then you can go." "All right, why not." But inwardly he was still burning with thoughts of his brother. Later, his father went out fishing; he got a lot of fish, a number of small ones and one big barracuda. His wife baked them, and he told the children, "Today we will eat the little fish, and tomorrow we will have the big one." So they ate and ate the little fish, till the late afternoon, and then they slept. But when they were getting ready to sleep, the boy decided he would steal the barracuda, and take it to his brother. So he lay down, and pretended to sleep, and waited till he heard his parents snoring, and then got up. He went and got the fish, carried it down to the beach, put it in a canoe, and paddled off. He paddled and paddled, because the island was far away; it was really too far for paddling, and should only be done on a larger boat. When day broke, he was still paddling. When his parents awoke and saw he was not there, they thought he had woken up early and was out playing on the beach or something. But they looked all over for him, and did not find him, and they were worried. In the morning, he got to the other island. He unloaded the fish, and pulled the boat up on the beach as far as he could, though he was just one small boy. Then he set off to find his brother. He asked people where he was, and they showed him the way to the house in which he worked. Finally he found him. His brother saw him coming from a distance, and thought surely it was his brother, for it looked just like him. But he could not believe it, for he knew how far away their island was, and did not see how he could have gotten there. But then as he got closer, and he saw his face and his body, he knew for sure it was his brother and burst into tears, because he loved him so much and realized what he had done. Meanwhile, his little brother was walking toward him, carrying the fish on his shoulder, wrapped up. It was a great big fish, and he was having a hard time carrying it, but he struggled along, and finally got to the house and put the fish down. His brother dried his eyes, and said, "What is that?" "A fish I brought you. Every day I eat all sorts of good food my parents get, but you are far away, and tired from your work, and you no longer eat with me. So I have come here to eat with you, and live with you and share your work." "Whose fish is it?" "Our parents!" "Did they tell you to bring it to me here? Because if they did, this very day I am going to go to them and cut off their heads for letting you come all this way by yourself." "No, I just thought of it myself. Yesterday, my father caught this big fish and a number of little ones, and I stole this big one they were saving for today to bring to you for you to eat. I just took a boat and paddled over here to you by myself." His brother loved him very much, for he realized how much he loved him. So he went to his boss, and asked him if he would please let his little brother join him in his work for the boss. The boss replied it was fine, for anything the boy wanted to do he could do. So they worked there together. But meanwhile, their parents were very upset that morning. They looked and looked for the boy, and did not find him. After a while, his father noticed that the boat was gone, and the fish was gone, and realized what had happened. He called his wife, and showed her. "Look, the boat is gone, the fish is gone, and the boy is gone. What do you think about it?" She agreed with him that the boy had gone off to his brother with the fish, so his father wrote a letter to his older boy and asked him to let him know where his little brother was, because they were worried. The older brother got the letter, read it, and replied that his brother was staying with him, and they were working together. They stayed on working for some time, and then one

day their father sent them a letter, asking them to come home, because he was afraid he was going to die, for he was old and weak. They talked to the boss and the boss gave them permission, and they went home. They stayed home a while, and their father got very sick, and they stayed on until he died. But before he died, he called the two of them and their little sister to him, and talked to them. "I am about to die. You must all love each other very much. You are the oldest, and you must take very good care of your little brother and sister. And you two, being smaller, must listen to everything your older brother says, and do what he tells you. While I am alive, it is all right for you to be naughty to him, but when I am dead, you must respect everything he tells you." Very shortly after this, he died. A little while after this, their mother decided she was about to die too, for she was old and weak. So she called them together, and spoke to them in just the same terms their father had spoken to them. "I am about to die, and you all must love each other very much. You, being bigger, must take very good care of them, for I am soon going to be dead." She died soon after. That is all.

11. This is a man and his wife and their three children, two boys and a girl. The man is a master of all sorts of games, running, jumping, etc. He is working very hard to teach his sons all the arts he knows so they will be able to take his place when he dies. One day he teaches them running for races, another day broad jumping, another wrestling, and so on. On this day they were out on the beach when his wife came up, for it was time to have lunch. She said, "It is time to eat. If you please, let's go and eat." So they went and ate. His wife said to him, "What is the point of your teaching them to play all these games? Why don't you teach them some sort of work that is worth something?" He was angry: "There is a lot of point in teaching them games. If we play games, we exercise our bodies, and they are strong." "What if they are strong, they still will not know any sort of work." "Well, what sort of work would you like them to do?" "I would like them to join the army." "Why?" "Because if they join the army, they will get paid, and they will send the money back to us, and there will be some purpose to their working." "But what if they join the army and there is a war and one of them is killed? Who will replace them?" "That is true, but it is still better to be doing that which has some purpose than just playing and playing games every single day." "All right, they shall go to military school." So the two boys left and went to military school. They were very smart in military school, and worked very hard, for they were very strong from all their game playing. After they had been there a while, the head of the school wrote a letter to their parents, telling them he was very pleased with the way their children were doing, and that he thought they would rise very rapidly in the army. When they read the letter, their mother said, "See, I was right. We are going to make out very nicely with our children, for they are going to be important people in the army; if I had not thought of their going to the army, this would not have happened." After a while, they were elevated to officers. Then it was time for a vacation, and they got leave and went home. They came up to the door of the house and said, "Greetings!" Their mother looked up, and saw two officers at the door. "Greetings!" But she was scared, and ran to her husband. "Come quickly! Two high officers have come to our house, but I don't know what for. Do you suppose we have done something bad? Perhaps they are going to call us up for something. Why do you suppose two high officers would be coming to us when we are just little people?" So they went back, but stayed at a distance in the house.

They greeted the boys, very respectfully, with apologies, and bowed down. The boys realized their parents did not recognize them and were frightened, and decided to tease them. "Why isn't this house ready? Didn't you people know that there was going to be an inspection tour today? Didn't you know that high officials were going to inspect the houses and see which were neat and which were messy?" "Oh, I am very sorry we are not ready. We did not get any message, and we did not know there was going to be an inspection. Please forgive us." "What are your names? I am going to turn you in to the head of our organization because you are in the wrong." The older boy had a scar over his right eye, and his father saw this. He recognized this as they were talking as the scar his son had, and yet he was not quite sure, and did not know what to do. "Well, what is your name?" His father told him, and he wrote it down. "And yours?" and he wrote his mother's name. Then their father said, "If you please, won't you come inside for a little rest before you go on?" "No, we are going back right away to turn your names in so they will know you have been ignoring our orders." So they left. As soon as they had gone a little way from the house, their parents and their little sister started talking together. Their father remarked on the scar, and their little sister said she was sure the younger one was her brother also. They decided they would follow them a little, and see. They ran out of the house, and called them, "You soldiers, if you please, wait a minute; there is something we want to ask of you." But they realized that if they waited for them and they got close, they would recognize them, so they kept on going. "Please, stop for just a minute, and we will speak to you for just a moment." They stopped, but when they started running toward them, the older said, "We cannot wait; it is time for us to begin our work, and we have to go on." They started walking quickly again, and the others kept calling to them to wait. Finally the younger could not contain himself any more, and burst out laughing, and then the older started too. At this their parents recognized them for sure, and rushed up to them, and they exchanged all sorts of greetings. Then they went back to the house and fixed the noon meal and ate. After that, they opened their wallets and took out all their wages and gave the money to their parents. Their mother said, "See, we are very happy with all this money they have brought; their work is worthwhile, and we are happy. It was a good idea for them to join the army." That is all.

12. This is a Puluwat woman [he gave her name]. Her work consists in dealing with sick people. If anyone is sick, they bring the patient to her, or if the patient cannot move, just come and ask her what will make the patient well, and whether he will live or die. She is very well versed in the old ways, and calls the spirits. If they say the patient will live, he will live; if they say he will die, he will die. Then she tells the people: your person will die, or your person will live. That is what she does every day. One day, a woman came to her, and told her that her daughter, a young woman, was sick, and asked her whether she would live or die, and what to do for her to make her well. She brought with her necklaces made of sweet-smelling flowers, and gave them to the old woman. She put these on top of her spirit canoe, and called a spirit. The spirit came and possessed her, and she shook all over. Then she spoke, though it was really the spirit speaking; she told the woman her daughter would get well, but that she should give her brother some goods, and perhaps some land besides. Then she came out of her trance. The woman brought payment for the old lady's work; the old lady thanked her, and she



thanked the old lady, and then she left. She got together some things, and brought them to her brother, and gave him some land too, telling him that her daughter was sick on account of him. After that, her daughter got well very quickly. Everyone on the island was very happy over this woman's work, for it did them a lot of good. But she decided she had better find someone to replace her, because she was getting old. She got hold of a young woman, and taught her everything she knew. Then the young woman began practising in her stead, and shortly afterward the old woman died, because she was very old. That is all.

13. This woman is a gardener. Every day she goes up and tends her garden. She plants all sorts of things—potatoes, bananas, pineapples, and so on—and works very hard at her garden. When the plants begin to bear, she is very happy. She has only one worry: a thief. There is a man who constantly steals from her garden; every time he is hungry, he comes up to her garden and steals some food. Every day, she goes and picks fruit from her garden, and brings it down and sells it to the store, or to someone who wants to eat it. In this way she gets a lot of money. She is unmarried, and her parents have been dead for a long time. This thief, though he stole from her every day, also began to fall in love with her. He wanted to marry her. One night, he went to her house, crept in, opening the door and lifting up the mosquito netting, and lay down beside her. He nudged her and woke her up. "Who are you?" "I, but if you don't mind, let's get married." "No, I don't like you and I don't want to marry you. Get out!" But he was very distressed, and pleaded with her: "Please, let's get married. Look; you are unmarried. You are a woman and should not be doing any work, but you work hard at your gardening. If I married you I would work hard in your gardens. You could just stay here and not do any work: you would sell the produce, and I would work in the gardens every day." "Never mind that. I don't like you. Get out, and be quick about it or I will call the police." "Well, goodbye. I will go home to my house." And he left. He could not sleep that night, but just lay there thinking what he could do to win his love's heart. Finally, about three in the morning, he thought of it. He thought that if he went up and worked hard every day in her gardens, planting, weeding, beating off any thieves and killing any animals that came in, she would see him, she would appreciate it, and he would be able to marry her. So the next morning he went up and started in working away at her gardens. But that very evening when he had come to ask her, she had started being ill. In the morning, she could not get up, but just lay asleep under her mosquito netting. At noon, and still in the evening she could not get up, nor the next morning, nor the third day, the fourth, the fifth or the sixth. She just lay under the netting. Meanwhile, the man, working in her gardens, wondered why she didn't come. Every morning, as soon as she had had a quick meal, she used to go right up to her garden and start in. He wondered if she were sick, or doing housework, or what. He decided to go and find out. So when his gardening was done, he went down to her house. He hid in the brush outside and peered in. She was lying quietly under the netting, and he did not see her; but he saw that the netting was still hanging down to the floor, and had not been put away for the day, so he concluded she was sick. So he went out to the cookhouse, and looked for some kind of food that would be especially palatable for her since she was sick, perhaps eggs and bread. He also made some soup, for he thought if her digestion was upset it would be easy to swallow and make her feel better and



she would be well quickly and grateful to him. He crept in and silently deposited the food on the floor by her, and then crept out again, and went back to the garden and worked. Meanwhile, she woke up; she smelled food, and realized she hadn't eaten since the night before and was hungry. She turned over, and discovered a lot of wonderful food. She could not understand who had brought it, because she lived alone in the house. However, she was very grateful for it and ate it. Then she fell asleep again. After a while, the man was through with his work in the gardens, and came down to her house again. He looked in and saw that the mosquito netting was as before, but then crept in and found the food was gone. So he silently picked up the dishes and everything that was left, and took them out to the cookhouse. Then he came back and got the rest. He washed all the dishes, and then started preparing the evening meal. When it was all ready, he silently brought it in and put it down beside her, and crept out and waited in the cookhouse. She woke up and smelled the food, and realized she was hungry again, and rolled over and saw a new meal waiting for her. She wondered again why anyone would bring this, and who it was, but was very grateful, and ate it all up. Then she lay down again, and pretended to sleep, but actually peeked out, because she wanted to know who it was that was bringing her food. Meanwhile, the man was still in the cookhouse. When he peeked in and saw she was done, he crept back and got the dishes and took them out; as she heard him going out, she lifted up the edge of the mosquito netting and peered out, and she saw it was the man who had wanted to marry her. Then she lay back down again. He washed the dishes, and then went back to his house. He slept, but got up very early, and went to her house and fixed her breakfast. He brought it in silently and set it down, and crept out again. But she was watching him, for she wanted to be sure it was he; she looked again, and was sure. When she was through, he came and got the dishes. He went off and worked, and came back at noon, fixed her lunch, and went off again, coming back in the evening. When he brought the evening meal, he started to slip out again, but she called to him, "Who are you?" He did not answer, for he was very embarrassed before her, because she did not like him. But the second time she called, he answered, "I." She asked him if he had brought her the food every time, and he said he had. "Well, come and eat, for now I am well, and we shall be married. We will eat and then sleep together tonight, and tomorrow begin our work. You have taken care of me bringing me my food, and taken care of my gardens, for I saw all the fruit you brought in, and I am very grateful to you." So they ate, and slept peacefully, and the next morning he set off for the gardens while she took care of the house. That is all.

15. These two men are brothers. Every day the younger one [left] accompanies his older brother as he wanders around in the bush. The older one was married and had two children. But his wife died, and shortly afterward his two children. He was desolate, and every day wandered around in the bush, hoping that a lion or something would come and eat him up. One day when they were out, the younger one told his brother to sit down on this rock, because he wanted to talk to him. "What is the good of killing yourself? Your wife and your children are dead, but that cannot be helped. But we might as well get to work and do something useful, and get ourselves some money. It does not do us any good just to wander around every day." But his brother did not pay much attention, because he was thinking of his wife and children he missed so

much. He got up, and walked off, and his brother went after him to watch out for him as always. After a while, they came to a hole. The hole was in a big rock, about two feet across at the opening, with a rock on it, closing it off. They sat down to rest. While they were sitting there, they heard the sound of his wife and children's voices, coming out of the hole. They jumped up, but the older brother thought it came from above. He climbed a tree, found they were not there, climbed down, up another, looked, did not find them, down, and up another, and so on, as if he were crazy. Meanwhile his younger brother remained below, and heard the voices and realized they came from the hole. The children were calling, "Father, father, come here." He lifted the stone off the hole and opened it, and listened; the voices were unquestionably coming from the hole. He called his brother, who came down from his tree and ran over and listened to the voices coming from the hole. The children were calling, "Come here, come here." He called back, "Where are you?" "In the hole, come on down." So they started down, feeling their way, for it was very dark, though it was light when they got inside. They worked their way down, and when they were about half way, they began to see light. They went on down, and finally, they saw a lot of people. They were not really people, but the spirits of dead people. His wife and two children had one section, a few others in another, and so on. He met his children, and they were very happy greeting each other. Then they rushed off to their mother and told her he had come. She did not believe them, for she said that if he were dead he could come, but since he was still alive, it was not possible. So they rushed back to him again, and pulled him over to their mother. She was very happy to see him, and they were all happy together. He liked it very much there with them; and stayed to eat. The food was very good, for it was spirits' food, much better than that outside. He liked it so much he just stayed on and on, and did not go outside, for the place was much neater and pleasanter than outside, and the food much better, and he was happy with his wife and children. That is all.

[One-day interruption.]

16. These three men went out, planning to fish by a little island. But a great storm came up, and though they paddled and paddled, they just drifted away. There were two young men and one old one, and the old man was half dead from exhaustion and collapsed in the stern of the boat. They had nothing to eat, for the waves had washed over all their food and everything else. One of the young men stood up to see whether he could sight an island, and a wave hit the boat and he lost his balance and fell overboard. So the other young man stood up to look for him, and to look for an island too; he saw him, and also an island, and called him to come quickly so they would not drift past the island, and so the sharks would not get him. The man in the water swam quickly toward the boat, and climbed aboard. They paddled as hard as they could toward the island they had sighted. The old man said, "What about me? If we don't get to the island pretty soon, I am going to die. I am exhausted, I have vomited many times, and I am hungry." They told him to keep on trying, and they would soon get there. He just lay down and slept; he could no longer sit up. They paddled and paddled, and finally got to the island. They landed on the beach and got out of the canoe and hauled it up the beach. But the old man could no longer walk; when he tried to, he just fell down. The other two held him up, and they went inland to where there were houses. The people asked them where they were from, and they told them. "We went out fishing, but we drifted

away. If you please, take care of us, for we have been at sea for days and nights, and we are exhausted." So they took care of them. They brought them coconut milk at first, and then food, and they ate. They stayed on that island for three days. But then they got very homesick; they wanted to get back to their wives—the young men—and the old man wanted to get back to his children. The young men asked the old one, "What do you think? We want to go back to our island." But he was frightened. "Don't be frightened. It is a long way, but the wind and waves are good now, and we have nothing to worry about except getting tired from the long paddle. We want to get back and see our mothers and fathers and brothers and our wives." "So do I, for I want to see my children." They were very anxious to get back, for their mothers and fathers and brothers and children were very unhappy, for they thought the men were dead, having drifted away in the storm. They could not rest day or night, but just cried all the time, and the men knew it and wanted to get back so they would know they were all right. That is why after three days they were very anxious to return. So they went back to their island. But meanwhile, their parents and all their relatives had put up an enclosure around their group of houses, and told everybody to keep out. They said that since their men had died—for they were sure they had died at sea—if anyone came in, it would be as if their men themselves had come in. They made it very strong and plain to all the people that if anyone came in, they would attack him. It was night and pitch dark when the three men got back, and they could not see the houses, for the people in the houses did not burn any lamps, and the children made no noise, for they all cried quietly day and night. So the three men lit a torch, and headed home. The chief of the family saw them, and told everybody to make ready their knives and spears and clubs, for he thought those people were coming in. They did not recognize them as their men. The chief told them to cut them or spear them if they came in. When the men got close, they saw there were a lot of people brandishing weapons, and they conferred. They decided they would just go on in, fend off the weapons as best they could, but not say anything until they were recognized, for they realized what had happened. The old man asked who would go first, and the young men said they would go first and the old man afterwards so he would not get hurt; he was to remain behind them. So they went in the door of the house. The chief said, "Spear them!" So they stabbed with their spears, but the young men warded them all off; they grabbed the spears and hurled them away. Then they slashed with the knives, but the two men got them too, tucked them under their arms and then plowed in. Then the chief told them to stop, to wait a minute, for these were remarkable people. He asked, "Who are you?" "We." "Who?", and they told him their names. Then they threw their arms around them and greeted them and were very happy. They asked them where they had come from, and they told them, and they were still happier. Then they got out food, and they and all their relatives sat down to eat. They feasted that night and on and on. For a whole week they did nothing but feast because they were so happy. That is all.

18. These three birds, a fruit bat, a white tern and a honey-eater bird decided to enjoy themselves together. One afternoon they agreed that the next morning at six o'clock, they would race to a tree by a river. The one who got there first would own the tree and all the fruit on it. But the next morning the fruit bat decided that if he raced them, he would lose; so at five o'clock, he flew off to the tree, landed on it and waited for

them. Just after six o'clock, they raced up. "You don't need to hurry, because you have lost to me." They arrived and said, "What?" "There was no need for you to hurry, as you lost to me. I have been waiting for you." "How did you get here so quickly? Here it is only five minutes after six, and you are already here. When did you start?" "At just six o'clock; but I flew very fast, and got here in practically no time at all." "Well, you certainly were quick." Then the fruit bat said, "You have lost to me, so this is my tree. If you want to eat any of the fruit off this tree, or play around on it, you will have to ask me." So they asked him for some: "If you please, you have won the race, so it is your tree; but may we eat some fruit off it?" "All right, you may eat some fruit, but only one for each of you. If you take two, you may not eat from my tree." So they stayed there on the tree till the late afternoon. Then they decided to go back, but the two birds said, "Let's race again. We will race toward the bat's house first." The bat was unhappy. The other two had not been happy all day, for they had known the bat was just lying, and they were angry. The bat said, "It would be fine for us to race, but I cannot race because both my wings hurt, for I strained them flying so fast this morning." But they said, "Never mind if they hurt; just try your best and we will race." "I really cannot race, because my wings hurt so much. If you don't mind, you two go ahead, and I will stay behind, pick some fruit from my tree, and then follow after." But they talked long and hard to him, telling him that he had to race with them. So he said, "All right, I will race, but I am afraid I will lose, as my wings are so painful." They lined up, counted off and started. The bat decided to fly low, for he decided that if he flew high, he would be in the wind and be slow. So he flew close to the ground, and the birds flew high. As he was flying along, a bird hunter saw him flying along from a distance, and decided he would be an easy shot because he was so close. So he loaded up his gun and aimed it; when the fruit bat was close, he fired. The bat was hit, and fell to the ground dead. The others heard the report of the gun, and looked down and saw the bat was dead. They were very happy, for the fruit bat had been an awful liar. That is all.

#### THEODORE

AGE: 40 years.

1. What are these people doing? . . . Fishing I guess. . . . There are people here [on sailing canoes]. . . . This man has his hand up . . . he is holding a . . . lamp, he is talking to that man. [?] He is saying, "Here is a lamp!" I don't know any more. . . .

4. A man and a boy. This man is angry at the boy. "Why are you so naughty?" The boy is frightened and hanging his head. The boy talked tough to his father, and his father is berating him for it.

5. A little girl and a woman, her mother. Her mother says, "Where have you come from?" The little girl says nothing, but just looks up at her mother, for her mother is a little angry. She has no clothes on. "Why don't you have any clothes on? . . . Come on, come on. We are going home." The little girl just looks up at her, for she is a little angry.

7. These six women have gone up inland to their gardens. These two are sitting down because their feet hurt. One woman is holding onto the tree; the others are telling



her to come on over. These two women [seated] are somewhat older than the rest. They are talking to her, but she is just holding onto the tree and saying nothing; she is a little angry. They are talking and talking to her, but she does not want to . . . [?] . . . She does not want to go off with them. That is all I can think of.

8. Are these all just boys? [Up to you.] Just boys. . . . These seven boys have been working. They have been picking fruit off this tree [fire], and putting it in the basket. They are nearly done. Three are sitting, three standing. That is all I am capable of.

10. These are two girls, and their father and mother. The parents have been working, and now they are through. They went and bathed, and then the boy took the little girl's hand. "Let's go." But their mother is sitting down, resting a little because she is weak. So their father told the boy to take the girl's hand while they waited for their mother to rest. That is all.

11. This man is angry at these two boys, and at the little girl. Her mother has called her, "Run to me!" [Why?] They did not do their work hard. The woman is scared of her husband, and calls to her daughter, "Run to me!" The boys are scared of their father, and are looking over their shoulders, "Let's get away." Later, he beat them. That is all.

12. Oh, an old woman. She is very old. . . . She is out, and someone has come up to her and said: "Where have you come from? I think you have been out stealing food." But she said, "How could I have been stealing food? What would I have put it in? Look, there is nothing," and held her hands out for him to see.

15. These two men have been working in their garden. They have been planting these plants. Now they are resting a little. They took the plants, made a hole, and stuck them in. Now they are relaxing and resting a little. This man [right] is the older of the two brothers.

16. These men have gone out to sea on their skiff . . . outrigger canoe? . . . kereker [narrow Japanese canoe, without outrigger]. This man is standing up to look for fish. He is shielding his eyes to look for fish. That is what I think.

18. Lots of birds. There is a great big tree here, and they come in droves, because the branches of this tree are very good places to come to. That is all I think of.

## NORMAN

AGE: 42 years.

1. They are fishing. This man is raising his hand to signal the other two boats because he wants to make a present of these fish. The people on the two boats were going out fishing, but they have seen the fish in this boat, and they are coming over just to buy their fish instead. A while ago, they asked this man if he would sell them some fish, but he told them he had none. Now he has this one and is calling them to come back. They had an argument on those boats as to whether they would come back, but finally decided in favor. This is an island in the background. The other two boats did not go far; they said they were going out fishing, but were actually waiting for this man to give them some fish. The person in the water is the man's wife; I think she is going to be a little angry, not wanting him to give them the fish. That is why they were hesitant to come while this woman was there. They are waiting now until these people leave on their boat, and then they will come here. Another thought: this man has seen a lot of fish,



and is calling the other boat to come over so that they can fish together. [Explained that examiner wanted just one consecutive story; he generalized from the Rorschach (the previous day) to make the assumption that several responses were expected from each card.]

4. This man and this boy are just strolling; they are not doing anything. . . . [Long pause, several minutes of concentration.] . . . I was wrong; they are just sleeping. . . . I just cannot think of anything to say about them. [Told him thoughts and speech as well as actions were appropriate.] This little boy is young, and cannot yet wear clothes. Later, when he gets to be as big as this man, he will wear clothes. In the same way, when this man was small, he did not wear clothes either. But now that he is big, he is wearing a breechclout, but just Trukese style, without shirt or trousers. When the boy gets big, he will be embarrassed to be naked, and get some clothes. This is an old-style breechclout; we used to wear this kind, and an open shirt over the upper parts of our bodies, but when we were working, just the breechclout. Now everybody wears a shirt and trousers [an exaggeration]. We don't wear any clothes when sleeping at night. In the old days too if a man was in the house and his sister came in, she would tell him to stand up first; otherwise she would have to stoop over. Similarly, if my daughter was in the house when I came in, she would get up so I would not have to stoop over. [Reminded him to stick to stories.]

5. This woman has on a lavalava, a necklace, and flowers in her hair, so she will be attractive. As previously, this little girl is still small and hence is not yet wearing clothes. This is just a young girl. [Told him we would not talk of clothes any more; just a story.] If this woman is sleeping, she still wears her lavalava, and also if she is with a man. If she is embarrassed, she may wear clothes over her breasts, for it is not good for her brother to see her breasts. This little girl has yaws on her leg; in the old days they used to make medicine for this by taking the leaves of a plant, cooking them over a fire, and putting them in the sore. This little girl is still too small to understand, but the woman understands and can talk. If the little girl's parents go away, and then come back, she will be happy; she understands that much, but if we tell her to do something, she will not understand. [Again asked for story.] This woman always wants to be attractive; that is why she has on the necklace and the flowers in her hair. She wants to be sweet-smelling. [?] She is always thinking about men; if she meets them on the path, or in the house, she wants them to think she is attractive. Perhaps now she is thinking of a man she likes, and is on her way to meet him. They met and talked, and then had intercourse, in the bush. When they were through, they talked some more, and agreed that they should not tell anyone of their meeting. Then the woman went to where she had left the girl, and found her crying because she did not know where the woman was. If she is married, and her husband comes back from being away, she will quickly throw away her necklace and flowers, for if she does not, he will know what she has been up to. But while he is away, she is out to decide which man she will like. If she thought a lot of her husband, she would not wear these things. But even then if her husband was away and someone she liked very much came, she would forget her husband. But this woman just wants all men to look at her body from head to toe and like it. She has no husband; that is why she is after men all the time. She just fixes some food, and then puts on perfume and in the old days turmeric and goes out.

7. These women are dressed as in the old days. These two are tired or lazy, for they are sitting down. They are all sexy, and on the lookout for a man they might meet and go off with. But now they are stymied, because there are so many of them, and one of them cannot approach a man when all the others are around. This woman [dark skirt] has just gotten some firewood. She is very good, seeing to it that there is wood, the food is well prepared, and so on, while the others are just preoccupied with sex and looking for men. These two women [seated] are a little older than the other three, and are lecturing them on their behavior, and telling them they should not always be looking for men, for people would think them just like animals. The three girls are angry at this, and point out that the other two are not very attractive. The older two realize this, and are sitting down to hide their ugly bodies, but still what they have to say is right about the girls chasing men. This girl [dark skirt] has heard what they have been saying, but it does not affect her and she is just thinking about the firewood. The three girls don't know whether they are going to stay in their house or go away somewhere else, because they are angry. The two older women are also thinking of leaving, because the girls are not paying attention to what they have to say. This woman [dark skirt] understands how the two women feel, and tells them to just go in their house and forget the three girls if they will not listen to them. The three girls also went back to their house, but they did not want to eat the household food any more, because they were angry. At night, men came to them again, and asked them to go out in the bush, and they said all right and went, because they did not pay any attention to what they were told. The three older women talked together about them, and one said, "Don't give them any more thought. Just forget them, for they are going to get themselves in trouble because they will not listen to us just as if they were ghosts." This woman [dark skirt] told them too to forget it, for she felt a little sorry for the three girls; she said the two women had talked to them so sternly that they in turn had become angry and refused to obey. She was a very good woman. She also talked to the girls, and told them, "You must listen to what they tell you, and not be bad. They are getting tired of talking to you all the time. Why don't you be like me; I just stay here and don't do anything bad."

9. These two are married. This woman is very sexy. Her husband gives her everything he can—food, clothes, goods—so that she will like him most of all. But she really does not care for him much. She is nice enough to him so that he will stay around to see that their child is fed and cared for, and so that he will stay with it when she is out. When she goes out and meets a man, if he asks her to go off and sleep with him, she will. At present, he wants her to stay while their child eats, but she does not want to, for she does not often agree with him. She only married him because their fathers told them to, and she wants to get rid of him and marry another man. Their little boy is crying hard, because he wants to eat the food his father has brought, but she does not want him to. She says to him, "Stop crying! You are not going to eat this. You can eat when we get home; there is food in our house." All she thinks of is getting another man, for she dislikes her husband's looks very much. This man wants to bathe his son, because he is hot, or feed him, but his wife says, "No. You get out. We are going to our house, but you just go away and leave us." She does not like her husband because their child is not well; he has brought this on the boy by wanting to have intercourse with her all the time, though the boy was only born a while ago. His parents heard about this, and

told him she was right. He kept wanting to go back to her, but they talked to him again and again, and finally he gave it up and did not go back to her. The child was actually fathered by the man she wants to marry, not her husband; he is a love child. They each married someone else, and no longer thought of each other as having once been married. But he kept bringing the boy food and things, and wanted him; but she would not permit him to take the boy, and he constantly worried about this.

8. These little boys are just as we were when we were small; they just think of nothing but playing around. They never think of doing any work. Even when they want to eat, they do not work for it, for they are small. We, their parents, fix all their food for them. They don't think of food or work. When we are small, we just go into somebody's house and if we see something lying around, just think of taking it away, and if there is food, we just think of taking it, without a thought for right or wrong. When we are small, perhaps a little bigger than these, we become very skillful thieves. If anyone leaves anything outside the house, some piece of household goods, or a chicken, or anything, we will take it and run quickly away without a thought of its being bad. We also will tell our father, if he has been away and some man has come to see our mother, and he will be angry.

10. These children are just like those in the old days; they got to be quite big before their parents gave them clothes and told them to start wearing them. Nowadays we men could not look at a girl this big without clothes on. As children get bigger they learn it is not proper to be without clothes this way; it is profane. Now we know better than this, and the men do not wear this few clothes either. These children are frightened of this man [seated] because in the old days if children saw a big man, whose hair was white, they were frightened of him and thought he was just like a ghost. A man like this who has lived a long time no longer thinks of anything but eating; he can no longer get any food, he cannot go fishing or climb a coconut tree, he just sits around and we bring him food. [?] Both these men are that way now.

11. These three men are doing a dance, because they are thinking sexy thoughts about this woman. This child of hers is holding her hands because she wants to go and watch them, but the child does not want her to. She doesn't care much about these two, but this one [left] she is very anxious to have as a lover. He likes her very much—her face, her legs, her whole body—and she feels the same toward him. This man thinks a very great deal of her; she is a little undecided, because another man has also spoken to her, but she likes this man best. They are thinking perhaps of marrying. The other two young men are thinking they will be unhappy if he marries, for then there will just be the two of them in their house. But he told them they would just have to stay in the house because he was going to marry her and go to her house to live. They were firmly married, but these two told their brother to remember to come back to their house sometimes. Whenever the couple had any food, they brought it to his brothers, and when they had some fish, they also brought it.

12. This is an old woman; life is very difficult for her, for she is very weak, her legs, her arms, and her whole body. She can no longer go far from the house; she just stays in her house all day. But she is not as badly off as she might be, for she has two daughters, and their husbands care for her and bring her food. Her husband, who is dead, was an important man. Now she eats, but she does not really like it, for she just thinks of the food her husband used to fix. It was really good food, and he brought her

good things to use; but now she feels the food her daughters' husbands fix is not good compared to that her husband made. This kind of old woman in the old days could not go to the benjo; when they wanted to defecate, they just made a hole in the dirt floor, defecated in it, and covered it up.

13. This woman has been out picking breadfruit herself. This man is angry at her, for she has taken the breadfruit he picked and put it in with that she had and is carrying it away in her arms. He has just come down from the tree, and is looking angrily at her; she is frightened and embarrassed. She doesn't know whether she should take them with her, or drop a few for him. He hasn't said anything, for he is waiting to see whether she will just take them away, or stop and leave some. But actually she is just planning to take them away. Then he said, "Go ahead and take them all; but what will you give me in return?" She did not say anything. Then he said, "Just take them all and I will not take anything in return for them, but I will come to your house and see you." Then she spoke, and was full of apologies. Later, he went to her house, and talked to her very smoothly, for he had thoughts of marrying her. She asked him why he talked to her so nicely now, but when she met him under the breadfruit trees he had been so angry with her. But he just gave her some more smooth talk, because he wanted to marry her. She liked him very much, because she was still embarrassed at having stolen his breadfruit, and she too desired that they should be married.

15. These two men are real brothers [i.e., one mother] and are very close to each other. If one goes anywhere, the other always wants to go with him; they don't like to be separated at all. If one of them married, they would both be married to the same woman. If one had to go away and work, the other would stay with their wife and see that no man came to talk to her. Later another woman wanted to marry the younger brother [left], and came and talked to him and told him he should not stay with their wife, because she was not doing right by him. Later he told their wife, and she was angry and did not want to live in their house any more. So he divorced her and left to marry the other woman. Meanwhile, their original wife had talked to his older brother and told him she did not like the way his younger brother had talked to her, and asked him to throw him out. So he disliked his brother a little too.

16. I am afraid I don't know any story about this one. . . . This is an old type of canoe, a sailing canoe with a lateen sail. They go out fishing on it. I think there is a story here, but I don't know it.

18. This is a picture of fruit bats; they just eat breadfruit, coconuts and papaya. The fruit bat is the chief of all animals, because he eats before we people. If there are two breadfruit on a branch, the bat will eat the best and we get second choice. They also eat bananas. They are very like humans, because they just eat human food; they cannot eat animals' food. These are very good animals. If we get them small and keep them as pets in the house, they just eat papayas, breadfruit and bananas; they don't eat all kinds of food. When they sleep, they hang by their legs and tuck their heads under their wings.

#### KENNETH

AGE: 46 years.

1. These two boats are sailing canoes. . . . This one is another one. . . . This man has his hand raised, to call the other canoes to come over. . . . [What did they



do before now?] Those two boats came from that island over there. [?] This one has just been here; it did not come from the other island because it has no sail. These men are not wearing clothes. . . . [?] He is calling them to come over to take them to the other island. . . . [What did they do later?] Did they go fishing, or what? . . . I am sorry, but I really don't know what they did later.

4. This man is saying to his child, "Come on, let's go home." [He repeated this three times, with long pauses between, the last time with apologies for not knowing more.] [Where did they come from?] They have been out strolling? Or what? I don't think that is it. . . . I am sorry, that's all I know.

7. These people are playing around, or dancing, or something. [Again, repeated this several times.] I don't know any more. [They came from where?] They were washing clothes, or bathing? [Pick one.] I guess they were washing clothes. Now they are playing or dancing, which is just like playing. [What will they do later?] I guess they will dance. [And later still?] I don't know; that is all I can think of.

9. This man is handing this woman a bunch of bananas for her to take and eat. He has been out to look for bananas, or what? . . . He has been looking for food. [What later?] I think they went back to their house. . . .

12. I think this is an old woman, who is weak, because she is old. She can no longer do any work, because she is weak, I think. . . . That is what I think. [Don't you know any story; don't you know what she is doing?] Mr. Tom, I am sorry, but I don't know any story or what she is doing.

15. These two men are gardening. Later this man [right] was sick. . . . Yes, I think they are gardening. This man is sick, and the other is talking to him. Yes, that is what I think.

16. A boat. . . . This man is sleeping on the boat. . . . I don't know what this man [standing] is doing. . . . That is all I know.

18. I am sorry, I don't know.

[Throughout he tried very hard, peering long and intently at each picture, and finally coming out with a few words.]

#### WARREN

AGE: 56 years.

1. This man has a club in one hand and the other raised to strike that man. This is firewood [the canoe], and this man has hit it with his leg. This [distance] is trees, growing out of the ground; it is good to hide under, for people cannot see us. [Before and after.] This man is going to strike the other, because he is angry at him for stealing from his trees. These are his trees [sailing canoes], the trunk, the branches, and the fruit [people]. The other man is frightened of him.

4. These two people are dead. One [small] has his hands behind him, the other his hands at his sides. This the hair of one, this the hair of the other. They are very dead; they can no longer open their eyes and see. [Not just things in the picture, but story of their actions. Why are they dead?] They were sick; this man [left] had a pain in his chest, his arms and his legs. The other had a pain in his head, his arms and his chest, and they died of their pain.



5. This is the daughter of this woman. The woman has flowers in her hair. Her daughter is sick; she is holding her back because it hurts. She has her head up, and is about to die. The woman is crying very hard. She has a necklace of flowers also. This is her nose . . . her arms . . . her lavalava down on her legs. [Not things only, but story.] They are dead, because they did not like what their parents told them, and they killed them. They were bad, and the parents of the woman killed her, and then took the child and killed it too.

7. These are all women. This one [standing, right] is talking to this one [seated, left], and this one [standing, left in group] is speaking to this one [seated, right]. They are just sitting quietly, because the others are teasing them. They are all wearing lavalavas. This woman is standing and holding the tree; she is their mother. These women [distance] are also her children; they are under the branches of this tree [the thatch of the house]; they are still little. She is talking to all of them, telling them to stay around the house, not to steal things and not to talk to anybody that comes in a way that would lead to bad things. This woman [seated, right] is just sitting quietly; this one [seated, left] is crying, because they are teasing her. They do not like the women teasing them.

8. These are all boys; they have come out to play around. This man [second left] is seated with his legs up because his legs are bad, and he cannot walk. This one [lower right] was about to go off with his bag, but this one [above] told him not to, so he is not going to. This one [left] is looking for birds to kill with rocks. These two [left of fire] are looking for food. This [fire] is a tree; the branches and the trunk. This man [left] is looking for birds. This man is unhappy because he wants to walk and cannot. This one is about to leave with his bag, but the other told him he would beat him if he left, so he did not. One of these men told the other, "Let's go and work in our garden" . . . or what? This one [seated, middle] is looking at the wood; it is driftwood, and he is going to cut it up to use for his house. . . . These [all seated] are asleep; they are sleeping very soundly because they are weary from their work. They have worked and worked, cutting weeds, and now they are asleep, including the one with the bad legs. This man is not tired because he is looking for birds, and these are not tired either because they are going out to work bringing food. [Reminded him of before and after.]

9. This is a man and his wife and their child, a daughter. They are going to go to their house. They went to their house, and they slept, and their child slept. Later they woke up and got up to do their work; she just worked outside the house, because if she heard the child cry, she would go quickly and pick her up. This is her lavalava. He is asleep, but she is standing, holding her child. They are on their way to their garden; she is holding the child, who is asleep in her arms. He is telling her, "You work hard, so there will be lots of food for us; I will work hard too." She is very big, and he is big too. She is looking at him, because she is talking to him. She is telling him he must not go away; she is angry because he is going away, for she thinks he should just stay around, and not do anything bad. He is not saying anything, because he is very fond of her.

10. These are two girls. This [below] is a ghost; this is a ghost too. The girls are frightened of the ghosts; they were on their way to join their parents in their garden when they met these ghosts. This is a man; why does he have such a beard? [?] He is a

ghost, though. They are going to eat the children. The little girl is crying, and the other is holding her hand and leading her along. They are very frightened of the ghosts, and are crying. This one is seated because she is getting ready to eat the children; that one is standing; he too is going to eat them. The ghosts are hesitant to eat them, because they are out in the open; there are few trees around, and they are afraid if they eat the children, people will see them and rush up. The children are very frightened, because they no longer see their parents, who have gone to the garden, and they are scared of the ghosts, who do not dare eat them because there are no trees around. That is all.

11. These three men are fighting. This man [left] is going to hit them with rocks, and they are going to hit him. This woman, the wife of the man [left] is taking their child away because she is afraid the child will be hit by a rock. This man [right] does not want to hit the other man; these two are the only ones who really want to fight. . . . This man is angry at the other two because they have been talking to his wife; Trukese do not like other men to talk to their wives: if they do, they cut them with knives. He cannot beat his wife because he loves her; these men came to her, but she did not like them, and just told her husband, and he looked for them to beat them, for that is the way Trukese do it.

12. This is a woman; she is an old woman, and she is dead. Her arms and legs are out straight, because she is dead. She is weak; she is no longer strong; that is why she is dead, for she was sick and weak and then died. Her breasts are long, and her arms and legs are long; that is the way of Trukese women when they get old: their arms and legs are long because they are weak. Her eyes were bad, because she was weak: that is why she died. She is lying out in a cleared space. They will give her a funeral; they will put her in a coffin, dig a hole, and put her in it and bury her. She is dead because there are no children of hers, nor sisters: there was no one to bring her food and no one to massage her, and she was weak, so she died.

13. This woman is carrying bananas and food she has brought from her garden, for she has been gardening. She is going to take them to her house. This man is just holding the trunk of this tree for he has not been gardening; he is just out for a walk. She is carrying food for her husband and her child, for they are out working in the garden, working on bananas, manioc, and potatoes, and she is bringing them their food. But this man does not want to work; he is just hiding behind the tree for he feels that if they see him, they will take him out and make him work.

15 These are two men; they are seated on a piece of wood. This one [right] is sick, and the other has his arm around his shoulders. He speaks to him, but he no longer answers, because he is very sick and about to die. The other man is holding him up because he is so weak he is about to fall over. This is a plant, and this is another. They are in their gardens, and this man was stricken while he was working, because he was worn out; but the other one is still strong, and is holding him up, so he will not fall over. But he cannot be strong again. The man is holding him up so that when some more people come, they will carry him home; he will tell them that the man is about to die, and to carry him home so he can die in his house. He is dead because he is worn out from working in his garden.

16. This is a motor launch, and a man is standing on it. They are going off. They are towing these trees [waves behind], and these, and these [covered all the wave marks].

This is the bow of the launch [man standing] and the stern, and they are going to tow away all these trees.

18. These are birds, three of them: eyes, wings, legs, and the same for this one and this one. [Not just things: what are they doing?] I don't know . . . they are looking for food, for fruit: papaya, bananas, anything at all. They eat any kind of fruit. This is a tree [right] and this stick of wood [black below]. This is a pronged hoe [man's hair].

### TRUKESE WOMEN

#### KATE

AGE: 14 years.

1. This man went out alone in this canoe, fishing; he got a fish and came back. Then he went to his house and ate. These two people [in the front canoe] are going for a ride in their canoe.

2. These are Puluwat people. This boy is going to climb this coconut tree. These are children of this woman, two boys [right] and one girl. This duck is theirs, and is going to go with them on a walk.

3. These boys [three standing] are going to carry their boat into the water, and go for a ride, for all the work they ever do is playing around. [How about this one (seated) ?] I don't know . . . he is going too. That's all.

4. This man and this boy are going to go walking, and when they are through they will go back to their house. The boy is about to cry because he is tired of going out strolling every day.

5. This woman said to this boy, "Shall we go strolling?" "Yes." "All right, let's go." Now they are going. That's all. [What did they do when they went strolling?] When they came back, the boy ate, because he was tired from walking. That's all. [Delivered short stern lecture on thinking more about it.]

6. This boy has stopped here on a stroll. He is going to go back, because he has no companion. [Examiner told her he had selected just four more, and to try hard on them.]

9. This man and woman are married, and this is their child. He told her he was going out to get some food. He went out, got these bananas and soursop, and brought them back and gave them to her. That's all.

11. This man is chasing these two boys, and is going to beat them, for they are very bad, and always have been. They are running away. [How about these two (right) ?] This little boy is crying, because he wants to play with the others, but this woman will not let him.

12. I don't know.

18. These birds are just going to stay here, for they are stronger than all the other animals; every time they fight, the others lose. [?] This is their nest. They are going to go out a bit for fun.

#### SARAH

AGE: 21 years.

1. These people were home, and decided to go out fishing. They went fishing, and got some fish. Then they went home again and decided to eat. When they were through

eating, they went out and worked again, and when they were through eating they went home again. That is all I can think of.

4. This man took his child out with him, and the child disobeyed him, so he beat him. The child just stood there without saying anything, and the man was angry and glared at him. Later the man felt sorry for him and soothed him a little; he did not beat him any more. The child in turn was more cheerful toward his father. The man started off, and the child cried because he wanted to go along; his father took him along, but told him he must not be naughty any more. He taught his child about work, or something. He told him, "I am going to teach you how to work so that you will know from your childhood on, and will not be lazy." That is all.

5. This woman has also spanked her child, who is holding his hand behind him, for it hurts where she spanked him. He is also saying nothing, just looking at her. She tells him he must not be disobedient. She taught him some work in the house, or something, and perhaps to go out bathing, and she told him to get something, and he did. Then she told him, "You must not be disobedient. When I tell you to get something, you get it." When he grew older, she taught him more kinds of work, suitable to his age, perhaps fishing and cooking of food. Until he was big enough to marry, he paid close attention to what she said, and when she told him to do something, he did it. She told him to do just what his spouse told him to do, and not be disobedient, and he again paid attention to her. That is all.

7. These women are listening to this one [seated, left]. She asks the ones who are standing where they are going, but they say nowhere, they were just moving a bit, so they stand listening. This one [seated, right] is also listening. They are talking about what they are going to do in the way of work, whether to go fishing, or do work around the outside of the house, or what. They don't know what to do, and are just standing there talking about it. These women [background] are also just standing there listening to what these women are saying. That is all.

8. These are boys, and their father [seated, left]. He has taught them various kinds of work, getting food, fishing, etc. They have been out fishing, and now they are back, and are broiling their fish on the fire; this one [with basket] and this one [above] are broiling the fish. Their father has come up, and these two are walking toward him, telling him about the fishing. A few got fish, and a few did not. Their father is not saying anything, he is just listening to what they have to say. Some of them are eating. Their father is not saying anything, but he is very happy because they have been out fishing by themselves, and have done well. Later they went home, and talked over what work they would do another day, and again their father was silent but happy that they themselves were thinking about their work, and no longer wanted to play around. That is all.

9. These two people are in their house, and are about to set out to work. The woman told her husband to bring along a hand of bananas and some food for their child. He told her to carry the bananas, but she said, "I cannot, because I am carrying our child." "You carry it anyway." "You carry it"; she spoke firmly, and he carried it. They went out and worked, and when they came back, he told her to prepare their food. "You prepare it, because I am holding the child." "Give me the child, and then you prepare it." "No, the child will cry if you hold it." "Just give it to me." So she



gave him the child and fixed the food. Then they went outside and ate, the two of them, and afterward fed their child. That is all I know about these people.

10. This man and his wife and their children are at home. The man told his son, who is older than their daughter, "You must take care of your little sister, you must not beat her, and when you are out together, you must see that she does not walk off anywhere." So when they went anywhere together, he just held her hand so she would not wander off, and their father and mother were very happy to see that they paid attention to what they were told. His father told the boy, "You must not beat your sister, for when she grows up a little she will do your work for you and help you." Their father was very happy with them for they were getting big enough to do some of his work for him. Their mother told the girl, "You must pay attention to what your brother tells you, and not be disobedient." Until the children grew up, they were all happy together for the children paid attention to what their parents told them.

11. These men thought about what sort of games they would play, whether running or what. Now they are running. This child came out to watch them, and his mother came up and took hold of him so he would keep out of the way and not have them fall on him. When the men were home, the child was happy to stay home, but when they were out running, he wanted very much to watch them. Later when they went home, his mother asked him, "Why were you so disobedient to me? Why did you insist on watching them run?" "I just wanted to watch them run." "Well after this you must not watch them run, for they might fall on you and you would have an accident." He just said, "Yes." That is all I know about these people.

12. This old woman taught her children dancing. She told them, "There is no point in my dying and your not knowing how to dance." So she taught them all sorts of dances, and then watched them while they did them. When there was some kind of dance they did not know, she did it for them to show them. When they had learned them all, she no longer danced, for she was an old woman, and just her children danced. After that her children were very happy, for they all knew how to dance. That is all I know.

13. This man and woman went out to look for their food. "Let's go out and look for our food." So they went out, and the man climbed the trees and picked the fruit, and the woman carried it: they got a hand of bananas and these breadfruit. Then they went home, and broiled the breadfruit and fed everybody in their household. Afterward she asked, "What are we going to eat tomorrow?" He replied, "I am tired of looking for food." But she could not climb the breadfruit trees: "You may be tired, but what are we going to eat?" "That is right; we will go and look for food." "Good, for if we both go and look for food, we will have plenty to eat." So they went out; he picked breadfruit, and she broiled it, or went out fishing, and they had food to eat. That is all.

15. These two men are brothers, and they love each other very much, and do everything together. They go a little way together, then sit down, together; that is why they are sitting together now. Their father told them always to think of each other, and never separate; they should go everywhere together. That is why they are always together in everything they do and think. That is all I know about these men; they love each other very much.

16. These men decided to go out on their boat and look for food, or goods, or



something. Now they are on their boat; this man [lying] is in the stern, this one in the bow, and this one has gone overboard to look for fish. This one is standing up to ask him if there are any fish, but he does not answer because he is just diving under the water. So he stands there waiting to see what he will say. Later they caught some fish, and went home. They gave fish to all the people in their household to eat. When the other people in the house went out fishing, they gave them some. These men went out to get food, and gave some food to the others, and similarly when the others got food, they gave some to them. That is all.

18. Is this a person, or what? . . . I don't know what these animals are doing here. . . . I don't know what to think about this picture. . . .

[Inquiry after completion of test as to gender of children: 4. Boy. 5. Boy. 9. Boy. 11. Girl.]

#### FRANCES

AGE: 21 years.

1. An island . . . a canoe . . . a sailing canoe, and these are Puluwat people . . . they went out fishing . . . two more Puluwat boats. . . . This man [standing] called the other boats, and told the people to come and get some fish. These two men have been using this canoe, but now it is broken. . . . That's all I can think of.

3. These four men lived in this house. While they were there, there was also a boat in the house. They went out of the house, and began talking. These three do the work of the house; this one [seated] is their superior. This man [standing, right] is talking to the other two about . . . housework. . . . There are three coconut trees outside. . . . These men do not wear clothes, just a breechclout. They have always liked having bare skins; they don't like clothes. . . . That's all I know about it.

4. This man and his child left their house to go out strolling. When they left, his child was naked. . . . Forgive me, that's all I can think of.

5. This woman is the wife of that man [Card 4], and this is their child. [?] There are two children; that was a boy and this is a girl. . . . Later, this child said she wanted to defecate. . . . I think this is a Puluwat woman. That's all I know about it. [Asked her to try hard to think of a real story. She sighed and looked distressed.]

7. These six women came out of their house to dance. Later, these three who are standing sang and danced, while the other two rested. I think this one is just standing up and holding onto the tree. The other women came out of their house to join them in dancing. . . . These women all live in one village, but not all in one house. The best dancers live in this house, and they all get together to sing and play here. That's all I can do.

8. These seven boys have been out fishing; now they have come ashore to broil their fish. Each broils his own, and does not give it to the others. These two [right] are brothers; so are these two [left of fire] and these two; this one [seated, middle] has no brothers. These five are just resting; these two [left of fire] are going to go home, while the other five are planning to go fishing again. This one is getting a fish out of the basket to give the other one [above] to broil. They made the fire to broil the fish, but also because they were cold, from having come out of the water. This one [second from left] is older than his brother [left]; the same is true of the other two pairs of

brothers; one is older, one younger. They are all boys, no girls. This one [seated, middle] belongs to the same lineage as these [left] but does not live in the same house. . . . That's all I can think of.

9. This man went out to get food for their child. He came back, bringing bananas and I think breadfruit. His wife asked him why he was so slow, for their child was crying and crying. He looked a little angry at her asking him this, because he thought he had been quick about it. I think their child is a boy. . . . After their boy had eaten the banana and breadfruit, he was very happy. . . . That is all.

10. This is a man, and this a woman. She gave birth to this boy first, later this girl, when he was big. Later, when they were big enough to walk, and they went out walking, he took the girl's hand. . . . That's all.

11. [After long time. . . .] I just don't know about this one.

12. This woman is sick. She knows a great deal about dancing. . . . She has had a lot of children; I think five. That is why she is so thin. . . . There are three boys and two girls. . . . That is all.

13. This man and woman have been out looking for food. He has just come down off a tree where he has been getting food. He tells her to hurry home to bring food for their children, for while they have been out playing, they have not eaten yet. . . . Later, she went home . . . there are four of their children at home. . . . That's all I know.

15. These two men lived in their house together, alone. This man [right] was sick, very sick. The other helped him outside and they sat down. He asked him how he was, whether his body was strong. But he said he was in great pain, all over his body, and chilled. . . . [How about later?] That's all I know. [Did he get well, or what? How did he take care of him?] I don't think he died. He gave him some Trukese medicine, and he got well quickly. . . . That is all I can do.

16. I think this boat is broken. There were four men, no, five men on it. This man [in the water] was looking at them in the boat; later he got over to the boat and got in. This man is asleep and cannot help the other one look for the other one, whom he cannot see. That is all.

17. There is a great wind, and many trees have blown over. The seas are coming in almost to engulf the houses. One tree is about to blow over on a house; these two men . . . are trying to hold the tree up. They have sent the other man into the house to get their things out and take them into the other house in case the house is broken down by the tree. Later, when the wind was over, they were very tired. That is all I can do.

18. [After fairly long delay. . . .] I can't do anything with this one.

#### SUSAN

AGE: 23 years.

1. This man is using a fish trap; this man has taken a fish. I think they are very happy.

4. This man is speaking to the boy. He asks him, "Where are you going?" But the boy does not answer; he is frightened for he thinks the man is going to beat him. The man tells him to go to his home to eat, or bathe or sleep. He does not say anything;

I don't think he can talk yet. [What did he do afterwards?] I don't know. [These two responses were elicited only after many questions. The remainder of the test was postponed until two days later, due to interruptions.]

5. This woman is talking to the child. "Where are you going?" The child did not say anything, because he did not know how to talk yet. "You had better go home, because I think your parents are looking for you." The child was unhappy, because he wanted to talk, but he could not. They stood there a while, and then, "You had better go; it is almost time for you to eat." But he still could not talk, and was unhappy. "Now you had better go home." But the child just stood there, looking up at the woman's face. She told the child to go home and get some clothes. The child started walking away, and then stopped and stood there, because he wanted to go walking with the woman. But she did not want him to. "You go home and get some clothes. If you want to go walking with me you will have to wear some clothes, because it is not fitting that you accompany me when you are naked." But the child did not want to, because he just wanted to go with her. She did not want him to because he was naked. She told him to go home and get some clothes so he would not be naked if he wanted to go with her. He could not, because all he could think of was going with her. She left, and he chased after her, because he did not want to go back home. She stopped again and stood there. "You have come along with me, but you have not put any clothes on." But the child said nothing; he just stood there, because he could not speak. Then she said, "All right, we will go walking; but when you go home and your parents ask you where you have been, you tell them you have been out strolling with me." That is all. [No questions used on this, except to tell her to go on.]

7. These women have been out walking and have come here. This woman has stepped on the tree, and asks them, "What is that?" They are all looking at something. This woman [right] said she was going to sit down because her feet hurt from standing up so much; the others did not sit down. This one is sitting down because her shoulder hurts; the tree hit it. [How did the tree hit it?] I am lying [i.e., wrong]; her shoulder just hurts. I don't know any more.

8. I don't know . . . I think these boys are going out strolling . . . [long wait] . . . I don't know.

9. This man is telling this woman to carry the bananas for the child to eat. But she tells him to carry them himself, because she cannot carry them and the child too. "You carry the bananas and when we get to our house, this child will eat them. . . . Let's go home, for the child is sleepy." "All right, let's go, and the child will eat in our house." "You can go ahead quickly, because then you can fix a place for the baby to sleep." "All right, the child will sleep and then you will fix our lunch because we are hungry. When the child wakes up, he can eat too." When the child woke up, he said he was hungry, and this woman gave him some food. Later, he said he was going out for a walk. She said, "All right, go on and walk. But come back quickly, because I want to fix supper, and it would not be good if the child cries." When he came back she said, "Why are you late?" "I am not late; I came back quickly because you said I should be quick." I don't know any more.

10. This boy was out playing. His father came up and told him to go home and eat, because they had not yet eaten; after that they could go out and play again. So he

took the girl's hand and said, "Let's go home and eat; then we can go out and play again." The man said to them, "Why are you just playing, but you have no clothes on?" "We went out playing, but we forgot our clothes." "Well, you go on to our house and get some clothes and then you can go out and play again." The man told them to go and bathe, and then go and eat. But they no longer wanted to bathe, because they just wanted to eat. I don't know anything more.

11. These boys are out playing; the man is chasing them. The child wants to join them, but the woman does not want him to. The boys decided to go home and eat; after they were through eating, they would go out and play again, and if this man saw them again, they would again flee. This man asked them what they were doing that they had come here. They said they were just playing. Then he told them to leave, they must not stay here. They went home. The woman asked the child, "What are you going to do?" "I am going out to play, and later will come home." But she did not want him to go. That is all.

12. This old woman decided she would go out and stroll around, because she was tired and sad from staying home alone all the time. . . . She decided she would do some work; she decided to work in her garden. She went and worked in her garden, and then she was very happy because she had lots of money [garden produce is not normally a cash crop]. She decided to go back and fix some food and then go out and work in the garden. Later she went home, fixed supper, fixed her sleeping mat, lit her lamp, and slept. She woke the next morning, fixed some breakfast, and ate. When she was through eating, she went out to her garden and worked. When she was through, she came home and rested. That is all, because I don't know any more.

13. This woman went to her garden and worked. When she was through, she started home, bringing some fruit with her. Later, this man spoke to her: "Where are you going?" "I am going home to fix some food." "Please, may I go with you?" "What are you going to do?" "I want to go with you to your house, and later when you go to your garden, go with you again and help you." She thanked him very much for wanting to help her. When they were through eating she said, "You rest here in my house and I will go out and work in the garden." "No, I will not stay here. I want to go out and help you." "All right, let's go." So they went out, and when they were through, they came back and rested. That is all.

15. These two men have been out strolling. They decided to go over to the other side, stroll around some more, and then go back to their house and tell the people how nice it is on the other side. They went off, and later went home because they were hungry. They ate, and bathed, and decided they would go strolling again after they were through eating. So they went off again. They went home again, and told the people in their house to come out with them, because they liked it over there because it was so neat and pretty. . . . They stayed for a while [apparently in the locale of the picture, away from the house] and then decided to take some plants home. So they took some home and planted them outside the house so it would look nice. They went and bathed, and then decided they would build another house, and thought over where they would build it so it would be very pretty. That is all.

16. These men decided they would go out for a pleasure sail on their outrigger. They went out and sailed and sailed, and then came back, because they were hungry.



They went into their house, and the people there asked them where they had been. They said they had just been out for pleasure on their canoe. They ate, and after they were through, they decided they would go out on the canoe again. They went out, and when they were out decided to fish with a pole. They fished and fished, but they did not catch anything. They were unhappy, and wondered what they would have to go with their food. That is all. [Unlike previous pictures, looked at this one quickly, then looked away and started talking. Used an ambiguous demonstrative instead of a specific one.]

18. [Quickly:] I don't know. . . . These birds came here. Later they decided to go out and get some fish. They went out, and later came back, but they were distressed because they did not get any fish to eat. Later they said, "We must go out and look for fish again, on the other side, because I am afraid we will not get any fish until tomorrow, and we will not be able to eat until tomorrow." Later, they flew off again, and got some fish. They came back, and the big ones regurgitated their food and fed their little ones [lower left]. That is all.

#### ELEANOR

AGE: 24 years.

1. These men have been fishing. This man [in the water] has caught a lot of fish, and the other one is raising his hand to call their companions to tell them to join them and they will go back to their islands. Those men are out on the ocean, but these are near their island. That is all I know.

4. This is a man and his boy. The boy has been out playing, and his father looked and looked for him. Finally he found him; he beat him, and tied his hands behind his back. He told him not to be naughty any more, and he said he would not, and cried. That is all.

5. This boy is the son of this woman. He has been to the benjo and she asks him if he has wiped himself off. He says no, so she tells him to do it himself. Now he is wiping himself off. That is all.

7. These women are dancing. These have finished their dance and are resting; some are sitting down, and some have not yet sat down. Those others are coming up to dance now. This woman holding the tree trunk is the leader of this group; she is the best.

8. These boys are out playing, looking for shellfish. This one is putting shellfish in his basket. This one [above] is holding his in his hand, not putting it in the basket. These two [left] are looking at the three who have caught shellfish, because they have not found any yet. These two are heading home carrying their shellfish to broil them for their parents. I think this one, who has not yet gone home, will have lots when he does because he has a basket to put them in, while the others can only bring what they can carry in their hands.

9. This is a man and his wife; their child is hungry, and his wife told him to go out and look for food for their child. So he went out, and now he has come back bringing some bananas and this breadfruit. He is giving her the bananas for their child to eat. They will go off home and feed the child. That is all.

10. These two children have been out looking for their mother, and the little one has been crying. The older one is holding the little one's hand, because he cannot yet



walk very well. Now they have found her. Her husband is asking her why she was so slow in getting back, so that her child cried. She is going to pick the little one up, and they will go home and stay there a while. The man is out looking for food for them.

11. These men have been out strolling, and now this man is angry at the other two, and is going to beat them and they are running away. This woman sees them and is calling her child to come to her so they can flee from the scene; she is going to pick the child up. But the child does not much want to, because she does not yet realize she should be afraid of the men fighting. They will leave.

12. This old person has been out working, and has cut her foot [left], and is returning to her house, as she can no longer work. She will just stay there sick.

13. This married couple has been out getting food. The man has picked some bananas and their breadfruit. His wife is going to go home with this breadfruit, as he told her to go ahead and get the breadfruit ready while he picked the fruit off another tree. She will go home and cook it, while he picks the fruit off this tree and then brings it home too. When he gets there they will eat the breadfruit she is carrying, because it will be ready. That is all.

15. This man [right] is angry, and the other is trying to calm him down so he will not be angry any more. But he does not want to calm down. That is all I know. [Why is he angry?] I think the other man has said something he does not like, and now he is saying, "I will not say this sort of thing any more, because you don't like it." That is all.

16. These people were out on a trip when, in mid-ocean, this one fell over. The woman in the stern cried. The man in the bow asked her why she was crying, and she said because their child had fallen overboard. The man stood up and looked for him. He swam by himself to the boat. He will get aboard, and they will get back to their island. Then they will tell the people in their house about his almost dying at sea because he fell overboard. That is all.

18. I don't understand this one. . . . [Think about it.] . . . These birds are going to nest in this tree. This one is on his nest, which he has already completed [i.e., the person]; this one [above] is going to start his nest in the tree. The other two would like to join the one who has already finished his nest and share it. That is all.

[Inquiry after completion of test as to gender of people: 9. Boy. 10. Girl left, boy right. 11. Boy. 12. Old woman.]

#### IRENE

AGE: 30 years.

1. These men sunk their fish trap the day before, and today have come to look at it. They have come from that island where they live. There was only one fish in the trap, and this man took it out, and is calling to the men on the sailing canoes to come on over, because there was a fish in the trap; they will sink their own trap here. Those are sailing canoes, but this one just for paddling. Meanwhile, he is telling the other man to hurry up and get his trap sunk so they can get their fish in the boat. [At first said there were lots of fish in the trap, but did not know where they were, so changed to just one.] These two sailing canoes are going quickly back to their island; they set out their trap and went back. But these men have not gone back; they will set out the trap and then leave. That is all.

4. A man and a boy. They have gone out walking. The man says, "Quickly! Let's go." But he does not want to walk, and asks the man, his father, to carry him. But he said he would not carry him: "Walk!" But he does not want to, and just stands there, saying nothing. Again, "Walk!" But he still stands there, angry. As they stand there, the man is trying to make his mind up whether they should return to the house, because the boy wants to be picked up but he does not want to pick him up. The boy is naughty, because he is angry. They are just standing there. That is all. [Asked for story running before and after picture, repeating instructions of introduction.]

5. This is a woman and her daughter. When they were in their house, she told the girl, "Let's go. Let's go out for a walk, or to bathe." "Where are we going?" "Never mind, just come along." So they went out, but when they were out on the path, the girl said, "There is some feces." "Where?" "Here," and she indicated her anus with her hand. "Here?" and her mother also put her hand behind her. "Yes." "Did you do it yourself? . . . Well, come along and we will bathe, and wash your buttocks with water and then it will be gone." So they went off and bathed, and after that there were no more feces on her. That is all.

7. These three women [standing, right] live in this house. They made the house with roof thatched of nipa palm, not ivory nut [which is better]. When they were in the house, they decided they would dance, or play some sort of game. So they came out. But they talked it over and decided that three of them were not enough. This one [right] said, "This woman," motioning with her hand, "will join us." But she did not want to. They said they would go and look for somebody else. This woman heard them, but did not want to pay any attention because she did not want to join them, so she went over and stood by the tree and hung onto the branches. This other woman did not want to join them either, because she had a yaws sore on her foot, and was afraid she would hurt it on a rock. So they finally decided to go off to another house to dance or play, and they did. We see them in the distance coming back. When they were through in the other house, they came back, bathed, ate and then went to sleep.

8. These seven men were in their house in the evening, and decided they would go out torch fishing. So they got their torches ready, and went out. They fished a while, and then came ashore. They were cold, so they built a fire. This man reached in their fish basket and said he was going to broil a fish for them to eat. This man [left] just looked at him; he did not say anything. But this man [right, above] told him to leave the fish in the basket, that they would wait until they got home to cook the fish. He stopped, with his hand in the basket, and then withdrew it, to leave the fish in until they went home. This man [lower middle] is near the fire, and has been putting wood on and burned his finger and pulled back in haste. This man [left] stood up and told the others they should go on home. Two others stood up at once, but the other four were still cold, and stayed around the fire to get warm; they were being naughty. Later, when they were no longer cold, they too went home, where they cooked the fish and ate them. Then they went to sleep. [Also mentioned the board was for firewood, but the examiner did not note where in the response.]

9. This man and his wife and their child were in their house when the woman said, "Let's go off and have a walk. Bring six bananas and a breadfruit for our child to eat." She picked up the child, and he the bananas and breadfruit, and they set off.

When they had been going along a while, he told her to carry the bananas. "You carry them!" for she was carrying the child. "You carry them." "You carry them, because I am carrying the child." So he kept on carrying them. They went . . . I don't know whether they went to their garden . . . they went to their garden, and she put down the child, and they worked. They worked and worked, and when they were through they gave the child his bananas and ate the . . . watermelon: I was wrong, it is not bread-fruit but watermelon. They ate the watermelon, ate and ate, and when they were through she picked up the child again and went back to their house. When they got there they played around with the child for a while, and were very happy, for they had done a good job of their work in their garden. That is all.

10. This man, his boy and his girl . . . I don't know whether this is a woman or a man . . . a woman. The four of them were in their house when their mother said she was going out to work in their garden. The rest of them stayed in the house and played. Their father told them that when she was through working she would bring back a lot of food, and they would eat the food she brought. After a while their father told the children, "Let's go out and find your mother." The boy said, "Where is she?" "In our garden." So they all went off, the children first and the man after. They went on and on, and then they spied their mother sitting near the garden. The girl saw her first, and cried out, "There she is!" They were happy, and the man smiled. "What did you see?" "Our mother." Then he saw her too: "There she is indeed." They went up to her and found her waiting for them. When they had been there a little while, the man said, "Well, let's go back to our house and eat; later you can decide whether you want to come back to the garden." So she got up, and they went back to their house. The man sat down and his wife fixed their food. Then they ate, and when they were through she said, "I am going back to our garden. When I come back, we will all eat, and then we will sleep." That is all.

11. These people all live in one house, this man, the two adolescents, the man's wife and their daughter. They went out strolling, but the two young men did not stay with them. They went out and played; later the man came up and saw them and was angry: "Why are you always playing around so much in my house?" He picked up a rock and started to chase them. They ran, and came up to the woman with her child. She was frightened and grabbed the child; she picked her up and ran to the house and hid the child. The boys ran and ran till they got to some bushes and hid. In the evening they came home, feeling that he probably would no longer be angry; but they crept in silently and went to sleep. As for the woman: she was afraid the man would throw the rock and hit the girl on her head or neck, so she took her home and hid her. Later, when she thought he had cooled off from his anger, she picked her up again, and was at peace again because he was no longer angry. That is all.

12. This is an old woman, who knows about the old days. Her work consists in dancing. Every day in her house she just practises dances of the old days all day long. There was a meeting of people, and she went out, walked up to them, and when she saw them started dancing. When she was through she went to her house. In the old days people did not wear clothes over the upper part of the body; they just took a plant of some sort and made a breechclout or a lavalava and wore that. The next day she got up, ate, dressed her hair with coconut oil, bathed and came back to her house where she again practised dancing. That is what the old woman did.

13. This woman was in her house, and her husband off at their garden. She decided she would bring him some food, because it was about time. So she got the food together and went off. She came to a place where there were some trees. There was a man there, but he hid; he thought he would steal some of her food—a breadfruit or a banana. He hid behind a tree waiting for her. But she did not see him, and went right on by. She came to where her husband was and looked for him, but she did not see him. She looked and looked, and then called him again and again. But she did not find him. . . . No, I was wrong. This man in the picture is her husband. She looked for him and looked for him, but did not find him, and then called him. She kept calling, but he did not answer, for he had decided to hide to see whether she would find him. She stood there by their garden, calling him, and he kept moving up from tree to tree till he was close to her. He stayed there a while, waiting to see whether she would see him; then he felt sorry for her, and came out. She said, "I have brought you some food because it was getting late and you did not come home." So he ate, and when he was through she said, "I will go back to the house, and when you are through working, you come on back and we will eat." So she left, and after a while she cooked for supper. Then he came back, and they ate and slept. The next morning he again went out to the garden, and later she brought him some food. That is all.

15. This man [right] is the father of the other. When they were in their house, the son said, "Let's go out for a walk. Let's go down by the beach." So they went out. The son kept urging his father along, saying, "Let's go." The father said, "Yes," with his mouth, but he really did not want to go. He was tired, because he was a little sick. They came down near the shore, and saw a rock and sat on it. The son put his arm around his father's shoulders and asked him what sort of illness he had. He said he was cold from the cool breeze off the ocean, and clasped his arms around himself. Then they talked about these plants. The young man asked his father why there were plants growing there. His father said they had grown in the sand; the other tree in the distance had grown from the soil. Then the son said, "Get up; we are going home." So they got up and went home. His father was rather weak because he was unwell, but his son took care of him very well, because his father had no wife. She was dead, and only his son remained.

16. This boat left its island with these three men aboard. They went out, and the boat was hit by a big wave, and swamped. This man was washed over. He swam and swam around, looking for them. This man stood up, peering around looking for him. This man cried, because the man who was lost was his brother. They kept looking for him and he for them; finally he heard them calling him. Later, they picked him up and brought him aboard. They headed back for their island. They asked him why he had washed over, and he said nothing, because he was too tired to speak. They went on, and they decided they would carry him home. They carried him into the house, and then went back and brought the boat up near the house. Then they built a fire and sat around it because they were cold. They had gone out fishing, but they no longer thought of going out, because a big wind was blowing. Later they went to sleep; they just slept, they did not eat, because they were a little sick from their ordeal in the ocean. The next day they got up and got some preserved breadfruit and some bananas and ate them, and then they felt strong and ready to do whatever sort of work they wanted to do, whether this was in their gardens, fishing, or whatever. That is all.



18. I don't know what to say about this. . . . Oh! A person. He came from his house up here, and these animals bit him in the face. He lay down on his belly, covered his face and cried from the pain of the bites. The animals flew away. Later, he got up and ran quickly back to his house. He no longer felt like going far away from his house. He lay down in his house and stayed there for two days, very sick from the bites around his mouth and eyes. Then he felt a little better, and went off to the dispensary, where he had his bites bandaged. Then he went back to his house. He was well and strong again, and could do his work, eat, bathe and eat. That is all. [What kind of animals?] Bees.

## IDA

AGE: 40 years.

1. [The responses on this card only elicited by a protracted series of questions; though the questions were not leading, there was no spontaneity to the performance at all.] These men are out strolling; they have come from their house in their village. I don't know what this man is holding . . . it may be a lamp. He is carrying it because they are going strolling. I don't know why he is pointing up; they are going strolling. These two things may be boats. I don't know what these [outrigger booms in foreground] are. Later they will go back to their house and sleep, just the two of them. They are man [on shore] and wife.

3. There are just men in this picture. They are getting ready to carry the boat; they are going to take it for themselves. These three men are talking about it, but this one [seated] is angry; he does not want to take the boat. These three are thieves, and they are planning to steal the boat, but he does not like the idea. They did not take it. One of them is holding up a stick [the corner post of the house, the end of which is drawn adjacent to a man's hand].

4. This is just a photograph; they are not real people. They look as if they were dead, for their eyes are closed. They are standing up, but they cannot move, as if they were asleep. [Is there no story?] Is this a man or a woman? Is this a little girl? This is a man, and this is his daughter. I don't know any more.

5. This is a woman, and her daughter. The woman has called the girl, who answered. I don't know what they said. . . . I think the girl was out playing, and her mother called her and told her they were going to go to their house. They went to the house, fixed some food and then played around in the house. When it was night, they slept.

7. Is this a farce? They look like real people, and yet they are not real people. They are all women. They are out strolling. Or are they working? When they were through working, they went back to their house. [?] They were looking for . . . fish.

8. Why are they naked? People of the old days? I think they are coming from their gardens. They went to their house. That's all.

10. A man, a woman, a boy and a girl. The man is angry, and she is just sitting down. He is angry because she did not pick up their children. She is just annoying him.

11. These men are fleeing from a ghost. . . . This woman is picking up her child, because this man [left] is going to beat it. These two are running from him because he is going to beat them. They ran away. The child does not want to be picked up; he just wants to play.



12. This is a ghost, out looking for a person to eat. It is the spirit of a man. He is going to grab someone with his hands. This is an old woman. That's all.

13. This woman has come here carrying this bunch of bananas and fruit. This man is hiding. He wants to take these bananas and fruit away from this woman. But she just went on into her house, fixed some food and ate.

15. This is like a picture of people, but not real people. Just a picture. This is a plant [?]. They have just been out strolling; they will shortly go back to their house. They are both men.

16. A boat, out on the ocean. This man is peering out, looking for fish. They want to get a lot of fish to eat. They are going to go back to their houses. They are happy because there are a lot of fish. The next day they went out to get some more food.

18. There are a lot of trees here, and a lot of these animals . . . fruit bats. I don't know what this [prone figure] is. The bats are eating the fruit from these trees.

[Though the constant questioning was no longer necessary after the first three or four cards, a certain amount of prodding was used throughout. The performance was very halting.]

#### NANCY

AGE: 42 years (Andy present).

1. These men went out on their outrigger canoe. They fished with goggles, and brought the fish back in the canoe. They came back, carried the canoe ashore, and brought the fish in. They cooked the fish and ate it; they gave food to their wives, their children and to themselves.

4. These two moved their house; they lifted it and moved it a little way east. Then the people in the house fixed some food, and they ate.

5. These two went out to their gardens and worked for a while; they cut some bananas, and later when they were through, brought them to their house and ate a little.

7. These people went out to bathe, and then came back to the house and fixed some food and ate it. Then they went outside the house and cut some weeds. When they were through they went back in the house, sat down and rested a while, then lay down, then got up and went outside and cut some more weeds. When they were through they went back in the house, fixed some food, ate it, and considered what they would do next. They decided they would go out and get some fish, so they got their nets ready, and went out and fished. When they were through they came back in the house and ate. That is all.

8. These women [*sic*] went out fishing; they got their nets ready and went out into the ocean. They fished and fished and then came back. They ate; their husbands ate, their children ate, and they themselves ate. Then they went out and bathed, came back, and ate the evening meal. That is all.

9. This woman took her child and bathed it; she washed it all over with water. Then she took it back to the house, nursed it, and now she is through. Then they went outside the house for a while, walked around, and then went back in the house and lay down. That is all.

10. This woman [second from her left] picked her child [left] up and fed it from her mouth [pre-masticated food]; then they went out and she bathed the child, came home, and they slept a while. Then she woke the child, and they went out and

walked around for a while. Then they came home, she fed the child, and then they went to sleep for the night.

11. I will talk about this man [left]. He went out fishing with goggles, brought home the fish he caught; then he ate, along with his wife and children. Then they all went out and bathed, came back and slept a little while, and then went out in their gardens to work. When they were through they came back, ate, and lay down on their mats and went to sleep. That is all.

12. I will talk about this man. He came back from his garden, and he and his wife ate. When they were through eating they rested a while, lying down, and then went out and bathed. Then they came back, ate again, and they went outside their house and sat down. After they had sat out there a while, they went back inside, fixed their mats, and went to sleep. The next morning they got up, cleaned their teeth, ate, and went out to the gardens. They came back, ate, and slept a while. Then they went out, walked around outside the house for a while, went back in, and slept. That is all.

13. This woman [left] went out of her house with her net and went fishing. She went out on the reef and fished and fished, putting the fish in her basket. Then when the tide changed, she went back ashore, and went in her house. She and her husband ate. Then they lay down for a while, and afterward went out and got some wood from outside the house. That is all.

15. This man [left] went out fishing with goggles. Then he came back and he and his wife [right] ate. Then they lay down a while, then went outside the house for a while, came back in, sat down, went off and bathed, came back, and ate. "Let's eat!" and everybody ate. Then they went outside a while again, came in and fixed their mats, and went to sleep. That is all.

16. Is this a dog? [Up to you.] This dog went out on the path and met a person and bit him; he bled. He picked the dog up and took him into his house; he asked him, "Why do you bite people?" and beat him so he would understand, just like a person. Then they cooked him and ate him: "Your dog to eat!" and everybody came to eat. That is all.

18. I will talk about this house. All the people in it went out and fished with goggles; when they were through, they came back and ate the fish. Then they washed their hands. "What kind of work shall we do?" They decided to go out and cut bananas. They went out to their garden, and worked and worked. Then they came back, ate a little bit, and lay down for a while. Then they went out and worked in the garden for a while. When they were through, they came back and ate, all the people in the house together. Then they walked around for a while, and went to sleep. They slept all night, and in the morning woke up, washed their faces, ate, and went out to work. They worked and worked, and then came back and sat down and rested. That is all.

#### NORMA

AGE: 43 years (Andy present).

1. This man is lifting up his arm. [First think up a story.] I don't know . . . [What are they doing now?] I don't know. . . .

4. [Period of ten minutes of silence, punctuated only by examiner's questions and

suggestions and urgings, plus those of his assistant, Andy.] This child is crying? [Why?] I don't know. [What else do we know about it?] I don't know anything more.

11. [What are they doing?] This man [left] is standing up. I don't know any more.

[Test terminated, incomplete.]

### RACHEL

AGE: 48 years.

1. This [boat] is a cart. . . . This man is raising his hand because he is happy; it is as if he were saying, "Well, it is all finished up." He had planned quite a bit of work, and now it is done. [His "work" is the man in the water.] I don't know what these [sailing canoes] are. [Note: her eyesight is not good. She was unable to recognize photographs of her relatives.]

4. This man is from the old days, for he is wearing an old style breechclout. . . . I think he is blind, because he is old. He has gone a little way, and now he cannot go any farther because he is blind, so he is just standing here. . . . I cannot think of anything to say about him.

5. I like this woman very much. With this kind of flowers in her hair, I think she should be very attractive. . . . I am sorry, but I just don't understand this one.

7. This woman [left] is the oldest of them, and is not wearing any clothes except her skirt, so that the others will not either, and help her with her work. . . . I don't know anything more about this. [Urged her not to be hesitant, but just say anything that came to her mind.] . . . I think they are playing some sort of game, for they have no dresses on. Later they will be through and they will dress again. Beyond that I know nothing.

8. I want to know about these, but I just don't. . . . These people are playing; later they will go home to their parents. This one is doing something with a basket, but I don't know what. . . . I just don't know.

9. This man is saying to his wife, "Let's go out for a walk and have our pictures taken." She said, "Wait a minute, I will pick up our child and take him along." They are both very neat and attractive, the woman and the man. That is all I know about it.

10. This man is also thinking of going out for a walk and having his picture taken with his children and his wife here. . . . No, not his wife, his brother. . . . He went first and his children after, and his brother is still just seated. . . . Not his brother either; a member of his lineage, but a man. If he were a brother, they would look more alike. That is all I know.

11. This man has suggested to these boys that they play a game in which they run and he chases them as if he was going to hit them. So they are running. This woman is in front of them, and is picking her child up, telling him they must get out of the way so they will not get run down. But he does not want to; he just wants to watch. . . . Now he is saying to them, "Well, we are about at the end of our game, so let's go." That is all.

12. This woman also belongs to the old days, for she has no dress on. She is a little crazy, for when she meets children or people, she says she is going to eat them, and we run away. . . . That is all I think of.

15. This man I think is a little sick, and the other has put his arm around his shoulders for he saw he was not strong. He asked him, "Are you sick?" He replied that his arms and legs were no longer very strong. . . . That is all; I don't know how to finish the story. . . . [Did he get well?] Later, he got well.

16. This is a sailing canoe, but they have not raised the mast, because there is just the one man on it, standing up. . . . That is all.

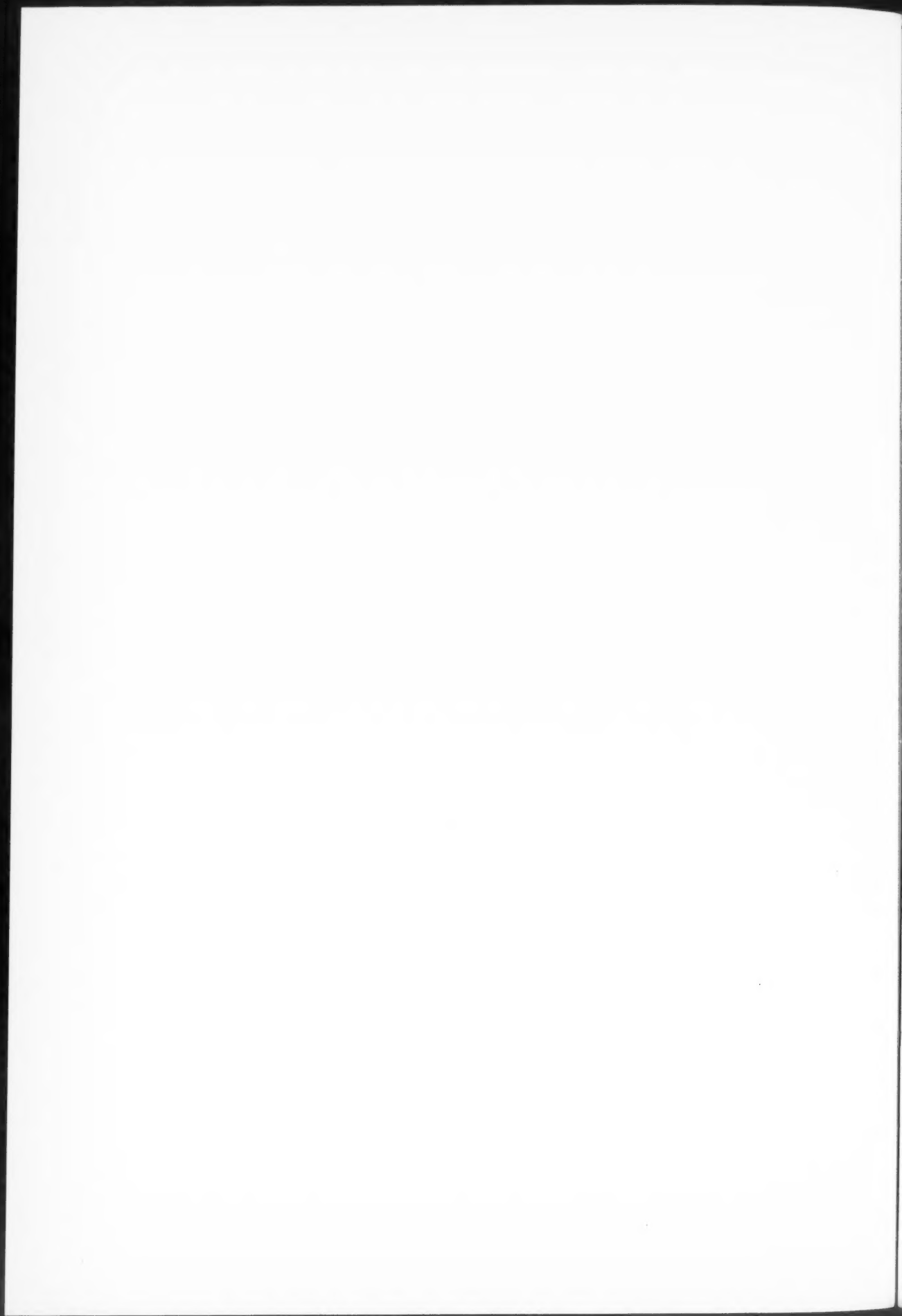
18. These birds are frigate birds. . . . I don't know about the rest.

#### RUTH

AGE: 50 years.

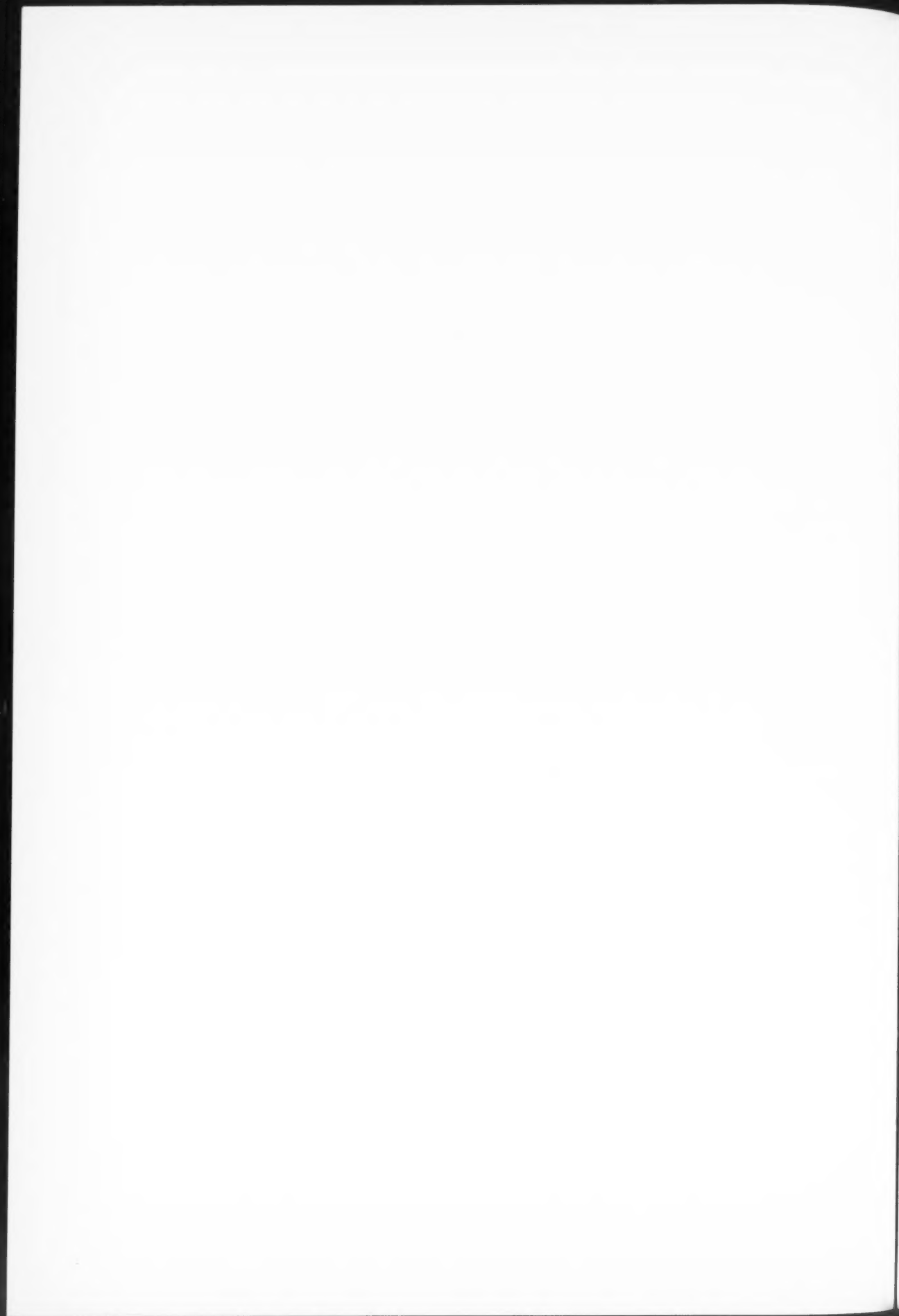
1. This boy and woman have been out sailing for fun on their boat [background; man on shore, woman in water]. Now they have come ashore and gotten out of their boat.

4. [Looked at this one for a while, then:] If you will forgive me, I just don't know about these pictures. [Sweat was standing out on her face, and she looked desperate. Terminated the test.]





## PLATES



## EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1. *View of the Lagoon and Path in a Village.*

*Top*, Truk: Moen. Looking west across the lagoon; Romonum on the extreme right. *Bottom*, Truk: Pis. A path in the village.

PLATE 2. *People in Everyday Dress and Mother and Children.*

*Top*, Truk: Romonum. People listening to the wire-recorder. *Bottom*, Truk: Pis. Mother with her children.

PLATE 3. *Schoolchildren and Women at a Baseball Game.*

*Top*, Truk: Fanapengas. The island's schoolchildren. *Bottom*, Truk: Pis. Women at a Sunday baseball game, singing to encourage the home team which is playing a Romonum team.

PLATE 4. *New and Old Dwellings.*

*Top*, Truk: Tol. A typical house of salvaged corrugated iron and lumber. *Bottom*, Pulusuk: Western Islands. A lineage dwelling house of the type formerly used on Truk.

PLATE 5. *Puluwat Sailing Canoe.*

*Top*, Visiting Romonum. The skipper (navigator) is helping the helmsman step the rudder preparatory to getting under way for the return trip to Puluwat. *Bottom*, The navigator's "cabin."

PLATE 6. *A Feast and Dance.*

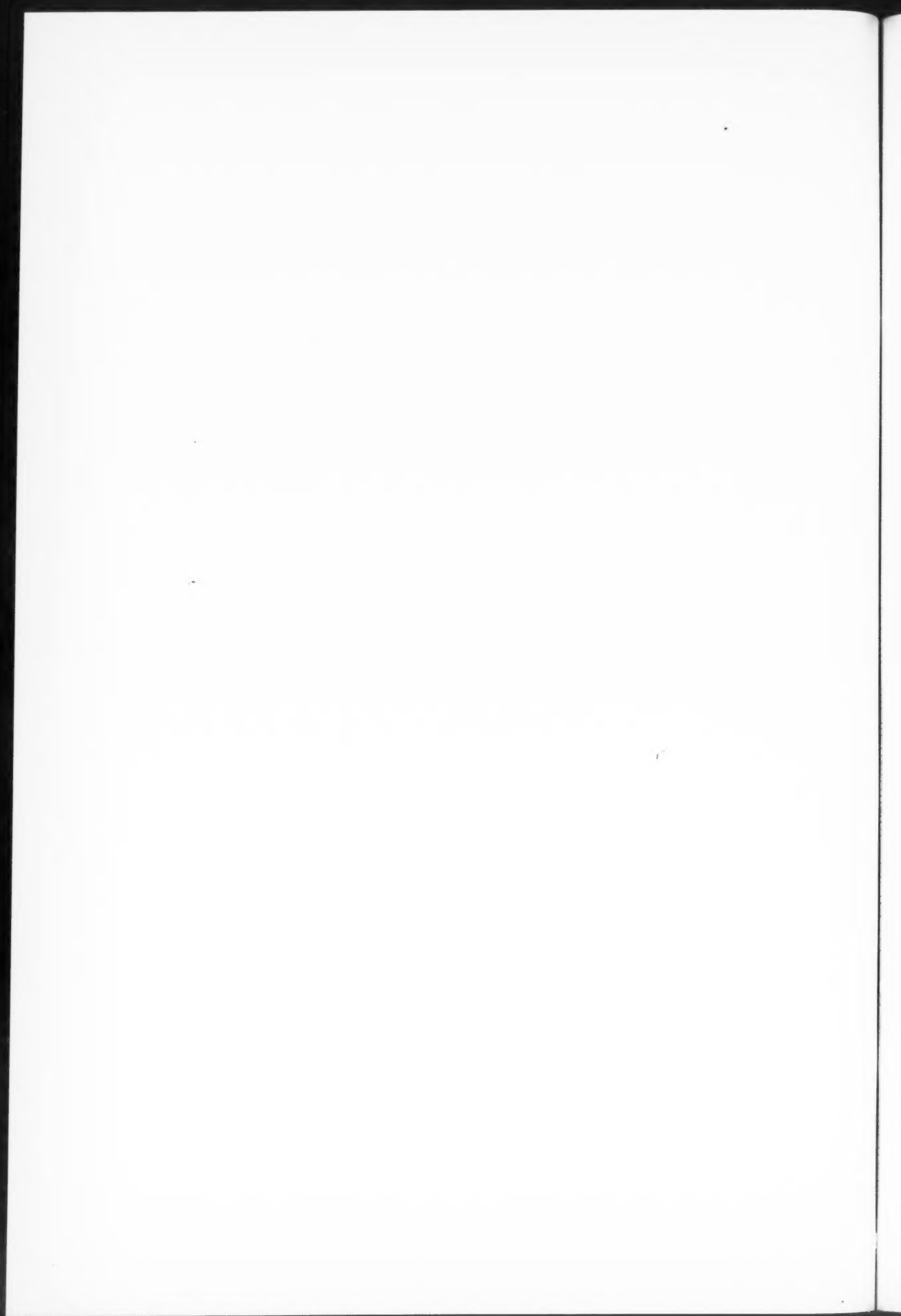
Truk: Romonum. *Top*, Sugar-cane, breadfruit, and bananas for a feast. (The carved hardwood bowl in the foreground is used only for feasts.) *Bottom*, Dancing after the feast. This is an imported dance, "The March," now found throughout Micronesia.

PLATE 7. *Young Man and Boy.*

Truk: Romonum. *Left*, A visitor from Puluwat. Note the cigarette burns on his arm. *Right*, Abandoned in his Sunday best before a man-eating anthropologist.

PLATE 8. *Funeral Rites.*

Truk: Romonum. *Top*, The body laid out, Kitty in attendance. *Bottom*, The sermon by the grave.



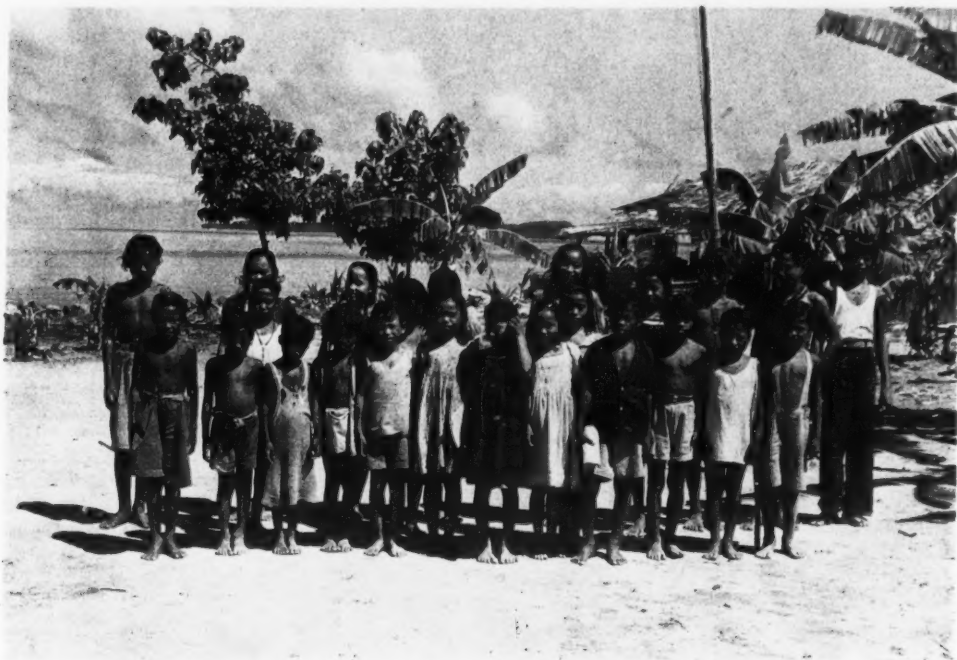


VIEW OF THE LAGOON AND PATH IN A VILLAGE





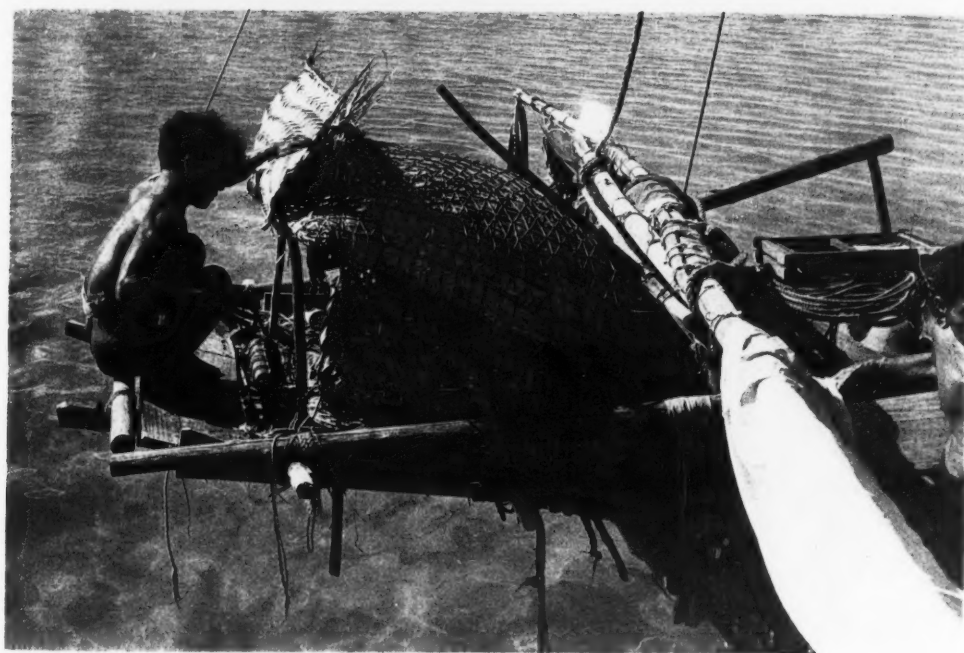
PEOPLE IN EVERYDAY DRESS AND MOTHER AND CHILDREN



SCHOOLCHILDREN AND WOMEN AT A BASEBALL GAME



NEW AND OLD DWELLINGS



PULUWAT SAILING CANOE





A FEAST AND DANCE





YOUNG MAN AND BOY



FUNERAL RITES